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Motivation for Education and Work in Young Muslim Women: The Importance of Value for Ingroup Domains

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Much work has focused on how stereotypes and discrimination negatively affect well-being, motivation, and performance in disadvantaged groups. Relatively little work has identified positive factors that contribute to motivation/performance. We focus on identity-affirmation as a positive force, presenting two studies on the effect of value by others for domains of importance to Muslims on young Muslim women's perspective on education/work. The results show how respecting identity domains that are central and salient for members of religious/ethnic minority groups maintains motivation in education/work, and secures majority-group identification. Rather than hampering societal integration, the results show that distinctive identities can be harnessed as positive sources.

Since the attacks on the World Trade Center towers in September 2001, there has been much debate as to the risks and benefits of religious identification. In Europe, where Muslim minority groups tend to hold low socioeconomic status, the tone of the debate has become more negative, with Muslim minority groups being increasingly viewed as threats to societal prosperity and safety. Concern has been expressed especially about the trajectories of young Muslims, perceived as separating from the larger society, while failing to obtain the necessary start through education and employment that will allow for full integration into Western societies (e.g., Entzinger & Dourleijn, 2008; Korf, Nabben, Wouters, & Yeşilgöz, 2006; Pels, de Gruijter, & Lahri, 2008).

We connect to Goffman's early work on the management of tension with regard to stigmatized identity (Goffman, 1963). We focus on the relationship of the stigmatized with his or her social environment in solving this tension, examining how this affects motivation for education and work among young Muslim women. We complement research on stigma that has demonstrated how stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination negatively affect well-being, motivation, and performance in disadvantaged groups and build on our prior work that suggests ways to maintain a positive sense of self and pursue individual advancement in society in the face of various threats and challenges by the outgroup and larger social context (for overview, see Van Laar, Derks, Ellemers, & Bleeker, 2010). Specifically, we examine how motivation for work and education in young Muslim women in the Netherlands is affected when domains important to their identity—such as their religion and culture—are acknowledged and valued by the majority group.

INTEGRATION OF YOUNG MUSLIM WOMEN

We focus on young Muslim women as a group of particular interest (see also Prins & Saharso, 2008; Roggeband & Verloo, 2007). Young Muslim women are perceived to be at risk of having the benefits of freedom and choice offered by modern democracies withheld as a result of the religious and cultural rules and traditions of their group. Thus, in many Western European nations young Muslim women face substantial pressure to assimilate to Western norms and practices, and to forgo ethnic and religious identities and traditions (Entzinger, 2003; Joppke, 2004; Vasta, 2007; Verkuyten & Zaremba, 2005). At the same time, pluralistic or multicultural perspectives...
highlight the importance of recognizing and appreciating cultural differences (cf. Berry, 1984; Fowers & Richardson, 1996; Markus, Steele, & Steele, 2002; Schlesinger, 1992; Verkuyten, 2006; Yinger, 1994). This resonates with debates in social psychology that emphasize the importance of minimizing the salience of stereotypes and prejudice, on one hand, and noting the importance of recognizing distinct (sub)group identities as a way to foster intergroup cooperation on the other (Brewer, 1996; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007, 2009; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000).

There are consistent reports of difficulties encountered by young Muslim women in educational and work settings and in following their religious practices (European Commission, 2008; EU Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2009; Grubben, 2002). In fact, in a recent comparative analysis of data from seven European nations it was Muslim women rather than Muslim men who reported encountering the most religious prejudice (Open Society Institute, 2009). At the moment, as a group, Muslim women in the Netherlands show very low educational and labor market outcomes and are least engaged civically and politically, forming a major concern for societal institutions that monitor these developments (Merens & Hermans, 2009). However, there have been indications recently that young Muslim women may be displaying signs of a “catch-up” trajectory—showing better average school results, showing higher civic and political engagement, and beginning to overtake their male counterparts in higher education (Keuzenkamp & Merens, 2006). This raises the question as to how young Muslim women respond to the positive versus negative value given to domains of importance to their group (“ingroup domains”; cf. Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2007a) by others in the larger society, and how this affects their perspective on education and work—issues of central importance to their personal development and societal integration. Moreover, young Muslim women are a group facing strong pressures from both ingroup and outgroup as they pursue upward mobility, and thus form an excellent group in which to examine processes related to the threats and challenges faced by traditionally underrepresented groups more generally as they pursue upward mobility.

RESPECT FOR INGROUP DOMAINS

Based on prior experimental work and theoretical analysis (e.g., Derks, Scheepers, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2011; Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006), we argue that, rather than discouraging members of stigmatized groups from engaging in education and work, value by others in the society for domains of importance to members of stigmatized groups should actually move these individuals toward domains that are central to status improvement and societal functioning. Our prediction that value by others in the context of domains of importance to members of stigmatized groups will have positive effects on integration through education and work, and through links with the majority group, comes from work in the social identity and stigma traditions (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Research on identity respect has shown that having one’s identity respected by others is an important concern, especially for members of minority-, low-status, and stigmatized groups. Group identities are key for many reasons: They provide an important base for self-definition and allow individuals to maintain or enhance their distinctiveness, to avoid subjective uncertainty, and to enhance positive views of the self (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Hogg, 2000; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998; Turner, 1982; see also Correll & Park, 2005). In fact, previous work has shown that when important identities or subgroup identities are neglected, individuals respond by increasingly affirming these identities, also resisting the expression of identification with—and loyalty to—other or superordinate identities (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002). Respect versus neglect of (sub)group identities has been found to decrease intergroup bias and increase identification with a larger (superordinate) social group (e.g., Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994; Gomez, Dovidio, Huici, Gaertner & Cuadrado, 2008; Gonzalez & Brown, 2003; Horsey & Hogg, 2000a; Huo, Smith, Tyler, & Lind, 1996; Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, & McKimmie, 2005). Similar evidence for the importance of outgroup attitudes for members of low-status (sub)groups can be found in work on acculturation (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997).

Acknowledgment of identity has been found to be particularly important when individuals are highly identified with their group, when identities are associated with highly visible cues, when feelings of esteem are challenged by stigmatization, and when status differences between the groups are perceived to be illegitimate and impermeable (Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001; Crisp, Walsh, & Hewstone, 2006; Dovidio et al., 2007, 2009; Huo & Molina, 2006; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002; Simon & Brown, 1987; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). All of these factors are present for the current Muslim group. On the other hand, positive effects of multiple identities in education and work are by no means a given. Role-conflict theories and goal-setting theories would lead one to expect difficulties in the combining of multiple roles, leading to lower persistence, ambiguity, and uncertainty (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2010, Peterson et al., 1995; Williams & Alliger, 1994). Moreover, considerable work on superordinate identity highlights the benefits of identifying with a
larger group and minimizing competing identities (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Also, motivational and identity theories might expect that more emphasis on ethnic- or religious identities would lead members of stigmatized groups to focus their efforts on domains in which a positive view of the self and group is more easily achieved, further disidentifying from domains on which their group does not do well (Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, & Crocker, 1998; Osborne, 1995; Tesser, 1988, 2000). We predict, however, that as Muslim identity is often central, salient, and highly visible for young Muslim women, failure to make room for, acknowledge, and value domains of importance to young Muslim women will negatively influence their perspective on education and work and their identification with the majority group.

We examined support for this reasoning in two studies. In Study 1, young Muslim women’s perceptions of the value they perceived the majority group to hold for the ingroup domain Islam (Grubben, 2002; Open Society Institute, 2009). Such issues can become major conflicts but can also be dealt with as are other disagreements at work, causing only minor discomfort. Last, we examined whether value by the majority for the ingroup domain Islam increases identification with the majority group among young Muslim women.

**Method**

**Participants**

Young Muslim women in the Netherlands (N = 328, M<sub>age</sub> = 22.4, SD = 5.34) were recruited for an online survey study on Muslim women in education and work through various websites and organizations targeting Muslims, Muslim women, ethnic minorities, and Muslim youth/students. Most wore a headscarf/veil often (M = 6.83, SD = 3.09; 1 = never, 9 = always). The young women came from mostly Moroccan (64%) and Turkish (17%) ethnic backgrounds. The women had representative levels of education (13% lower [vocational] education, 26% middle-vocational education, 26% higher vocational education, 14% university degree). Many of the women were born in the Netherlands (58%), and the rest had spent most of their life there (M = 18 years, SD = 7.63).

**Procedure**

Participants were asked a number of questions about their current situation and their outlook regarding education/work. Although the survey focused on various issues of relevance for Muslim women (e.g., importance of Koran in their lives, motivations for wearing a headscarf), of concern here are variables relevant to value for the ingroup domain Islam and those relevant to education and work. All items were assessed on 9-point scales, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree). For descriptive statistics and correlations, see Table 1.

**Measures**

**Control Variable**

**Personal value for ingroup domain.** This was measured with eight items (e.g., “Islam is an important part of my life”; α = .88).

**STUDY 1**

Young Muslim women were recruited to participate in an online Internet survey. As perceived value for Islam by others in the society could be affected by the value that participants themselves give to this ingroup domain, we controlled for the participants’ personal value for Islam in all analyses. We examined the relationship between perceived value by the majority group for this ingroup domain and young Muslim women’s perspective on education and work. Addressing one of the most commonly reported issues facing Muslim women at work in Europe, we also asked...
Independent Variable

Perceived majority value for ingroup domain. This was measured with three items (e.g., “The native Dutch value my freedom to choose with regard to Islam”; α = .70).

Dependent Variables

Motivation for work/education. This was assessed with six items (e.g., “To what degree do you feel like putting effort into your education/work?”; 1 = not at all, 9 = very much; α = .71). Participants answered the questions with regard to education or work, depending on which they primarily engaged in at that time.

Expected ability to perform well at work. This was assessed with five items (e.g., “How well do you expect to be able to perform in your work in the coming 20 years?”; 1 = very badly, 9 = very well; α = .75).

Dealing with identity related conflicts at school/work. This scale examined how much tension participants perceived the majority to give to the ingroup domain, the more value the young Muslim women perceived the native Dutch to give to the ingroup domain, the higher their motivation for education and work. Similarly, controlling for personal value for the ingroup domain, the more value the young Muslim women perceived the majority to give to the ingroup domain, the better they expected to be able to perform at work in the future (β = .25, p < .001, semipartial r² = .06); the less tension they anticipated experiencing when dealing with disagreements that might arise around the wearing of a headscarf at school/work (β = .10, p = .06, semipartial r² = .01), the higher their identification with the majority group (β = .17, p = .008, semipartial r² = .03) and the less threatened they felt about their work/school situation (β = -.22, p < .001, semipartial r² = .05). Bootstrap analyses for estimating direct and indirect effects (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) confirmed that reductions in threat explained the positive relationships between majority value for the ingroup domain and each of the dependent variables (see Table 2). In each case, results (5,000 samples) indicated with 95% confidence that the indirect effect (i.e., difference between total and direct effects) was significant (full mediation for motivation for

Identification with the majority group. This was assessed with three items (e.g., “I feel a close bond with the native Dutch”; α = .83).

Mediator

Perceived threat. This was assessed with four items (e.g., “When I think of my situation in education/work I feel . . .”; 1 = not threatened at all, 9 = very threatened and 1 = not at ease at all, 9 = at ease [reversed]; α = .87).

Results

The relationship between majority value for the ingroup domain and the dependent variables was assessed using separate hierarchical multiple-regression analyses. As expected, controlling for personal value for the ingroup domain, the value the majority group was perceived to give to the ingroup domain was positively related to motivation for work/education (β = .12, p = .03, semipartial r² = .02). Thus the more value the young Muslim women perceived the native Dutch to give to the ingroup domain, the higher their motivation for education and work. Similarly, controlling for personal value for the ingroup domain, the more value the young Muslim women perceived the majority to give to the ingroup domain, the better they expected to be able to perform at work in the future (β = .25, p < .001, semipartial r² = .06); the less tension they anticipated experiencing when dealing with disagreements that might arise around the wearing of a headscarf at school/work (β = .10, p = .06, semipartial r² = .01), the higher their identification with the majority group (β = .17, p = .008, semipartial r² = .03) and the less threatened they felt about their work/school situation (β = -.22, p < .001, semipartial r² = .05). Bootstrap analyses for estimating direct and indirect effects (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) confirmed that reductions in threat explained the positive relationships between majority value for the ingroup domain and each of the dependent variables (see Table 2). In each case, results (5,000 samples) indicated with 95% confidence that the indirect effect (i.e., difference between total and direct effects) was significant (full mediation for motivation for

TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perceived Majority Value for Ingroup Domain</th>
<th>Personal Value for Ingroup Domain</th>
<th>Motivation for Work/ Education</th>
<th>Expected Ability to Perform Well at Work</th>
<th>Dealing With Identity Related Conflicts at School/Work</th>
<th>Identification With the Majority Group</th>
<th>Perceived Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>7.44</td>
<td>5.57</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>3.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived majority value for ingroup domain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.13*</td>
<td>.17**</td>
<td>.21***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal value for ingroup domain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.35***</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation for work/education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.31***</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.14*</td>
<td>-.30***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected ability to perform well at work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.19**</td>
<td>.14*</td>
<td>.14*</td>
<td>.44***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with identity related conflicts at school/work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.10†</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identification with the majority group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.16*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†p < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.
work/education and dealing with identity related conflicts at school/work; partial mediation for expected ability to perform well at work and identification with the majority group).\(^2\)

**STUDY 2**

Study 1 was correlational, and stronger evidence as to the causal role of value for the ingroup domain will bolster the conclusion that value for the ingroup domain is a positive force in protecting young Muslim women's perspective on education and work. Study 2 thus manipulated value for the ingroup domain by presenting young Muslim women with a description of a (hypothetical) company and asking how it would be to work at this company. The description varied whether the company was portrayed as valuing the religious and cultural domain or as not valuing this domain. We wanted to be sure that if young Muslim women indicate higher interest and motivation when there is high value by others for the ingroup domain it is because of value for the ingroup domain and not because value for the ingroup domain leads the Muslim women to perceive less value (and thus less threat) for the status-relevant work domain on which they have been traditionally outperformed by the majority outgroup. We thus used a 2 (value for status-relevant work domain) \(\times\) 2 (value for ingroup domain) design, making sure to manipulate not only value for the ingroup domain but at the same time whether the company placed high value on the status-relevant work domain on which the women had been traditionally outperformed (Derks et al., 2007b). We again examined perceived threat as the mediator.

**Method**

**Participants**

Young Muslim women (\(N = 122, M_{\text{age}} = 29.5, SD = 7.66\)) were recruited for a study on Muslim women in education and work through various mosques, schools, Islamic organizations, and ethnic-minority organizations. Most wore a headscarf/veil often (\(M = 6.34, SD = 2.62; 1 = \text{never}, 9 = \text{always}\)), and most indicated the role of Islam was considerable in their lives (\(M = 7.34, SD = 2.08; 1 = \text{very small}, 9 = \text{very large}\)). The women all identified as Muslim and came from Moroccan (7%), Turkish (7%), Surinamese (72%), and Pakistani (11%) backgrounds. The women had representative levels of highest education (10% lower [vocational] education, 24% middle-vocational education, 27% higher vocational education, 11% university degree). Thirty-four percent were born in the Netherlands.

**Procedure**

Participants completed a questionnaire that contained the experimental manipulations. At the beginning, a (in reality fictitious) company was introduced. Participants were asked to consider how it would be to work at the company. They were given information about the company from an extensive study (ostensibly) conducted by a research organization. This contained the manipulations of value for the status-relevant work domain and value for the ingroup domain in the company. This was followed by the measures.

**Manipulations**

Participants were told that an external research organization had conducted a large-scale study among ethnic-majority and minority employees of the company,
examining the extent to which working hard and being successful was valued in the company (status-relevant work domain) and the extent to which there was value in the company for religion and culture (ingroup domain). Participants were presented with a summary of the results of the study and with quotes from employees that illustrated the results. These differed by condition (see Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008 for similar methodology). Thus, for example, participants in the high value for the status-relevant/high value for the ingroup domain condition read that the majority of the employees indicated that within the company there is value both for aspects to do with work, such as working hard and pursuing a career, and for the cultural background and religious convictions of the employees. Employees in the low value for the status-relevant work domain/low value for the ingroup domain condition read that the majority of the employees indicated that within the company there is little value for the cultural background and religious convictions of the employees and that working hard and pursuing a career was not valued very much either.

Manipulation Checks

As part of the manipulation checks, the participants were given four statements that described the company. All participants correctly identified the statement describing the company fitting their condition.1

Dependent Variables

All items were assessed on 9-point scales, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree), unless otherwise indicated. Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 3.

Motivation for work. This was assessed with three items (e.g., “If I worked in this company I would show high effort in my work”; \( \alpha = .86 \)).

Expected ability to perform well in the company. This was assessed with four items (e.g., “Do you think you could perform well in this company?”; \( 1 = \text{not well at all}, 9 = \text{very well}; \alpha = .80 \)).

Perceived equality of opportunity in company. This was assessed with two items (e.g., “In this company it is much harder for ethnic/religious minority employees to achieve” [recoded]; \( \alpha = .70 \)).

Results

Effects of Double Versus Single Value

Two-way analyses of variance showed significant interactions between value for the status-relevant work domain and value for the ingroup domain on motivation for work, \( F(1, 118) = 4.80, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04 \); expected ability to perform well in the company, \( F(1, 118) = 6.80, p = .01, \eta^2 = .06 \); perceived equality of opportunity in the company, \( F(1, 118) = 5.37, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04 \); and a marginal interaction on work-related esteem, \( F(1, 118) = 3.32, p = .07, \eta^2 = .03 \). As expected, in each case the simple main effect under high value for the status-relevant work domain comparing high and low value for the ingroup domain was significant (\( p_s = .001, .001, .001, .02 \), respectively), whereas the simple main effect under low value for the status-relevant work domain was not. As shown in Figures 1 to 4, participants evidenced higher motivation for work, expected to

![Figure 1](https://example.com/figure1.png)
for the status-relevant work domain was also significant but smaller, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$). Participants under double-value perceived lower threat than participants under single-value (Figure 5).

**Mediation Through Threat**

Mediated-moderation analyses confirmed that reductions in perceived threat explained the interaction of value for the status-relevant domain with value for the ingroup domain on the dependent variables. First, separate regressions confirmed that threat predicted the dependent variables, $\beta = -0.41$, $t(122) = -4.99$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .17$; $\beta = -0.69$, $t(122) = -10.54$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .48$; $\beta = -0.41$, $t(122) = -4.85$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .16$; $\beta = -0.39$, $t(122) = -4.66$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .15$, respectively. We then used Hayes’s (2012) PROCESS-macro, regressing the predictor variables, their interaction term, and threat on the dependent variables. As expected, in each of the analyses, when threat was added to the model predicting the dependent variable, the interaction no longer predicted the dependent variable, but threat remained a significant predictor (see Table 4). Hayes’s bootstrapping macro with 5,000 iterations for testing the conditional indirect effect confirmed that in each case the 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect of the interaction term through the mediator on the dependent variable (controlling for main effects of independent variables) did not include zero, thus establishing mediated moderation.

**GENERAL DISCUSSION**

Two studies illustrated how valuing the identity of Muslim women affects variables of importance to integration in education, work, and the larger society. Specifically, Study 1 showed that young Muslim women who perceive that members of the majority group value domains of importance to their group showed a more positive perspective on education and work and higher identification with the majority group. An experimental
indirect manipulation of value for ingroup domains (Study 2) led young Muslim women to show a more positive perspective toward work when not only the work domain but ingroup domains were valued as well. Mediation analyses showed that the effects were explained by reductions in perceived threat. Whereas Study 1 consisted of a correlational study, leaving possible questions as to causation, Study 2 involved the actual manipulation of value for the ingroup domain. Also, we made sure to examine value for the ingroup domain in the context of value for the status-relevant work domain, ruling out a potential trading off between value for ingroup domains and the status-relevant work domain as a possible explanation. The results show how respecting identity domains that are central and salient for members of religious/ethnic-minority groups maintains interest and motivation in education and work and identification with the majority group. Rather than hampering integration into the larger society, the results show that value for ingroup domains of importance to these groups function as a positive source that can lower threat and increase outcomes on domains of concern to society at large.

We believe this work is important. The studies were conducted among Muslim women, a group that is difficult to reach and difficult to mobilize to take part in research studies. Although there is much discussion about this group, very little actual research has been done among this group. We believe that similar results are likely for young Muslim men and for other (cultural, religious, or other) groups for whom identities are central and who face considerable societal pressure to forgo their identities. The results are consistent with work on identity respect (e.g., Barreto & Ellemers, 2002, 2003; Huo & Molina, 2006) and on the effectiveness of dual (vs. single) identities (e.g., Binning, Unzueta, Huo, & Molina, 2009; Crisp, 2006; Eggins, Haslam, & Reynolds, 2002; Feliciano, 2001; Gonzalez & Brown, 2006; Hewstone, 1996; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000b) in encouraging positive intergroup attitudes and higher well-being. The results are also consistent with work showing that a multicultural perspective may be beneficial for intergroup attitudes and relations between groups (Luijters, Van der Zee, & Otten, 2008; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Verkuyten, 2006; Wolsko et al., 2000). In our work, in contrast, we have focused on important societal outcome domains such as education and work, domains that not only are significant for the economy at large but, crucially, play an important role in improving the actual status of the minority groups themselves (see Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). The results emphasize the important role played by others in the context in affecting key outcomes and performance: Acknowledging and valuing domains of importance to members of ethnic/religious minority groups affects their motivation for education, work, and identification with the majority group. As such, value in one domain by one group has effects on other quite distant domains valued by another (see also Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011).

Although the current studies focused on young Muslim women, we expect the processes identified to be found more generally in traditionally underrepresented groups pursuing upward mobility: how to negotiate pressures from the ingroup and outgroup while pursuing work and education in settings in which one’s group faces low expectations, potential prejudice, and discrimination. The current work suggests that these groups too will benefit in terms of attitudes toward work and education and increased identification with the high-status and majority outgroup. Work in other areas is coming to similar conclusions as to the importance of contextual value in motivation and achievement (see, e.g., Byrd & Chavous, 2011; Chavous et al., 2003; Rivas-Drake, 2011). Also the work fits well with other work exploring the

## TABLE 4

Mediated-Moderation Analyses per Dependent Variable (Study 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DV (Once Mediator Taken into Account)</th>
<th>Effect of Threat on DV in Mediated-Mediation Model</th>
<th>Indirect Effect of Interaction on DV Through Mediator [95% CI]$^a$</th>
<th>Direct Effect of Interaction on DV $^b$</th>
<th>$^2$ for Mediated-Mediation Model</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motivation for work</td>
<td>$b = .41^{***}$</td>
<td>$.48^{*} [.091, .1147]$</td>
<td>$b = .68$, ns</td>
<td>$.44^{****}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected ability to perform well in the company</td>
<td>$b = .52^{***}$</td>
<td>$.71^{*} [.229, .1234]$</td>
<td>$b = .33$, ns</td>
<td>$.71^{****}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived equality of opportunity in company</td>
<td>$b = .71^{***}$</td>
<td>$.40^{*} [.107, .838]$</td>
<td>$b = .52^{****}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-related esteem</td>
<td>$b = .44^{***}$</td>
<td>$.46^{*} [.146, 1.000]$</td>
<td>$b = .30$, ns</td>
<td>$.51^{****}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Indirect effects were tested with a 95% confidence interval (CI).

$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$, ****$p < .0001$.}

$^a$Indirect effects were tested with a 95% confidence interval (CI).

$^b$Indirect effects were tested with a 95% confidence interval (CI).
benefits of identity affirmation, identity respect, and public regard for well-being in minority groups—from our perspective, all similar concepts that focus on valuing identity and identity domains (see, e.g., Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Huo & Molina, 2006; Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2010).

Our work suggests that policymakers and organizations interested in improving the position of minority groups would benefit from examining what messages are currently being given about value for ingroup domains of importance to these individuals. Research in social psychology is increasingly showing the significance of subtle contextual messages for members of minority groups (e.g., Cheryan, Plaut, Davies, & Steele, 2009; Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005; Murphy, Steele, & Gross, 2007; Pronin, Steele, & Ross, 2004; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). When these messages (implicitly) communicate rejection, low value, or disinterest, members of minority groups are likely to respond with caution, choosing not to engage, or to leave the setting altogether. Future work is likely to increasingly concentrate on the negotiation of identity as majority and minority groups come together and interact, with both parties bringing various needs and goals to the table, goals that are not always immediately consistent with one another. In our work we are thus increasingly concentrating on this negotiation (see, e.g., Van Laar, Bleeker, & Ellemers, 2012a, 2012b). Similar perspectives are being taken by others (see, e.g., Dovidio et al., 2007; Huo & Molina, 2006). This focus on the negotiation of identity in contact between the stigmatized and others was already there in the early work by Goffman but is only recently becoming empirically examined in the field, which has traditionally taken either the perspective of the majority-nonstigmatized group or more recently the target’s perspective (cf. Shelton, 2000). One of the major challenges is in combining the target and perpetrator perspectives to come to effective solutions for real-world social conflict, solutions that work for both groups. We believe our work takes us a step in that direction, showing how value for identity domains of importance to minority groups positively affects outcomes on precisely those domains of concern to society at large: education, work, and connections with the larger society.

As cultural diversity is inevitable in most modern societies, it is only by understanding the role of identities that we can develop effective solutions to conflicts that may arise. Increased understanding among policymakers, organizational leaders, and individuals of majority groups as to the benefits of considering identity for the motivation of ethnic/religious minority groups offers hope and scope toward greater integration and greater contribution of minority groups in Western societies.

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