ENHANCEMENT IN-GROUP COHESIVENESS – NEW ASPECT IN THE TAXONOMY OF IDENTITY MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES (THE CASE OF PEOPLE LIVING IN POVERTY)

Nazi Pharsadanishvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (Georgia)

Anastasia Kitiashvili

Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (Georgia)

Abstract

The main aim of the current study is to present the negative social identity management strategies used by the poor group of people living in Georgia. The qualitative and quantitative research was conducted with the participation of socially vulnerable citizens in order to explore the social identity theory in the targeted group. As a result of the research, the negative social identity management strategies, such as social creativity, individual/social mobility and enhancement in-group cohesiveness were identified. There was also adapted the scale of measuring negative social identity management strategies, which is related to Social Vulnerability Status. A novelty of the study is considering the enhancement in-group cohesiveness as a negative social identity management strategy. The study gives interesting potential to other researchers to continue studying new taxonomy of negative social identity management strategies withing other vulnerable groups. In addition, our findings help us understand identity management strategies better, revealing important insights for efforts to reduce poverty and support community development.

Key words: *In-group cohesiveness, Negative social identity management strategies, Poverty*.

Introduction

In general, when analyzing poverty, less emphasis is put on its social and psychological dimensions, as they are difficult to measure. However, studying poor peoples' identity and their behavioral strategies is crucial for creating the relevant policy about strengthening their capabilities in the process of combating poverty.

In Georgia, the group of poor obviously includes the people registered in the unified database of socially vulnerable families, who receive some financial assistance as the social assistance in the form of subsistence allowance. This group is called as socially vulnerable. Based on the application made by the family to the Social Services Agency, the social agent visits the place of residence and fills in the "Family Declaration". After processing the information reflected in the latter, the family will be awarded a rating score, which determines how much will be the monthly amount of money that the family will get as the social assistance.

While identity management strategies have been extensively studied in various settings, the unique challenges faced by vulnerable groups like individuals living in poverty warrant a focused investigation. It should also be mentioned that the poverty coping mechanisms are directly connected with the types of negative social identity management strategies used by the people living the poverty.

Thus, the aim of the current study is to investigate the social identity and negative social identity management strategies of people living in poverty in Georgia. Specifically, the study has the following objectives: 1. Identifying the dimensions related to negative social identity management strategies in the population with socially vulnerable status; 2. Creating the research instrument for negative social identity management strategies related to the status of the social vulnerability (defining the items necessary to develop the research instrument for negative social identity management strategies).

Conceptual Framework

Poverty is stigmatizing condition. The additional "burden" for people with low socio-economic status is knowing that society is stigmatizing them because of their own financial situation (Lott, 2002).

Moreover, stigma has serious negative effects on the selves of stigmatized. In describing self-stigma, the authors rely on the types of stigma highlighted by Herek and point out that stigma can affect self in three ways: 1) enacted stigma, which implies a negative attitude towards a stigmatized person; 2) felt stigma – realization of stigmatization experience by the stigmatized person and expectations for stigmatization in the future; 3) internalized stigma - acceptance of negative attitudes expressed by society, turning them into part of their own self/identity and giving them personal value, accompanied by a decrease in self-esteem and psychological distress (Herek, 2007; 2009).

In the presence of group stigma, when a stigma relates to membership in a particular group and speaks to the transition between actual and virtual identity, the latter is related to the social identity derived from group membership. The citizens with low socio-economic status are united in one level and represent a separate group of society - the category of socially vulnerable population.

In the theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1978), social identity is considered in close connection with membership in any particular group. According to social identity theory, the group plays the crucial role in the formation of a person's self, in the process of his or her self-determination. According to social identity theory, membership in a specific social group is accompanied by the positive or negative content connotations. Therefore, the social identity can also be positive or negative depending on how the referent social group is evaluated. In the theory of social identity, the large part is also devoted to the analysis of how they deal with the damage associated with the formation of a negative social identity (low self-esteem, self-oppression, etc.). There are basically three types of strategies: 1) social/individual mobility; 2) social creativity; 3) social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The social/individual mobility means being separated (identified) from a low-status group and leaving it (at least, reducing identification with it). It is a strategy that operates entirely on a personal level, aiming to increase individual, not group, well-being. In contrast, the social competition is a collective/group strategy that involves the direct competition with an out-group to enhance one's own group status (Turner & Brown 1978; Tajfel 1978). The goal of this strategy is to achieve the positive social identity and is used by group members when the level of identification with the group is high. As for the strategy of social creativity, it involves changes of the context of social comparison. At this point, the sense of positive social identity is achieved without a real change in social group status. This strategy includes a wide range of reactions, some of which are highly individualistic, while others are aimed at improving group identity.

For analyzing the negative social identity management strategies in the context of poverty, the research conducted in Turkey by Serap Akfirat, Filiz Comez Polat and Unsal Yetim (2016) is very interesting. The population living below the poverty line participated in the research. In this research all of the strategies identified by Tajfel and Turner (1979) were also demonstrated in the case of poor people living in Turkey. According to the research, the participants tended to move to higher status groups when the existing social structure was unstable and the boundaries of another group were perceived as transcendent/penetrating.

The research participating the East Germans after the German unification is also interesting to be mentioned. There were tested the predictions by social identity theory and relative deprivation theory concerning preferences for strategies to cope with a negative in-group status position. The study revealed that the relative deprivation theory components explained the collective responses, whereas social identity theory constructs were related to individual strategies (Mummendey et al., 1999).

In the research of children with socially vulnerable status in Georgia and in their narratives, there is revealed the social identity laden with sharply demarcated negative content related to the "poor". To escape from living in poverty, most children named active, individual/social mobility behavioral strategies (e.g., a lot of work, having a job) (Kitiashvili & Pharsadanishvili, 2018).

As Verkuyten and Reijerse (2008) discuss in their article socio-structural variables influence on the identity management strategies that people adopt. So, the importance of studying social identity theory separately in specific groups and countries is important for making proper conclusions.

Research Methodology

Current study presents one the parts of the results of the PhD research project of one of the authors. At the beginning, the qualitative study was conducted. This approach considered to be reasonable to investigate the content of social identity and types of negative social identity management strategies demonstrated by the citizens with socially vulnerable status living in Georgia. In addition, the rich material obtained from in-depth interviews would form the basis for the items needed to construct the scale.

The second part of the research was quantitative and aimed developing the scale measuring negative social identity management strategies of people living in poverty.

Research Participants: 17 in-depth interviews were conducted through a pre-prepared semi-structured interview guide. All respondents were registered in the "Unified Database of Socially Vulnerable Families". Due to the fact that potential respondents belonged to a special category which was not easily accessible, it was decided to use non-probability sampling techniques: convenience sampling and snowball sampling. All ethical principles were followed. After that thematic analysis was done. The transcripts were also given to an independent expert for decoding. To evaluate the consistency between the evaluators, the kappa coefficient was calculated among 182 coded phrases in SPSS 21, kappa = .74, p <.05.

263 respondents with socially vulnerable status (female - 184, male - 79; age - M = 44.4, SD = 16.5, Min = 17, Max = 85) participated in the quantitative part of the research. 251 of them are Georgians, 8 - Armenians, 3 - Russians, and 1 - of other nationalities. Non-random sampling methods were used as the target group of the research belonged to the vulnerable group of society. All respondents were registered in the "Unified Database of Socially Vulnerable Families" because of living in poverty. The average annual duration of socially vulnerable status for respondents was 5.4, SD = 4.6 (Min = 1, Max = 20), the average monthly duration (those who have status for only a few months) - 4.6, SD = 2.6, (Min = 1, Max = 9). The residence area, educational status and economic situation of the respondents are presented in the tables №1, №2 and №3 (Pharsadanishvili & Kitiashvili, 2023).

Table №1. The distribution of respondents according to the areas of residence

Cities	Percent of the sample (%)
Tbilisi	44.5
Telavi	20.2
Zugdidi	6.5
Ozurgeti	6.1
Kutaisi	1.5
Gori	.8
Other areas	20.5

Table №2. Educational Status of the respondents

Educational Status	Percent of the sample (%)
Full general education	41.1
Vocational education	27
Higher education	12.9
Basic education	10.3
Incomplete higher education	6.5

Table № 3. Economic situation of the respondents - frequency distribution

Economic situation	Percent of the sample (%)
We don't have enough money for food	41.2
We have enough money for food, but not for the clothes	37.4
We have enough money for food and clothes, but not for the expensive things such as fridge or washing machine	20.2
We can afford to buy expensive things such as fridge or washing machines	.4
We can afford to buy everything we need	.8

Procedure: Significant difficult was to find contact information about research respondents. To fill out the questionnaires, we mostly went to free canteens, where only citizens with socially vulnerable status go to get food every day. Although the beneficiaries of free canteens were only people living below the poverty line, we were also asking them if they really had the status of socially vulnerable to be sure they were eligible for the study. 67 respondents refused participating in the study; the reasons of refusal were connected with undesirability of reading long questionnaire without getting direct benefit from it. All ethical principles were followed. The purpose and benefits of the research were explained to the participants; written and verbal consent was also obtained from all of them. Anonymity was guaranteed

Research Instruments: The questionnaire consisted of instructions followed by a demographic block and then the measuring instruments. There were 14 questions in demographic block measuring respondents' sex, age, residence, nationality, education, marital status, number of family members, income, economic situation, duration of socially vulnerable status, employment status. After that the respondents were filling different scales including the scale of Negative Social Identity Management Strategy.

Data processing: Quantitative data processing program SPSS 21 was used to perform the procedures required for the statistical analysis of the research. The confirmatory factor analysis was performed using programs - lavaan: R program for structural equation modeling (Rosseel, 2012) and IBM SPSS Amos 19.

Results

Social identity of people living in poverty (qualitative study results)

As a result of the analysis of the interviews, there was found that the population living in Georgia, with socially vulnerable status, perceives that there is a stigma towards them in the society. In the context of the internalized stigma, it was clearly revealed that the stigmatizing experiences were integrated as the part of their identity. They were mentioning about the feeling of shame, damaged self-esteem and falling into a "low level" of oneself. As shown by transcript analysis, the respondents with social vulnerability status might experience negative treatment and humiliation. On the other hand, in the case of internalization, they regard the above experiences as shameful for themselves. They believe that their self-respect is hurt and that they have "fallen low" ("*You know what I have noticed? That I am already down there and it hurts. I feel that I have slid not only one step, but several steps down*", 57-year-old woman).

Negative Social Identity Management Strategies

Description of the Qualitative Research

With the approach of deductive thematic analysis, the transcript analysis revealed the following two negative social identity management strategies from Tajfel and Turner's theory (1978): social creativity and social/individual mobility. In addition, as a result of the transcript analysis, the inductive thematic analysis revealed another strategy, which we called the enhancement in-group cohesiveness.

Social Creativity Strategies: As a result of the analysis of the interviews, social creativity strategies combine the topics such as: reducing the importance of a low-status attribute (having less money, having a socially vulnerable status), giving priority to other, more positive characteristics, promoting them (e.g. „*Do you know how it is ?! This status has never been uncomfortable for me. Because money has never been important to me, not even in friendship, not in any relationship*" female, 19 years old); the in-group social comparison; out-group descending social comparison; attribution of low status to external factors.

Social/individual Mobility Strategy: The part of the respondents mentioned that they preferred to have the socially vulnerable status, even if they have the low-income job and enough resources. Some of them actively try to improve their education, find different types of jobs, and thus, improve their socio-economic status (e.g., „*When you are socially vulnerable, you should have some plan, for example, I am getting the scholarship. You should not sit at home, nobody comes to you for suggesting any job",* male, 20 years old).

Enhancement In-group Cohesiveness Strategy - We combined the content presented by the respondents about strong cohesiveness to people with socially vulnerable status, enhanced contacts and material or social support for each other (e.g., "*We do not want rich people, we cannot understand them*", female,37 years old). We think that this behavioral strategy can be considered as an effective negative social identity management strategy, because by combining together and helping each other, citizens with socially vulnerable status try to cope with life difficulties connected to their status, create an acceptable social support network and avoid stigmatization source.

The Results of the Scale Development (Scale Expert Evaluation, and Psychometric Analysis)

2 of the 30 items formulated based on the content of the in-depth interview analysis were removed from the scale as a result of expert evaluation. 28 item scale participated in the pilot research.

The principal components analysis (PCA) was performed. Initially, the compliance of the data was checked. The correlation table showed that the correlation coefficient between the components was low (.257). In this case, we should not expect the significant differences in the results between the Varimax and Oblimin rotation methods, so we used Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) = .77, which is higher than the recommended value of 0.6 (Pallant, 2013). Bartlett's test

of sphericity is statistically significant, p <.05, which confirms the appropriateness of dividing data into factors. To make conclusions about the number of factors, we relied on the Kaiser's criterion (eigenvalues is above 1), the scree plot graph, and the parallel analysis (MonteCarlo PA). Therefore, there was decided to make separation of three components.

The three identified factors explained 35.47% of the variability (18.4%, 10.5%, 6.5%). After removing certain items, this figure has increased and reached 44.6% (21.3%, 14.1%, 9.1%). After the items were analyzed, 11 items were removed from the scale. 11 items were removed from the scale as a result of analyzing the substantive relevance of the item with regard to the cross loading, low factor loadings and also the content relevance of the item to the dimension of the strategy was taken into account (items removed are:1, 2, 4, 5, 6,11,12,14, 15, 17, 23). As a result, fifteen items remained on the scale. From these, 4 items relate to the social/individual 28 mobility factor, 5 items relate to the enhancement in-group cohesiveness factor, and 6 items relate to the social creativity strategy.

Table №4. Scale of Negative Social Identity Management Strategies Related to Socially Vulnerable Status: Principal Component Analysis (PCA) (1 - Creativity, 2 – In-Group Cohesiveness, 3 - Individual Mobility; the main loads on the factor are indicated in bold. The items are abbreviated).

Items	Pattern coefficients			Structure coefficients			Com	M (SD)
	1	2	3	1	2	3		
q18_25. Nothing is bad in holding the status of socially vulnureble.	**.797**	.065	-.189	**.750**	.158	.038	.601	5.38 (2.08)
q18_21. I don't see anything negative i holding the status of status of socially vulnurebile.	**.682**	.024	-.039	**.674**	.105	.156	.456	5.34 (2.11)
q18_3. We are poor, but warm, than ric people are.	**.639**	.254	-.114	**.637**	.330	.069	.483	5.00 (2.16)
q18_9. The important thing is honesty, not the status.	**.596**	-.067	.166	**.636**	.003	.336	.434	6.13 (1.57)
q18_27. Understanding with one anoth more important in the social relationshi than money.	**.549**	-.054	.220	**.605**	.111	.377	.414	5.57 (1.90)
q18_7. Money is not important for soci relationships.	**.510**	-.220	.178	**.535**	-.159	.323	.365	4.67 (2.29)
q18_26. I prefer to have relationships v the same people .	.140	**.790**	-.161	.187	**.806**	-.119	.682	3.73 (2.34)
q18_22. I would rather to have contact socially vulnerable people.	-.093	**.722**	-.102	-.031	**.760**	-.128	.603	3.79 (2.25)
q18_13. We, as socially vulnerebale people, are trying not to have any contact with rich people.	-.066	**.597**	.009	.066	**.589**	-.009	.351	3.28 (2.22)
q18_28. Socially vulnerable people are escaping themselves with helping one another.	.067	**.577**	.239	.203	**.585**	.259	.413	4.59 (2.19)
q18_20. We, as socially vulnerebale people, are very different from rich people.	.047	**.560**	.162	.159	**.566**	.177	.353	4.71 (2.20)
q18_24. I am trying to work hard.	-.055	.074	**.748**	.167	.069	**.733**	.544	4.99 (2.12)
q18_10. I am trying to have my own income. \	.048	.029	**.714**	.255	.036	**.727**	.532	5.55 (1.93)
q18_19. I am trying my children to study well.	-.033	-.044	**.728**	.170	-.047	**.718**	.519	5.58 (2.01)

| **q18_18.** We, as socially vulnerebale people, can improve our economic situation with the help of active actions. | .105 | .062 | **.640** | .295 | .075 | **.670** | .46 4 | 4.47 (2.19) |

The confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using the IBM SPSS Amos 19 program to empirically examine the factor structure of the negative social identity management strategies model. The model fit is initially evaluated according to the chi-squared statistical criterion. According to the data, χ^2 (87) = 274.9, p = .000. The examination of the alternative indices revealed that the fit value between the hypothetical and observational models was not good (GFI = .877; CFI = .764; TLI = .715; RMSEA = .09). At this time, it is advisable to check the data of the modification indices, however, so far it is important to make sure that the logic underlying the model is correct. Although we have studied the advisability of dividing the existing factors during the qualitative research and principal component analysis (PCA), we still began to wonder whether there was an error in the theoretical reasoning behind the separation strategy model, which is related to average value of fit model. The only possible option was to divide the factors into broader groups - individual and group level factors. We have left the constituent items of individual mobility as a strategy at the individual level. We have combined the 26th, 20th, 22nd, 28th, 13th and 3rd items in the group strategy. After conducting the confirmatory factor analysis, we obtained lower values for this two-factor model (CFI = .724; TLI = .656; RMSEA = .115).

Therefore, we considered it reasonable to check the data of the three-factor model modification index. We have seen alternatives to covariates between observations and latent variables. Covariation was performed on two scales – between the errors in the social creativity scale e1 –e2 (equivalent to items 25-21) and e3-e6 (equivalent to items 3-27), and the error in the in-group cohesiveness scale e7 –e8 (equivalent to items 26-20). As a result, we have obtained better fit values. χ^2 (84) = 221.4, p = .000; GFI = .901; CFI = .827; TLI = .784; RMSEA = .07.

Figure № 1. A three-factor model of negative social identity strategies related to socially vulnerable status
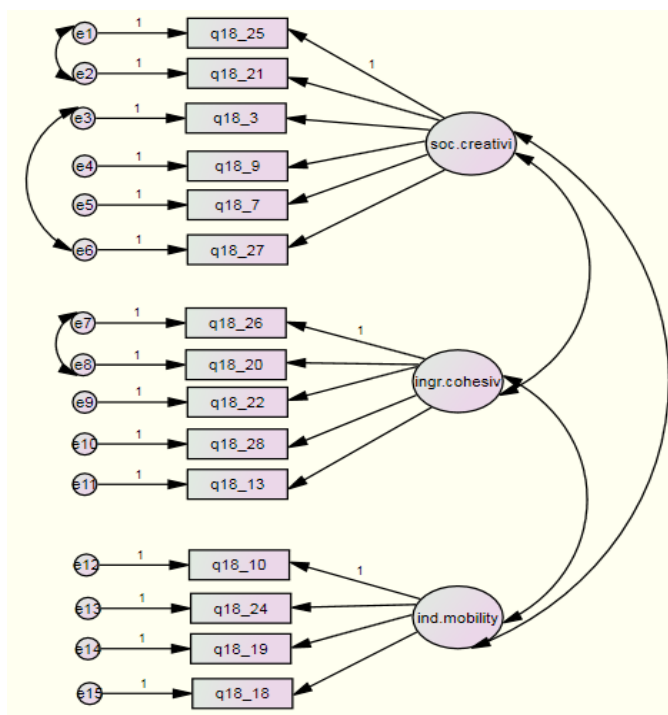
The overall scale's Cronbach's alpha is .72 (15 items) (M = 4.89, SD = .9), which is acceptable indicator.

Table № 5. Internal consistency, mean and standard deviation of the factors of negative social identity management strategies related to the socially vulnerable status.

Factors	Number of Items	Cronbach's alpha	M (SD)	Skewness	Kurtosis
Social Creativity	6	.70	5.3 (1.2)	-.83	.35
In-group cohesiveness	5	.68	4.04 (1.5)	-.05	-.85
Social/Individual mobility	4	.68	5.1 (1.4)	-.74	-.14

Table N6. Correlations between negative social identity strategies/factors related to socially vulnerable status

	Social Creativity	In-group cohesiveness	Social/Individual mobility
Social Creativity In-group cohesiveness	.143*		
Social/Individual Mobility	343**		
** p ≤ .01; * p ≤. .05			

Discussion

In the socially vulnerable group, there are three main strategies used to deal with negative feelings arising from the formation of negative self-image. These include individual/social mobility, social creativity, and enhancement in-group cohesiveness.

In the original theory of Tajfel and Turner (1979), enhancement in-group cohesiveness as a strategy for managing negative emotions stemming from a negative social identity is not discussed separately. It is logical for low-status stigmatized groups to enhance the in-group cohesiveness as a separate strategy, because by bonding together and strengthening contacts with each other, they meet the need for social contact without interacting with the out-group that burdens them with stigmatizing experiences. As discussed above, the internalized stigma is accompanied by a fear of impending stigmatization and even avoidance of contact. Consequently, socially vulnerable citizens, during the process of stigma perception, try in every way to resort to self-defense mechanisms, one of which is to reduce contacts with the out-group at the expense of enhancement in-group cohesiveness.

The researches on the use of strategy of in-group cohesiveness by stigmatized group has not been conducted yet. In this regard, the research on overcoming the stigma of women involved in prostitution with HIV is noteworthy, where the enhancement in-group cohesiveness is considered in response to stigma (Carrasco, Nguyen, Barrington, Perez, Donastorg & Kerrigan, 2016).

It should be noted that all three strategies are used quite intensively by socially vulnerable citizens. This result is not uncommon, as existing theoretical concepts and researches on negative social identity management strategies also state that the different strategies can be used simultaneously, regardless of whether they are individual or group (Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish & Hodge, 1996). However, it is important to recall Taylor and McKiernan's (1984) five-step model of intergroup relationships, according to which people first resort to social mobility strategies, and when attempts to move to a high-status group become unsuccessful and impossible, engage in other group-level strategies (Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish & Hodge, 1996).

It should be noted that the social competition strategy outlined in Tajfel and Turner's original theory (1982) did not manifest itself in the Georgian context at all. This is absolutely logical because the current social and political context no longer implies the so-called the "working class" movements and the attempts of revolutions for social change. Therefore, the classification given in the theory needs to be revised to take into account the specific study group and the socio-political context.

Niens & Cairns (2003) also argue in their article that focusing on identity management strategies to cope with social change, social identity theory is often reviewed. However, this theory has some limitations and more future studies should be conducted to explore the theory deeply.

Conclusions

In the socio-psychological researches conducted in Georgia, negative social identity management strategies have not been studied so far. By elucidating the mechanisms through which individuals navigate their social identities within their communities, this study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of poverty dynamics and informs the development of targeted interventions aimed at strengthening social cohesion. In this regard, the significant results have been obtained not only locally in Georgia but also internationally. In particular, we mean the distinction of the in-group cohesiveness strategy and the attempt to incorporate it into the taxonomy of negative social identity management strategies. It is true that the best results were not obtained as a result of empirical examination of the factor structure of this model, but the indicators are acceptable. This forms the basis for further research in this direction and for exploring the feasibility of adding in-group cohesiveness as a strategy. One of the limitations of the paper is also related to the fact that it was possible to conduct research on larger selection of socially vulnerable people.

References

1.   Akfirat, S., Polat, F. Ç., & Yetim, U. (2016). How the Poor Deal with Their Own Poverty: A Social Psychological Analysis from the Social Identity Perspective. *Social Indicators Research*, *127*(1), 413–433. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-015-0953-2

2.   Bond, V. (2006). Stigma When There Is No Other Option: Understanding How Poverty Fuels Discrimination toward People Living with HIV in Zambia. In *AIDS, Poverty, and Hunger: Challenges and Responses* (p. 181). International Food Policy Research Institute. https://doi.org/10.2499/0896297586CH10

3.   Bos, A. E. R., Pryor, J. B., Reeder, G. D., & Stutterheim, S. E. (2013). Stigma: Advances in Theory and Research. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *35*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2012.746147

4.   Branscombe, N. R. , & Ellemers, N. (1998). Coping with group-based discrimination: Individualistic versus group-level strategies. In J. K. Swim & C. Stangor (Eds.), Prejudice: The target's perspective (pp. 243-266). New York: Academic Press.

5.   Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006a). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

6.   Brown, B. A. (2005). The incorporation of poverty into adult identity over time: Implications for adult education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *24*(5), 393–404. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370500169731

7.   Carrasco, M.A., Barrington, C., Kennedy, C., Perez, M., Donastorg, Y., & Kerrigan, D. (2016). "We talk, we do not have shame:" Addressing stigma by reconstructing identity through enhancing social cohesion among female sex workers living with HIV in the Dominican Republic. Cult Health Sex, 19(5), 543–556. doi: 10.1080/13691058.2016.1242779

8.   Cohen, G. L., & Garcia, J. (2005). "I Am Us": Negative Stereotypes as Collective Threats. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *89*(4), 566–582. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.4.566

9.   Dalton, A. N., & Huang, L. (2014). Motivated Forgetting in Response to Social Identity Threat. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *40*(6), 1017–1038. https://doi.org/10.1086/674198

10.   Herek, G.M., Gillis, J.R & Cogan, J.C (2009). Internalized Stigma Among Sexual Minority Adults: Insights From a Social Psychological Perspective. *Journal of Counseling Psychology,* 56(1), 32-43. DOI: 10.1037/a0014672

11.   Howard, J. A. (2000). Social Psychology of Identities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *26*(1), 367–393. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.367

12.   Jackson, L. A., Sullivan, L. A., Harnish, R., & Hodge, C. N. (1996). Achieving positive social identity: Social mobility, social creativity, and permeability of group boundaries. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(2), 241–254. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.2.241

13.   Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J. W., & Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *95*(1), 144–165. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.144

14.   Lott, B. (2002). Cognitive and behavioral distancing from the poor. *American Psychologist, 57*(2), 100–110. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.57.2.100

15.   Mathews, A. (2015). NEGOTIATING MULTIPLE STIGMATIZED IDENTITIES: EXAMINING THE STRATEGIES BLACK GAY MEN USE TO REDUCE IDENTITY CONFLICT. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Graduate School. https://doi.org/10.17615/fney-8176

16.   Mummendey, A., Kessler, T., Klink, A., & Mielke, R. (1999). Strategies to Cope With Negative Social Identity: Predictions by Social Identity Theory and Relative Deprivation Theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 76 (2)*, 229-245.

17.   Niens, U., & Cairns, E. (2003). Explaining Social Change and Identity Management Strategies: New Directions for Future Research. *Theory & Psychology*, 13(4), 489-509. https://doi.org/10.1177/09593543030134003

18.   Tajfel, H. (1982). Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *33*(1), 1–39. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.33.020182.000245

19.   Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In J. T. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.), *Key readings in social psychology. Political psychology: Key readings* (p. 276–293). Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203505984-16

20.   Vaismoradi, M., Jones, J., Turunen, H., & Snelgrove, S. (2016). Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. *Journal of Nursing Education and Practice*, *6*(5), p100. https://doi.org/10.5430/jnep.v6n5p100

21.   Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H., & Bondas, T. (2013). Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study: Qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing & Health Sciences*, *15*(3), 398–405. https://doi.org/10.1111/nhs.12048

22.   Pharsadanishvili, N. & Kitiashvili, A. (2018). "I am poor" – The experiences of children living in Poverty in Georgia. *GESJ:Education Sciences and Psychology* . No.1(47), 37-47.

23.   Pharsadanishvili, N., & Kitiashvili, A. (2023). The influence of Negative Social Identity Management Strategies and Self-esteem on Perceived Stigma of Poverty. *Trends in Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s43076-023-00340-5