



## Acting in solidarity: Testing an extended dual pathway model of collective action by bystander group members

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We examined predictors of collective action among bystander group members in solidarity with a disadvantaged group by extending the dual pathway model of collective action, which proposes one efficacy-based and one emotion-based path to collective action (Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Based on two proposed functions of social identity performance (Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007), we distinguished between the efficacy of collective action at consolidating the identity of a protest movement and its efficacy at achieving social change (political efficacy). We expected identity consolidation efficacy to positively predict collective action tendencies directly and indirectly via political efficacy. We also expected collective action tendencies to be positively predicted by moral outrage and by sympathy in response to disadvantaged outgroup's suffering. These hypotheses were supported in two surveys examining intentions to protest for Palestine in Britain (Study 1), and intentions to attend the June 4th vigil in Hong Kong to commemorate the Tiananmen massacre among a sample of Hong Kong citizens (Study 2). The contributions of these findings to research on the dual pathway model of collective action and the different functions of collective action are discussed.

Rebellions often have to rely on support by international non-state actors to sustain them (Byman, Chalk, Hoffman, Rosenau, & Brannan, 2001; Sharp, 2005). The international anti-apartheid movement exemplifies how bystander groups can influence the plight of a disadvantaged group through taking collective action in solidarity with them. After decades of research into what drives disadvantaged group members to fight advantaged outgroups (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), social psychologists have recently begun examining the antecedents of collective action *in solidarity with* disadvantaged groups, hereafter referred to as *solidarity-based collective action*. Though research has prioritized solidarity-based collective action by *advantaged* group members (e.g., Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002; see Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009), there is increasing interest in collective action by *bystander* groups (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Stewart *et al.*, 2014; Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008), who are neither the direct perpetrators of group-based injustices, nor the direct targets. Nevertheless, empirical data on this topic are

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relatively scarce. The present research addresses this gap, drawing on the dual pathway model of collective action (Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) to examine predictors of solidarity-based collective action among bystander groups.

### **The dual pathway model of collective action**

A long line of research views participation in collective action as resulting from people's belief in the efficacy of collective action at redressing perceived injustices (Gamson, 1992; Klandermans, 1997). In an important meta-analysis, Van Zomeren, Postmes, *et al.* (2008) operationalized efficacy as *group efficacy*—the belief that one's group is capable of collectively solving a problem facing the group (Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999)—or as the efficacy of collective action at resolving perceived grievances, and found it to be a positive and unique predictor of non-violent collective action (cf., Tausch *et al.*, 2011).

The perceived injustice or illegitimacy of the social order is also considered an essential antecedent of collective action in social psychological theories of collective action, such as social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and relative deprivation theory (e.g., Runciman, 1966; see Walker & Smith, 2002, for a review). But research shows emotional responses to perceived injustice, particularly anger, as more proximal predictors of collective action (see reviews by Van Zomeren, Postmes, *et al.*, 2008; Walker & Smith, 2002). This is consistent with intergroup emotion theory (IET, Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Smith, 1993), which, building on appraisal theories of emotion (e.g., Frijda, Kuipers, & ter Schure, 1989), proposes that group-based emotions mediate between group-based appraisals and specific action tendencies. In line with IET, group-based anger has been shown to mediate the relation between perceived injustice towards one's group and non-violent collective action tendencies (Tausch *et al.*, 2011).

Van Zomeren *et al.* (2004) integrated these two approaches, proposing that group efficacy and emotional considerations form separate but complementary pathways to collective action. This dual pathway model has received empirical support across various contexts (Tausch *et al.*, 2011; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004; see Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012, for a review; Van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008), but has thus far only been examined among members of disadvantaged groups. One exception is work by Thomas (2005), who found that the model predicts volunteering intentions in the context of international aid, but volunteering differs from collective action (cf., Duncan, 2012).

The present research draws on this dual pathway model to explain solidarity-based collective action among bystander groups, by adding new predictors to the efficacy and emotion-based pathways.

### **Predicting solidarity-based collective action from political efficacy and identity consolidation efficacy**

Although research on the dual pathway model of collective action has focused on *group efficacy* (Tausch *et al.*, 2011; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004; Van Zomeren, Spears, *et al.*, 2008), there are multiple operationalizations of efficacy in the collective action literature (cf., Hornsey *et al.*, 2006, for a review). In the present research we focus on the perceived efficacy of collective action itself, and propose a distinction between two types of efficacy. The first is the classical conceptualization of collective action efficacy, which we term

*political efficacy*, defined as the efficacy of collective action at redressing a group's disadvantaged position by pushing outgroups responsible for collective grievances to change their policies. The second type is *identity consolidation efficacy*, which we define as the efficacy of collective action at affirming, confirming, and strengthening the identity of the protesting group. Identity consolidation entails expressing what the movement stands for (e.g., opposition to the advantaged outgroup's policies), showing support for the disadvantaged party, building a mass solidarity movement and increasing public opinion support for the cause. The basis for this distinction is drawn from the integration of two different theoretical frameworks.

The first is Hornsey *et al.*'s work (2006), which critiqued collective action research for focusing exclusively on political efficacy and disregarding the efficacy at influencing multiple intended audiences. Blackwood and Louis (2012) indeed recently found that highly identified peace activists do not define the success of their movement as a function of influence on governmental peace policies, suggesting success is multiply defined. Hornsey *et al.* (2006) proposed three criteria by which to judge the efficacy of collective action: (1) the efficacy of collective action at expressing an individual's values (e.g., Tice, 1992); (2) the efficacy at building an oppositional movement, that is, strengthening solidarity within the protesting group, (Kinder, 1998; see also Klandermans, 1984); and (3) the efficacy at recruiting third parties like the general public to the cause (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Subašić *et al.*, 2008). Importantly, a survey of anti-globalization protesters in an Australian rally showed that the perceived political efficacy of the rally did not predict intentions to participate in similar future protests, while the three other types of efficacy did (Hornsey *et al.*, 2006). So far, however, these different types of efficacy have not been incorporated into existing theoretical models of collective action.

We argue that Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) typology of collective action efficacy can be usefully incorporated within a theoretical framework developed by Klein, Spears, and Reicher (2007), outlining two broad functions of collective action,<sup>1</sup> namely identity mobilization and/or identity consolidation. Identity mobilization involves actions aimed at improving the ingroup's position in the social power hierarchy, while identity consolidation involves bolstering the identity of the ingroup, that is, affirming, confirming or strengthening the identity of that group against that of other groups. Based on these two broad collective action goals, one can generate two corresponding broad types of collective action efficacy, which also encompass Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) typology. In particular, the potential of collective action to achieve *identity mobilization* corresponds to its political efficacy. Conversely, the potential of collective action to *consolidate the identity* of the protesting group encompasses Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) efficacy at expressing values, building an oppositional movement, and influencing public opinion (to which we add showing support for the disadvantaged group). The idea that prior to participation, people think about the potential of collective action to achieve some form of identity consolidation, is well illustrated in research by Pehrson, Stevenson, Multoon, and Reicher (2013). The authors interviewed participants in a St Patrick's parade in Ireland and found differences in their *expectations* of the event's potential to help them enact their own understandings of the Irish identity.

<sup>1</sup> In fact, Klein et al. outline functions of social identity performance acts, defined as the public expression of norms conventionally associated with a social group's identity. Collective action represents one type of such acts.

We further argue that the perceived political efficacy of collective action rests on its perceived identity consolidation potential. Various scholars have proposed that identity consolidation creates the basis for effective organization, action and group power (e.g., Haslam, 2001; Klein *et al.*, 2007; Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005; Turner, 2005); that is, consolidating the identity of a movement can allow that movement to eventually gain the power to achieve social change. It is accordingly plausible that among protesters, *beliefs* regarding the political efficacy of collective action are also based on *beliefs* about its potential to consolidate the movement's identity. Hints of this can be found in research on *empowerment*, which, similarly to political efficacy, is defined as confidence in one's ability to challenge existing relations of domination (Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005). In particular, interviews with activists (Drury & Reicher, 2009; Drury *et al.*, 2005; Pehrson *et al.*, 2013) suggest that the experience of empowerment in collective action stems from experiences of unity among protesters, expectations of support from the crowd, the sense that the movement has potential to develop, and the active realization of one's identity over against the power of a dominant outgroup (termed collective self-objectification). Notably, these factors parallel Hornsey *et al.*'s notions of building a movement, influencing public opinion, and expressing values, and suggest that empowerment results from a process of identity consolidation. Taken together, these findings suggest that identity consolidation efficacy should positively and indirectly predict collective action by feeding into political efficacy perceptions (Hypothesis 1).

Furthermore, we argue that identity consolidation can be a goal of collective action in its own right, since *solidarity-based* collective action typically consists of methods such as demonstrations and rallies aimed at symbolically expressing political opinions and communicating a message to audiences such as the public and the disadvantaged group (Sharp, 2005). The idea that collective action can be a means to express and enhance an activist identity is well established (Kelly, 1993). However, evidence for this motivational pathway has traditionally consisted of showing that politicized identification promotes collective action (Van Zomeren, Postmes, *et al.*, 2008; Van Zomeren, Spears, *et al.*, 2008), but the idea also implies that the perceived efficacy of collective action at consolidating identities should positively predict collective action, regardless of political efficacy beliefs. Initial empirical evidence for this comes from Hornsey *et al.* (2006) who found that after controlling for the political efficacy of collective action, collective action was still positively predicted by its perceived efficacy at influencing public opinion, building an oppositional movement and expressing values. Accordingly, identity consolidation efficacy should positively and directly predict collective action, independently of political efficacy concerns (Hypothesis 2).

### **Predicting solidarity-based collective action from moral outrage and sympathy**

Research on the dual pathway model of collective action has typically studied group-based anger (see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2012, for a review) in response to perceived injustice against one's own group. However, examining bystander groups' solidarity-based collective action requires shifting to a different form of anger, namely moral outrage, defined as anger experienced regarding an injustice suffered by an outgroup, and characterized by blaming a third party such as a government, rather than the ingroup (Leach *et al.*, 2002; Montada & Schneider, 1989; see Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009). A

recent review of prosocial emotions in intergroup helping identified moral outrage as particularly likely to motivate political action aimed at stopping the mistreatment of a disadvantaged outgroup (Thomas *et al.*, 2009). This is because moral outrage can be shared by both the bystander and disadvantaged groups, thus uniting them, and it also normatively prescribes actions aimed at redressing injustice. Moral outrage remains under-investigated in the intergroup helping research, but existing studies have found that it positively predicts intentions to volunteer for international aid (Thomas & McGarty, 2009), take political action on behalf of disadvantaged groups (Montada & Schneider, 1989), and engage in collective action against poverty (Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2012). Hence, we expect moral outrage to positively predict solidarity-based collective action (Hypothesis 3).

The recent upsurge of research on solidarity-based collective action by *advantaged* group members has initiated the study of emotional antecedents beyond anger, such as sympathy (Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Wright, 2009). The role of sympathy in promoting collective action among bystander groups, however, has not been properly explored. Sympathy is a response to a disadvantaged outgroup's suffering which involves feeling compassion for them (Eisenberg, 2000; Gruen & Mendelsohn, 1986; Thomas *et al.*, 2009; Wispé, 1986). Given its focus on the disadvantaged group's plight rather than the advantaged group's actions (Harth, Kessler, & Leach, 2008; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004; Leach *et al.*, 2002), some researchers have questioned sympathy's power to elicit collective action that targets the offenders' ability to mistreat the disadvantaged outgroup, arguing instead that sympathy promotes attempts to ease the suffering of the outgroup (Pagano & Huo, 2007; Thomas *et al.*, 2009). Yet research shows sympathy to be a positive predictor of both types of collective actions among advantaged groups (e.g., Feather, Woodyatt, & McKee, 2012; Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Thomas, 2005). Accordingly, sympathy should positively predict solidarity-based collective action (Hypothesis 4).

Further, based on appraisal theories of emotion (Frijda *et al.*, 1989) and research on moral outrage (e.g., Leach *et al.*, 2002) and sympathy (Harth *et al.*, 2008; Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Leach *et al.*, 2002), we expected the perceived injustice of governmental policies towards a disadvantaged outgroup to positively predict both moral outrage (Hypothesis 5) and sympathy (Hypothesis 6), thus having a positive indirect effect on collective action via these emotions (Hypothesis 7). Since additional emotions could mediate this link, in line with previous research (e.g., Tausch *et al.*, 2011), we also expect a direct positive effect of perceived injustice on collective action (Hypothesis 8).

To summarize, we propose a dual pathway model of solidarity-based collective action by bystanders, where efficacy perceptions (political efficacy and identity consolidation efficacy) and emotional reactions to perceived injustice (moral outrage and sympathy) represent distinct paths to collective action. We present the results of two surveys testing our model in different contexts.

## STUDY I

We first surveyed a sample of protesters at the annual National Demonstration for Palestine in London, Britain, in May 2008 on their intentions to attend similar future protests. The main aims of the demonstration were to demand an end to the Israeli occupation and a year-long Israeli siege on Gaza, and to oppose Britain's support for Israel (Palestine: The Case for Justice, 2007).

## Method

### Participants

A team of five recruiters approached protesters during the demonstration, and 242 completed the survey. Fifteen participants with substantial amounts of missing data (>20%) were excluded (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The final sample comprised 227 participants (114 women, 111 men, 2 missing; age:  $M = 41.00$  years;  $SD = 16.61$ ). Most ( $N = 162$ ) were British. The rest were international and included fifteen Arabs. Many ( $N = 105$ ) indicated they had no religion, while the rest indicated various religions.

### Measures

Unless stated otherwise, all items were measured using a 6-point verbal rating scale with the labels: 'not at all' (coded as) (1), 'slightly' (2), 'somewhat' (3), 'moderately' (4), 'very much' (5) and 'extremely' (6).

#### Perceived injustice

Using two items, participants evaluated how 'unjust' Israel's [Britain's] approach to the Palestinian issue is (Pearson's  $r = .72$ ).

#### Moral outrage

Using two items, participants indicated how 'angry' they felt when thinking of Israel's [Britain's] approach to the Palestinian issue in general (see Montada & Schneider, 1989; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Pearson's  $r = .57$ ).

#### Sympathy

Participants indicated the extent to which they felt 'sympathy' when thinking of the Palestinians' suffering.

#### Efficacy

Efficacy beliefs were measured using nine items adapted from Hornsey *et al.* (2006). Since the distinction between political efficacy and identity consolidation efficacy was novel, we performed an exploratory principal factor analysis (EFA) using oblique rotation on all efficacy items (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin [KMO] = .89; Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(36) = 1,166.92$ ,  $p < .001$ ; Determinant = .005). This yielded two factors with Eigenvalues >1.

Four items assessing perceptions of the demonstration's political efficacy (how effective the demonstration would be at helping to achieve justice in Palestine, to end the siege on Gaza, and to change the British as well as the Israeli governments' respective approaches to the Palestinian issue) loaded on the first factor, accounting for 50.96% of variance. The remaining items assessing identity consolidation efficacy (how effective the demonstration would be at showing resistance to the injustices committed against Palestinians, strengthening the solidarity among the supporters of justice in Palestine, helping to build a mass movement in Britain for justice in Palestine, and showing the Palestinians support amongst British people for their

**Table 1.** Factor loadings of efficacy items (Study 1)

	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. Helping to achieve justice in Palestine	<b>.84</b>	-.00
2. Helping to end the siege on Gaza	<b>.81</b>	.02
3. Helping to change the British government's approach to the Palestinian issue	<b>.73</b>	-.07
4. Helping to change the Israeli government's approach to the Palestinian issue	<b>.60</b>	.19
5. Showing the Palestinians support amongst British people for their cause	-.07	<b>.88</b>
6. Showing resistance to the injustices committed against Palestinians	.01	<b>.84</b>
7. Strengthening the solidarity among the supporters of justice in Palestine	-.01	<b>.75</b>
8. Helping to build a mass movement in Britain for justice in Palestine	.19	<b>.69</b>

Note. Factor loadings above .40 are highlighted in bold.

cause) loaded on the second factor, accounting for 11.49% of variance. One item (efficacy at increasing support in British public opinion for justice in Palestine) cross-loaded on both factors, and was thus dropped.<sup>2</sup> Factor loadings after dropping the cross-loading item are provided in Table 1. The items were averaged to yield composites of the demonstration's perceived identity consolidation ( $\alpha = .88$ ) and political ( $\alpha = .85$ ) efficacies.

#### *Collective action tendencies*

Participants indicated on an 11-point scale ranging from 0 to 10 how many of the next ten protests scheduled for the support of justice in Palestine they would be willing to attend, assuming these were accessible to them.

## **Results and discussion**

### ***Missing value analysis and data screening***

All variables had <10% missing data points. These were imputed using the expectation maximization (EM) method (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). None of the imputed values were out of range.

Data screening revealed that sympathy was severely negatively skewed. After reflecting it to render its skewness positive, we applied an inverse transformation, which improved its distribution (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Details of all variables of interest and zero-order correlations are shown in Table 2.

### ***Analytic strategy***

To examine our model, in both our studies we conducted a path analysis with AMOS version 22 (Amos Development Corporation, Meadville, PA, USA) using the raw data as input and maximum-likelihood estimation. The overall fit of our model was assessed using the chi-square test, the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA) for which we report an estimate and a 90% confidence interval (CI), and the standardized root mean square residual (SRMR). General guidelines for an adequate model

<sup>2</sup> This cross-loading may suggest a mixed view of the British public as both a neutral third party to be recruited to the cause, but also a potential accomplice to the British and Israeli governments.



**Table 3.** Unstandardized coefficients and standard errors (SE) for regression coefficients and bias-corrected (BC) bootstrap confidence intervals (CI) for indirect effects (Study 1)

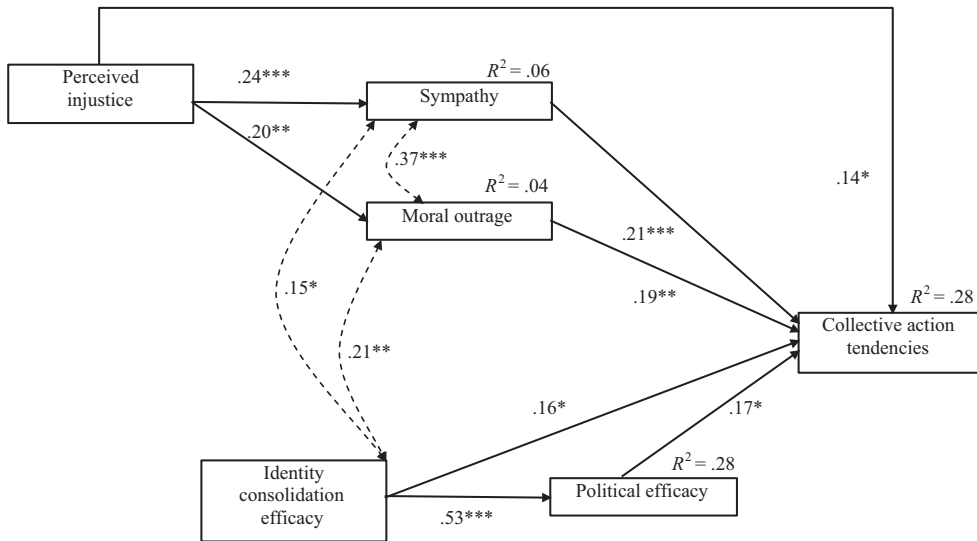
	Unstandardized coefficients (SE)	<i>p</i> Value	BC bootstrap CI for indirect effects
Covariances			
Moral outrage—Sympathy	0.07 (.01)	<.001	
Moral outrage—Identity consolidation efficacy	0.19 (.06)	.002	
Sympathy—Identity consolidation efficacy	0.03 (.02)	.026	
Direct effects			
Identity consolidation efficacy → Political efficacy	0.51 (.05)	<.001	
Political efficacy → Collective action	0.56 (.22)	.012	
Identity consolidation efficacy → Collective action	0.51 (.22)	.018	
Injustice → Sympathy	0.06 (.02)	<.001	
Injustice → Moral outrage	0.18 (.06)	.002	
Sympathy → Collective action	2.91 (.86)	<.001	
Moral outrage → Collective action	0.65 (.22)	.003	
Injustice → Collective action	0.43 (.18)	.018	
Indirect effects			
Identity consolidation efficacy → Collective action	0.28 (.11)	.011	.07/.51
Injustice → Collective action (total)	0.28 (.12)	<.001	.10/.58
Injustice → Collective action (via sympathy)	0.16 (.09)	.001	.04/.40
Injustice → Collective action (via moral outrage)	0.12 (.07)	.011	.02/.32

consolidation efficacy thus had a significant indirect effect on collective action tendencies via political efficacy.

Further, as predicted, perceived injustice positively predicted both moral outrage and sympathy. In turn, moral outrage and sympathy positively predicted collective action tendencies. As expected, perceived injustice had a significant positive indirect effect on collective action tendencies, with the specific indirect effects via sympathy and moral outrage both emerging as positive and significant. Perceived injustice also positively and directly predicted collective action tendencies. Figure 1 depicts our model along with standardized path coefficients and correlations.

We tested a reverse mediation model that posits identity consolidation efficacy as a mediator between political efficacy and collective action tendencies. Since there is no significance test to compare two non-nested competing models involving the same variables, we used the Akaike information criterion (AIC). Models with the lowest AIC value are preferred (Ullman, 2001). This alternative model also showed excellent fit,  $\chi^2(4) = 3.14$ ,  $p = .54$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 0.79$ , CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00 [.00; .09],  $p\text{-close} = .76$ , SRMR = .02. However, it performed worse on the AIC criterion (AIC = 37.14) compared to our proposed mediation model (AIC = 36.93).

To summarize, Study 1 provided preliminary evidence for the distinction between identity consolidation efficacy and political efficacy. Perceiving the demonstration as an opportunity to consolidate the identity of the protest movement was associated with greater willingness to attend future protests for the same cause, partly because the demonstration was seen to help redress the perceived injustice, but also because identity consolidation had value in and of itself. Furthermore, extending previous findings (Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Thomas, 2005), perceived injustice had positive indirect effects on collective action tendencies via moral outrage and sympathy, as well as a direct effect.



**Figure 1.** Results of path analysis for Study 1. Single-headed arrows refer to significant hypothesized paths. Dashed double-headed arrows refer to correlations between variables. Path coefficients and correlation coefficients are standardized estimates. Significance of coefficients is indicated, \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

## STUDY 2

This study examined our model in a different political context and a less politically engaged sample, namely an online sample of Hong Kong citizens who were surveyed on their intentions to attend the June 4th vigil, an annual local tribute for the victims of the 1989 Tiananmen massacre (the military crackdown by Chinese authorities on protesters in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, on June 4th 1989; Human Rights Watch News, n.d., Tiananmen's legacy, 2009).<sup>3</sup> In mainland China, all public discussion of the massacre, also known as the June 4th event, has been silenced since then (Human Rights Watch News, n.d., Tiananmen's legacy, 2009). Commemorations are only allowed in Macau and Hong Kong, which are 'special administrative regions', enjoying more democratic freedom than mainland China. Hong Kong holds the largest annual vigil on June 4th as a tribute.

Although Hong Kong is part of China, we consider it as a bystander group in relations between Chinese authorities and Mainland China citizens. Hong Kong has a unique history as it was a British colony for over 150 years, only returning to Chinese rule in 1997. Hong Kong also has a different political system and a high degree of autonomy due to the 'one country, two systems' policy (So, Lin, & Poston, 2001). Furthermore, Hong Kong citizens have traditionally perceived themselves as different from Mainland Chinese in terms of values (Hong, Chiu, Yeung, & Tong, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> The data of Study 2 are drawn from the same data set reported in Study 4 by Sweetman, Spears, Livingstone, and Manstead (2013) but with various differences. Sweetman et al. focused on how admiration predicts collective action alongside anger and sympathy, without examining efficacy. Anger in Sweetman et al.'s study is measured in relation to the June 4th incident, whereas our measure of anger is targeted at the stance of the Chinese government on the incident. Our sympathy measure is the same as Sweetman et al.'s, excluding one item, namely feeling 'empathic'. This was done to get a cleaner measure of sympathy, because Thomas et al. (2009) argue that sympathy and empathy are distinct emotions leading to different forms of solidarity-based collective action. Finally, Sweetman et al.'s outcome variable consists of various political actions including attending the June 4th vigil, whereas our outcome variable is restricted to the June 4th vigil given that we focus only on its perceived efficacy.

When we collected our data in 2009, the commemoration activities' slogans were: 'remember June 4th, inherit the goals of those who came before us, pass the torch on and relay the message of democracy to those who come after us' ('Upcoming Activities 2009', n.d.). They also aimed to support the relatives of the massacre victims, the Tiananmen Mothers (Human Rights in China, n.d., Solidarity with the Tiananmen Mothers), who continue to be victimized by the Chinese government (Human Rights Watch News, n.d., Tiananmen's legacy, 2009). Our measures were thus informed by this context. Furthermore, as this was an online study, we could afford to measure our constructs with more items to improve their reliability.

## Method

### Procedure

The study was administered as an online survey in Cantonese in the days preceding the June 4th vigil. It was translated from English by a bilingual speaker and checked by another bilingual speaker (one of the authors). We recruited participants through an advertisement via Facebook targeting adult Hong Kong users, offering an opportunity to enter into a prize draw.

### Participants

A total of 390 respondents completed the survey (234 women, 154 men, 2 missing; age:  $M = 29.03$  years;  $SD = 9.53$ ).

### Measures

To provide background information on our study and justify our measures, we first gave participants a short text on details of the suppression of the Tiananmen Square protesters, namely that the Chinese government has not apologized for the killings, refuses to carry out a public inquiry, and interferes with the public mourning of the victims. After providing socio-demographic information, participants completed the survey measures, including filler items, and were then debriefed.

#### *Perceived injustice*

Participants indicated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 7 = *strongly agree*) whether they thought the Chinese government's current position on the June 4th event was 'illegitimate', 'unjust', 'fair' (reverse-coded), and 'moral' (reverse-coded;  $\alpha = .91$ ).

All emotion items were measured using a 7-point scale (1 = *not strongly at all*; 7 = *very strongly*).

#### *Moral outrage*

Participants indicated the extent to which they felt 'angry', 'irritated', and 'furious' when thinking about the stance of the Chinese government on the June 4th event. These items were combined into a composite score ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

### Sympathy

Participants indicated the extent to which they felt 'sympathetic' and 'compassionate' when thinking about those affected by the June 4th event (Pearson's  $r = .84$ ).

### Efficacy

Efficacy was measured using seven items adapted from Hornsey *et al.* (2006) using a 7-point scale (1 = *not effective at all*; 7 = *extremely effective*). Because this study measured our constructs in another culture, we again performed an EFA with oblique rotation to explore the structure of our measure (KMO = .85; Bartlett's test of sphericity:  $\chi^2(21) = 2,520.31$ ,  $p < .001$ ; Determinant = .001), which yielded two factors (Eigen values > 1). Three items assessing the vigil's political efficacy (how effective the June 4th vigil would be at helping to change the Chinese government's stance on the June 4th event, to lift the suppression imposed by the Chinese authorities on the Tiananmen Mothers and to advance democracy in China) loaded on the first factor. This factor accounted for 64.78% of the variance. Four items assessing the vigil's identity consolidation efficacy (how effective the June 4th vigil would be at showing opposition to the Chinese government's stance on the June 4th event, showing the Tiananmen Mothers support amongst the public for their cause, increasing public opinion support for the 'reverse the Chinese government stance on June 4th' campaign, and helping to build a mass movement in support of the campaign) loaded on another factor. This factor accounted for 12.37% of the variance.<sup>4</sup> Factor loadings are presented in Table 4. The items were averaged to yield

**Table 4.** Factor loadings of efficacy items (Study 2)

	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. Helping to change the Chinese government's stance on the June 4th event	<b>-.95</b>	-.04
2. Helping to lift the suppression imposed by the Chinese authorities on the Tiananmen Mothers	<b>-.98</b>	-.03
3. Helping to advance democracy in China	<b>-.75</b>	.13
4. Showing opposition to the Chinese government's stance on the June 4th event	-.09	<b>.61</b>
5. Showing the Tiananmen Mothers support amongst the public for their cause	-.08	<b>.79</b>
6. Increasing public opinion support for the 'reverse the Chinese government's stance on June 4th campaign'	.04	<b>.97</b>
7. Helping to build a mass movement in support of the 'reverse the Chinese government's stance on June 4th campaign'	-.07	<b>.99</b>

Note. Factor loadings above .40 are highlighted in bold.

<sup>4</sup> We originally assessed political efficacy with one additional item and identity consolidation efficacy using multiple items measuring each of Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) three types of efficacy, plus efficacy at showing support for the disadvantaged group (solidarity-based component). Details of these measures can be obtained from the corresponding author. While the EFA yielded the two expected factors, the determinant was unacceptably low (<.00001), indicating multicollinearity. Inspection of the correlation matrix indicated that the extra political efficacy item correlated highly with some identity consolidation efficacy items (Pearson's  $r > .60$ ) so we dropped it. Furthermore, various items measuring identity consolidation efficacy were highly intercorrelated (Pearson's  $r > .80$ ), contributing to the low determinant. To remedy this, we selected single items to measure Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) three different efficacy types and the solidarity-based component. Note that using other single-item combinations continued to yield two-factor solutions.

composites of the vigil's perceived political ( $\alpha = .93$ ) and identity consolidation ( $\alpha = .91$ ) efficacies.<sup>5</sup>

### Collective action tendencies

Participants indicated how willing they would be to join the annual June 4th Candlelight vigil in future years in order to support the 'reverse the Chinese government stance on June 4th' campaign, using a 7-point scale (1 = *very unwilling*; 7 = *very willing*).

## Results and discussion

### Missing value analysis

All variables had <5% missing data points. We imputed these using the EM method (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) and adjusted out of range values to the nearest acceptable score point. Details of all variables of interest and zero-order correlations are shown in Table 5.

### Path analysis

We tested the same model hypothesized in Study 1. However, following the conceptual reasoning outlined in Study 1, we also allowed identity consolidation efficacy and perceived injustice to covary. Another reason for this decision was their significant bivariate correlation (see Table 5). The model showed excellent fit,  $\chi^2(3) = 2.18$ ,  $p = .537$ , *ns*,  $\chi^2/df = 0.73$ , CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00 [.00; .08],  $p$ -close = .82, *ns*, SRMR = .01. All unstandardized path coefficients and covariances are displayed in Table 6, along with estimates of all indirect effects. As shown in Table 6 and consistent

**Table 5.** Descriptives and zero-order correlations among key variables (Study 2)

	Scale	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Perceived injustice	1–7	5.74	1.45	—	.61***	.46***	.54***	.35***	.61***
2. Moral outrage	1–7	5.19	1.79		—	.62***	.66***	.44***	.75***
3. Sympathy	1–7	5.63	1.43			—	.57***	.41***	.64***
4. Identity consolidation efficacy	1–7	5.25	1.61				—	.64***	.72***
5. Political efficacy	1–7	3.96	1.84					—	.52***
6. Collective action tendencies	1–7	5.14	2.10						—

\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

<sup>5</sup> We performed a confirmatory factor analysis with one latent variable called efficacy and each item measuring efficacy as an indicator. The model fit was very poor,  $\chi^2(14) = 723.95$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 51.71$ , CFI = 0.72, RMSEA = .36 [.34; .38],  $p$ -close < .001, SRMR = .13, AIC = 751.95. By contrast, the fit of a two-factor model (with political efficacy and identity consolidation efficacy as latent variables, with three and four indicators, respectively) was significantly better, according to a chi-square difference test:  $\Delta\chi^2 = 652.19$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Table 6.** Unstandardized coefficients and standard errors (SE) for regression coefficients and bias-corrected (BC) bootstrap confidence intervals (CI) for indirect effects (Study 2)

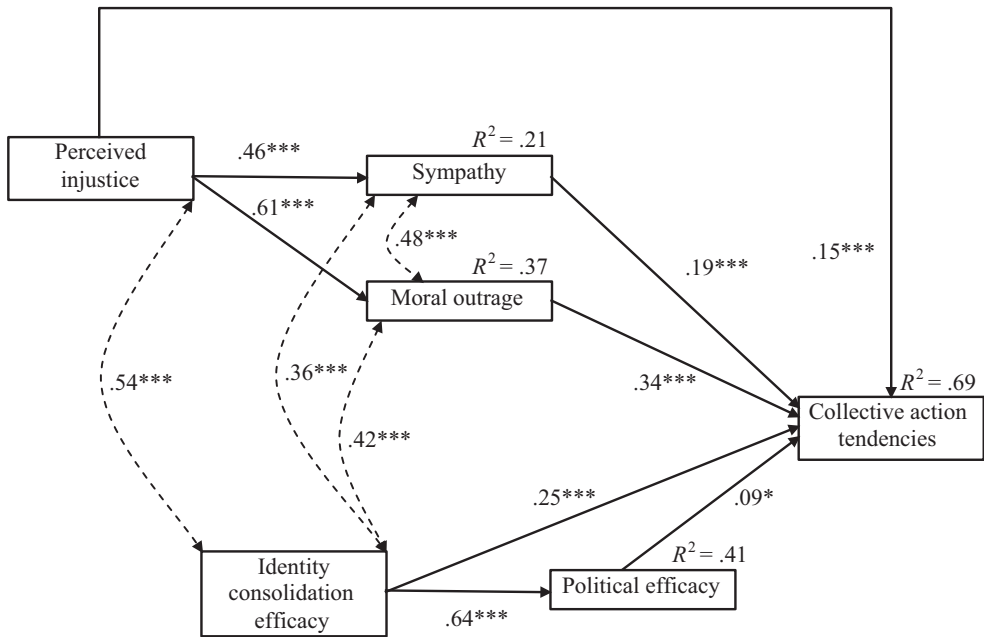
	Unstandardized coefficients (SE)	<i>p</i> Value	BC bootstrap CI for indirect effects
<b>Covariances</b>			
Injustice—Identity consolidation efficacy	1.27 (.14)	<.001	
Moral outrage—Sympathy	0.85 (.10)	<.001	
Moral outrage—Identity consolidation efficacy	0.96 (.11)	<.001	
Sympathy—Identity consolidation efficacy	0.73 (.10)	<.001	
<b>Direct effects</b>			
Identity consolidation efficacy → Political efficacy	0.73 (.05)	<.001	
Political efficacy → Collective action	0.10 (.04)	.018	
Identity consolidation efficacy → Collective action	0.32 (.06)	<.001	
Injustice → Sympathy	0.45 (.04)	<.001	
Injustice → Moral outrage	0.75 (.05)	<.001	
Sympathy → Collective action	0.28 (.06)	<.001	
Moral outrage → Collective action	0.40 (.05)	<.001	
Injustice → Collective action	0.22 (.05)	<.001	
<b>Indirect effects</b>			
Identity consolidation efficacy → Collective action	0.07 (.03)	.018	.01/.14
Injustice → Collective action (total)	0.43 (.06)	<.001	.32/.54
Injustice → Collective action (via sympathy)	0.13 (.03)	<.001	.07/.20
Injustice → Collective action (via moral outrage)	0.30 (.06)	<.001	.19/.41

with our hypotheses, identity consolidation positively and directly predicted collective action tendencies. Further, identity consolidation efficacy positively predicted political efficacy, which, in turn, positively predicted collective action tendencies. The indirect effect of identity consolidation efficacy on collective action tendencies via political efficacy was significant.

Furthermore, as expected, perceived injustice positively predicted both moral outrage and sympathy. In turn, moral outrage and sympathy positively predicted collective action tendencies. The indirect effect of perceived injustice on collective action tendencies was significant, with the specific indirect effects via sympathy and moral outrage both emerging as positive and significant. Perceived injustice also positively and directly predicted collective action tendencies. Figure 2 depicts our model along with standardized path coefficients and correlations.

As in Study 1, we tested an alternative model, with identity consolidation efficacy as a mediator between political efficacy and collective action tendencies. This model showed unacceptable fit,  $\chi^2(3) = 101.07$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 33.69$ , CFI = 0.92, RMSEA = .29 [.24;34],  $p$ -close < .001, SRMR = .18. Furthermore, it fared worse on the AIC criterion (AIC = 137.07) compared to our model (AIC = 38.18).

To summarize, this study provided further empirical support for the distinction between identity consolidation efficacy and political efficacy, this time with a less politicized sample and a different political context. Importantly, consistent with predictions, perceiving the June 4th vigil as an opportunity to consolidate the identity of the protest movement was associated with greater willingness to attend it, because the vigil was seen as an opportunity to achieve desired political ends, but also independently of that, suggesting again that identity consolidation had value in and of itself. Furthermore,



**Figure 2.** Results of path analysis for Study 2. Single-headed arrows refer to significant hypothesized paths. Dashed double-headed arrows refer to correlations between variables. Path coefficients and correlation coefficients are standardized estimates. Significance of coefficients is indicated,  $*p < .05$ ;  $***p < .001$ .

as expected, perceived injustice positively predicted collective action tendencies both directly and indirectly via moral outrage and sympathy.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

The aim of this research was to extend Van Zomeren *et al.* (2004) dual pathway model of collective action to the study of *bystander* group members' motives for *solidarity-based collective action*. We thus examined how different efficacy considerations alongside emotions predicted intentions to attend future pro-Palestinian protests among a sample of sympathetic protesters in Britain (Study 1) and intentions to attend the annual June 4th vigil for the commemoration of the Tiananmen massacre among a less politicized online sample of Hong Kong citizens (Study 2).

### *Efficacy considerations in solidarity-based collective action*

A key objective of our research was to provide empirical support for our proposed distinction between two types of efficacy predictors of collective action, namely the perceived political efficacy of collective action and what we termed its identity consolidation efficacy. Importantly, we argued that identity consolidation efficacy is an antecedent of political efficacy but also an independent predictor of collective action. These hypotheses were supported across both our studies.

This work furthers our understanding of efficacy considerations in collective action in various ways. First, our findings support Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) argument that the

anticipated success of collective action may not only be evaluated in terms of its potential to achieve policy changes. Instead, bystander group members vary in their expectations regarding the potential success of collective action at achieving various other goals, such as expressing opposition to an advantaged outgroup's policies, expressing support for the disadvantaged group, building an oppositional movement and influencing public opinion. However, while Hornsey *et al.* (2006) have treated these goals individually, the present research shows they can be usefully conceptualized as part of an overarching process of identity consolidation for the protest movement. Our work thus shows that the perceived efficacy of collective action can be broadly evaluated along two dimensions, corresponding to two broad, recognized functions of collective action, namely identity mobilization and identity consolidation (Klein *et al.*, 2007). This serves to integrate two previously separate frameworks for the evaluation of collective action functions, namely Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) typology of collective action efficacy and Klein *et al.*'s (2007) typology of social identity performance functions.

Our research also provides preliminary evidence suggesting that beliefs in the political efficacy of collective action are grounded in beliefs in its identity consolidation potential. Given that political efficacy is a well-established precursor of collective action (e.g., van Zomeren, Postmes, *et al.*, 2008), identifying its antecedents is useful both theoretically and practically, particularly in the light of the scarcity of research in this area (Drury & Reicher, 2009). Hence, our research extends Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) work by drawing previously unexamined links between political efficacy and the other proposed types of efficacy. Furthermore, our findings extend the argument that identity consolidation can provide the means for gaining influence as a protest movement (see Kinder, 1998; Turner, 2005) to beliefs about the efficacy of collective action. Our work also extends research on empowerment in collective action (Drury & Reicher, 2009; Drury *et al.*, 2005; Pehrson *et al.*, 2013) by (1) showing that previously identified antecedents of empowerment might be usefully viewed through the broader lens of identity consolidation and (2) providing indirect quantitative evidence suggesting that *anticipated* empowerment through collective action may be closely linked to *anticipated* identity consolidation through collective action.

The finding that identity consolidation efficacy positively predicts collective action independently of political efficacy also highlights the importance of identity consolidation as an intrinsic motivation for collective action among bystander group members. These results are consistent with Hornsey *et al.*'s (2006) findings that collective action is motivated by assessments of efficacy different from political efficacy. Our results also support Klein *et al.*'s (2007) idea that identity consolidation can be a goal of collective action in its own right. Furthermore, our findings complement previous results showing a positive link between politicized identification and collective action (Van Zomeren, Postmes, *et al.*, 2008; Van Zomeren, Spears, *et al.*, 2008) by providing a direct form of evidence for the argument that collective action provides a way to affirm and enhance a politicized identity (Kelly, 1993).

### **Emotions in solidarity-based collective action**

In the emotion-based pathway to collective action, we showed that both moral outrage and sympathy positively predicted solidarity-based collective action tendencies across both our studies. These results extend previous research on moral outrage (Montada & Schneider, 1989; Thomas, 2005; Thomas *et al.*, 2012), an under-investigated emotion in

intergroup helping (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas *et al.*, 2012), by highlighting its importance in solidarity-based collective action among *bystander* group members, rather than the more commonly investigated advantaged group members. Moreover, while research on the dual pathway model has hitherto focused exclusively on anger-related emotions (see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2012, for a review), probably due to its concentration on collective action by *disadvantaged* group members, our work underscores the importance of considering emotions such as sympathy in the context of solidarity-based collective action, and extends previous findings on advantaged groups to bystander groups (Feather *et al.*, 2012; Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Thomas, 2005).

In line with IET (Mackie *et al.*, 2000), we also found that perceived injustice positively predicted solidarity-based collective action tendencies indirectly via both moral outrage and sympathy. Moreover, perceived injustice positively and directly predicted collective action tendencies, suggesting additional emotions may mediate this relationship. Future research could consider the role of emotions such as affective empathy and existential guilt (Montada & Schneider, 1989; Thomas *et al.*, 2009).

It is noteworthy that our effects were stronger in Study 2 compared to Study 1. This may be due to differences in the level of specificity between predictors and the outcome variable across the two studies. Study 1 predicted intentions to attend future protests for Palestine *in general* based on perceptions of the annual demonstration for Palestine, whereas Study 2 predicted intentions to attend the June 4th vigil based on perceptions of the vigil event itself. Future research could investigate this possibility.

### **Limitations and directions for future research**

Our data are cross-sectional, which prevents inferences regarding the causal relations between variables. However, previous research shows that injustice causally predicts collective action tendencies (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004), emotions (Weiss, Suckow, & Cropanzano, 1999), including group-based anger (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004). Furthermore, our data are statistically more consistent with a model that assigns a causal role of identity consolidation efficacy in predicting collective action tendencies via political efficacy, rather than the reverse mediation model. Future work should nevertheless corroborate our findings using experimental evidence. Relatedly, it should investigate the conditions under which perceived injustice and identity consolidation efficacy are linked.

Like most past research, we examined collective action tendencies rather than actual participation. Although previous research found that behavioural intentions are good proxy predictors of behaviour (e.g., De Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009; Webb & Sheeran, 2006), future studies should strengthen our findings by going beyond our single-item measures of collective action and by measuring actual participation in diverse forms of collective action (Tausch *et al.*, 2011; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990).

It is worth noting the fluidity of the bystander group identification. McCartney (2006) argues that third parties to intergroup conflicts vary along a continuum. For instance, *external* third parties are less affected by the conflict and are typically geographically separate from the conflict zone, while *internal* third parties reside in the conflict site and have a direct stake in the conflict outcomes. In our research, Hong Kong seems to fall in the middle: it is geographically separate from mainland China, and adopts a different political system, but it is also a region within China, and its population is split between identification as Chinese or as Hongkonger (University of Hong Kong, Public Opinion Programme, 2014). Hong Kong thus captures the diversity

and complexity of the third party concept. Nevertheless, future research would do well to take into account individuals' identification with both the advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Future research could also explore when identity consolidation efficacy is likely to motivate collective action most strongly. It is possible that for newly formed or heterogeneous protest groups, the indirect influence of identity consolidation efficacy via political efficacy would be more important than its direct influence, whereas the opposite might be true for older or more homogenous protest groups. Furthermore, although the distinction between identity consolidation efficacy and political efficacy was theoretically driven and empirically supported in our studies, future research could explore a more complex factor structure, namely a hierarchical factor structure that includes subtypes of efficacy within political efficacy and within identity consolidation efficacy.

### Conclusion

This work helps identify predictors of solidarity-based collective action among bystander group members, an emerging topic in collective action research, and a particularly important one in an era characterized by unprecedented interconnectedness among nations, where global networks of communication offer new opportunities for world opinion to influence intergroup struggles. Our findings extend the dual pathway model of collective action (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004) by shedding light on the role of the perceived identity consolidation efficacy of collective action in predicting collective action both directly as well as indirectly via political efficacy, and by highlighting the role of emotions such as sympathy over and above moral outrage.

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