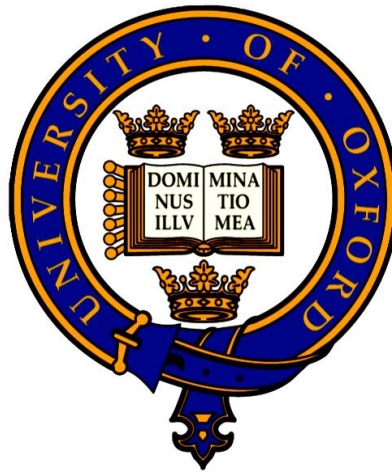


Intergroup Contact and Collective Action:

An Integrative Approach

Huseyin Cakal

St Cross College



**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy**

**Department of Experimental Psychology
University of Oxford**

October, 2012

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My biggest thanks go to my supervisor, Miles Hewstone, for his support, advice and being such a good role model. I would also like to express my gratitude to my co-supervisor Anthony Heath for his assistance and insightful comments.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my wife Tezcan and my daughter Azra Nur for being constant sources of love, support, and understanding.

My special thanks go to my family in Cyprus: To my mum for her support and love; To my dad for teaching me the value of hard work and perseverance; To my sister for her support and to my brother for his sense of humour and support.

I thank Gerhard Schwär from South Africa; Meltem Guler from Turkey; Sebastian Pinte, and Levente Salat from Transylvania-Romania for their cooperation and help.

I am also thankful to my friend Charis Psaltis of University of Cyprus for facilitating access to his data. Special thanks also go to Rachel for all her support.

I am grateful to all those people across four countries, South Africa, Turkey, Romania, and Cyprus, who willingly participated in my research.

Last but not least, I truly appreciate late Peter Loizos for his initial mentorship.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
ABSTRACT.....	x
EXTENDED ABSTRACT	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: THE INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY ...	1
Prejudice Reduction and Intergroup Contact	2
<i>Decategorization Model of Contact</i>	4
<i>Recategorization or Common Ingroup Identity Model</i>	4
<i>Mutual Intergroup Differentiation/ Intergroup Contact Model</i>	6
Mediators of Intergroup Contact	8
<i>Perceived Threats</i>	9
<i>Empathy and Perspective Taking</i>	13
<i>Collective Guilt</i>	15
<i>Shared Grievances</i>	16
CHAPTER 2: COLLECTIVE ACTION	18
Collective Action (s)	20
A Working Definition of Collective Action.....	21
Early Accounts of Collective Action	22
Established Antecedents of Collective Action	23

<i>Social Identity</i>	23
<i>Relative Deprivation</i>	25
<i>Group Efficacy</i>	28
Social Identity Model of Collective Action	30
Dynamic Dual Pathway Model	33
 CHAPTER 3: THE SOCIAL IDENTITY MODEL OF COLLECTIVE ACTION AND THE SEDATIVE EFFECT OF CONTACT AMONG BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA	 37
Intergroup Contact and SIMCA	38
The Present Research	42
<i>Predictions</i>	42
Study 1	45
<i>Method</i>	45
<i>Results and Discussion</i>	47
<i>Mediating Role of Relative Deprivation and Group Efficacy</i>	52
<i>Moderating Role of Contact</i>	53
Study 2	56
<i>Method</i>	57
<i>Results and Discussion</i>	58
<i>Mediation by Group Efficacy and Relative Deprivation</i>	61
<i>General Discussion</i>	63
<i>Sedative Effects of Contact and SIMCA</i>	64

CHAPTER 4: PERCEIVED THREAT AS MEDIATOR OF INTERGROUP CONTACT AND COLLECTIVE ACTION68

Macro Level Accounts of Threats and Collective Action.....	69
Meso Level Accounts of Threats and Collective Action	72
Intergroup Contact and Collective Action	74
Present Research	77
Study 3	80
<i>Method</i>	80
<i>Results and Discussion</i>	82
<i>Mediation by Realistic and Symbolic Threats</i>	88
Study 4	90
<i>Method</i>	90
<i>Results and Discussion</i>	91
<i>Perceived Threats as Mediators of Contact and Social Identity on Collective Action</i>	95
<i>General Discussion</i>	98
<i>Mediating Effect of Perceived Threats on Collective Action</i>	99

CHAPTER 5: OUTGROUP ORIENTED COLLECTIVE ACTION TENDENCIES101

Collective Action	103
Outgroup Oriented Collective Action	104
Intergroup Contact and Intergroup Emotions	105
<i>Perspective Taking</i>	107

<i>Collective Guilt</i>	110
<i>Shared Grievances</i>	112
Present Research	113
Study 5	117
<i>Method</i>	117
<i>Results and Discussion</i>	119
<i>Mediating Role of Collective Guilt and Perspective Taking</i>	124
Study 6	128
<i>Method</i>	129
<i>Results and Discussion</i>	131
<i>Mediating Role of Collective Guilt and Perspective Taking</i>	134
<i>Moderating Role of Intergroup Contact with the Majority Group</i>	137
<i>General Discussion</i>	141
CHAPTER 6: INTERGROUP CONTACT, IDENTITY AND COLLECTIVE ACTION	146
Intergroup Contact and Collective Action	147
Collective Action and Social Change	148
Collective Action as a Cause and Consequence	150
Collective Action and Positive Intergroup Attitudes	151
Common Ingroup Identity, Dual Identification and Collective Action	152
Intergroup Relations in Cyprus	154
Study 7	156
<i>Method</i>	156

<i>Data Screening and Preliminary Analyses</i>	158
<i>Results</i>	161
<i>Auto-regressive Cross-lagged Analysis</i>	164
<i>Reciprocal Causality</i>	166
<i>Auto-regressive Paths</i>	167
<i>Full Analysis</i>	167
<i>Cross-lagged Forward and Reciprocal Effects</i>	169
<i>Discussion</i>	172
<i>Intergroup Contact, Positive Attitudes and Collective Action</i>	173
<i>Dual Identification and Collective Action</i>	175
<i>The ‘Relational’ Dimension of Intergroup Attitudes and Intergroup Behaviour</i> ..	176
CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	179
Key Findings and Contributions of the Thesis.....	179
Limitations of the Present Research.....	183
<i>The Cross-Sectional Nature of the Data</i>	183
<i>Measures</i>	184
<i>Self-report measures</i>	187
<i>Sample Related Limitations</i>	188
<i>Methodological Limitations Related to Longitudinal Designs</i>	189
Implications for Future Integrative Research on Intergroup Contact and Collective Action.....	191
Conclusion.....	193
REFERENCES	196

LIST OF TABLES

Table. 3.1. Correlations between the latent variables in the model and descriptive statistics (Study 1).....	48
Table 3.2. Mediation bootstrap test results (Study 1).....	53
Table. 3.3. Correlations between the latent variables in the model and descriptive statistics (Study 2).....	58
Table 3.4. Mediation bootstrap test results (Study 2).....	61
Table. 4.1. Correlations between the latent variables in the model and descriptive statistics (Study 3).....	82
Table 4.2. Mediation bootstrap test results (Study 3).....	87
Table. 4.3. Correlations between the latent variables in the model and descriptive statistics (Study 4).....	91
Table 4.4. Mediation bootstrap test results (Study 4).....	95
Table. 5.1. Correlations between the latent variables in the model and descriptive statistics (Study 5).....	119
Table 5.2. Mediation bootstrap test results (Study 5).....	124
Table. 5.3. Correlations between the latent variables in the model and descriptive statistics (Study 5).....	130
Table 5.4. Mediation bootstrap test results (Study 5).....	134
Table 5.5. Model Comparisons (Study 6).....	137
Table 5.6. Moderation Test Results (Study 6).....	138
Table 6.1. Results of Logistic Regression.....	157
Table 6.2. Scale Reliabilities (Cronbach's α), Means and Standard Deviations for Scales across Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3 (Study 7).....	160

Table 6.3. Goodness of fit and model comparisons of autoregressive, autoregressive cross-lagged unidirectional , and autoregressive cross-lagged models (Study 7).....	163
Table 6.4. Unstandardized Autoregressive Path Coefficients for Model 2 within Path Equality Constrains.....	166
Table 6.5. Total Explained Variance of the Variables at Time 2 and Time 3.....	170

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and support for policies benefitting the ingroup via group efficacy and relative deprivation among Blacks in South Africa.....	50
Figure 3.2. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and support for policies benefitting the ingroup via group efficacy and relative deprivation among Whites in South Africa.....	59
Figure 4.1. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and outgroup evaluations via perceived realistic and symbolic threats among Turks in Turkey.....	84
Figure 4.2. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and outgroup evaluations via perceived realistic and symbolic threats among Kurds in Turkey.....	92
Figure 5.1. Conceptual Model for Studies 5 and 6.....	113
Figure 5.2. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the ethnic minority Hungarian outgroup via collective guilt and perspective taking among Romanians in Romania.....	120
Figure 5.3. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the ethnic minority Roma outgroup via collective guilt and perspective taking among Romanians in Romania.....	121

Figure 5.4. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting ingroup oriented collective action for the Hungarian ingroup and outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Roma.....	131
Figure 6.1. Auto-regressive cross-lagged model showing the cross lagged relationships between the variables in the longitudinal model Greek Cypriots as the outgroup (Study 7).....	168

Intergroup Contact and Collective Action: An Integrative Approach

Huseyin Cakal

St Cross College

D.Phil in Experimental Psychology

Submitted Michaelmas Term, 2012

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigated the effects of intergroup contact on different types of collective action tendencies among advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Studies 1 and 2 tested the simultaneous effects of intergroup contact and established predictors of collective action on collective action tendencies and ingroup and outgroup oriented policies among Blacks and Whites in South Africa, and compared the effects of intergroup contact and social identity on collective action tendencies via relative deprivation and group efficacy. The findings revealed that while social identity was positively associated with collective action tendencies, both directly and indirectly, effects of contact were negative and indirect via relative deprivation and group efficacy. Studies 3 and 4 investigated the effects of contact and social identity on collective action tendencies via perceived threats. Using data from Turkish and Kurdish groups in Turkey, I found that social identity predicted collective action tendencies positively, both directly and indirectly, while it predicted outgroup attitudes negatively and indirectly via perceived threats. Intergroup contact, on the other hand, predicted outgroup attitudes positively, both directly and indirectly, and collective action tendencies negatively via perceived threats. In Study 5, intergroup contact was positively associated, both directly and indirectly, via perspective taking and collective guilt, associated with outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. In Study 6, the effect of social identity on ingroup oriented collective action was positive and direct. Intergroup contact with the weaker minority group, on the other hand, was positively associated with outgroup oriented collective action tendencies via perspective taking. Additionally, intergroup contact with the majority outgroup moderated this relationship. When participants reported more contact with the majority group, intergroup contact with the weaker minority was not associated with outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. However, when the participants reported less contact with the majority group, intergroup contact positively predicted outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. Finally, Study 7 investigated the effects of two different dimensions of contact, contact with the majority and minority on collective action, via outgroup attitudes, dual-identification, and common ingroup identity in a three wave longitudinal design (N=610) among Turkish Cypriots in northern Cyprus. While the results did not support findings from the previous studies on the so-called paradoxical effects of contact on collective action tendencies, they revealed a robust negative reciprocal relationship between outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots and collective action tendencies.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This thesis reports the differential effects of contact on different dimensions of collective action tendencies among advantaged and disadvantaged groups in various countries. My main focus is how contact influences collective action tendencies among different ethnic and racial groups which have been involved in violent conflict in the past. I built on earlier research which suggests that intergroup contact has paradoxical effects on collective action tendencies especially among disadvantaged groups (J. Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, in press; Reicher, 2007) and elaborate on the differential effects of contact on collective action tendencies (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In the first two parts, I review the existing research on intergroup contact and collective action, exploring possible points of convergence and revisiting psychological processes which link these two perspectives.

In the theoretical section of the thesis, Chapters 1 and 2, I focus on intergroup contact and collective action and present a review of the main concepts, psychological processes and additional mechanisms that bridge these two opposing perspectives. In Chapter 1, I discuss how contact reduces prejudice and improves intergroup relations through various mechanisms. Drawing upon extensive research on threats as predictors of collective action tendencies in sociology and political science and social psychological research on perceived threats as mediators of intergroup contact effects, I then introduce perceived realistic and symbolic threats (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009) as mediators of contact effects on collective action. Next, I discuss how perspective taking and collective guilt, together with cognitive appraisals of shared grievances between two minority groups, can actually facilitate outgroup oriented collective action. Additionally, I review how contact might relate to sub-identification and common ingroup identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009) which, in turn,

influence willingness to engage in contact with the outgroup and ingroup oriented collective action (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011) in distinct ways. In Chapter 2, I draw upon existing accounts of collective action and conceptualize a working definition of collective action (Wright, 2009). I then briefly introduce two recent theoretical perspectives, the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) and the Dynamic Dual Pathway Model of collective action (Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012).

In Chapter 3, across two studies, I test the role of intergroup contact in predicting collective action tendencies along with three key predictors proposed by the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) in a rapidly changing social context in which historically disadvantaged Blacks are now the politically advantaged group. Study 1 (N = 488 Black South African students) tested whether social identity would positively predict collective action and support for policies benefitting the ingroup or whether intergroup contact would do so negatively among a relatively disadvantaged group. Study 2 (N = 244 White South African students) investigated whether social identity would positively predict collective action benefitting the ingroup, and intergroup contact would positively predict support for policies to benefit the Black outgroup. Both studies yielded evidence supporting the predictive power of social identity and contact on collective action and policy support among both the advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Additionally, Study 1 confirmed that intergroup contact moderated the effects of social identity on relative deprivation, and effects of relative deprivation on collective action. Overall, findings reported in this chapter reveal that intergroup contact influences collective action tendencies indirectly. Results further suggest that in order to provide a fuller understanding of the social psychological processes leading to collective action,

existing research needs to take into consideration effects of intergroup contact on collective action.

Studies 3 and 4 in Chapter 4 investigated the role of perceived threats in predicting collective action tendencies, extending earlier research on collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), and intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005). In both studies (Study 3, N = 289 Turks; Study 4, N = 211 Kurds), I tested whether intergroup contact would negatively, and social identity positively predict, collective action and outgroup attitudes via perceived threats among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Findings from both studies supported the mediating role of perceived threats on collective action tendencies. Overall, findings suggest that contextual approaches are needed to provide a more comprehensive account of what motivates people to engage in collective action. Incorporating contextual effects (i.e., contact between groups) can help to explain collective action tendencies among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

Studies 5 and 6 in Chapter 5 focus on outgroup oriented collective action and focus on the role of intergroup contact in predicting collective action tendencies on behalf of a minority outgroup. In Study 5 (N = 270), among majority Romanians, intergroup contact predicted outgroup oriented collective action tendencies on behalf of the Hungarian and Roma outgroups both directly and, indirectly, via perspective taking and collective guilt. In Study 6 (N = 271), among the ethnic Hungarian minority, intergroup contact with Roma predicted outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Roma via perspective taking and shared grievances. Intergroup contact with the majority Romanian outgroup moderated this relationship. Both studies showed that intergroup contact has differential effects on outgroup oriented collective action for

majority and minority groups. While positive intergroup contact among two minority groups might motivate outgroup oriented collective action, contact with a majority group might have unintended consequences on both ingroup and outgroup oriented collective action tendencies.

Study 7 in Chapter 6 investigated the contact-collective action relationship in a three wave longitudinal design. Previous research on intergroup contact and collective action argues that intergroup contact might have some paradoxical effects on collective action especially among the minorities (Dixon et al., in press; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; Reicher, 2007) by improving attitudes and contributing toward formation of a common ingroup identity (Dovidio et al., 2009) which include majority and minority group members. Moreover, research on mobilization evinces that collective action might also act as a cause rather than as a consequence and influence social identity (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). The study in Chapter 6, therefore, also tested whether contact reduces collective action tendencies by improving outgroup attitudes toward majority and contributing toward common ingroup identity and whether collective action predicts outgroup attitudes. Last but not least, following Glasford and Calcagno (2012), this study also explored whether contact between two minorities influences outgroup attitudes toward the majority group. These hypotheses were put to test in 3-wave longitudinal design study conducted among Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus. Using an auto-regressive cross-lagged model, the data did not support earlier findings on so-called negative effects of contact. Consistent with recent research on collective action as a cause, I found a negative reciprocal relationship from outgroup attitudes at Time 1 and Time 2 to collective action at Time 2 and Time 3 and from collective action at Time 1 and Time 2 to outgroup attitudes at Time 2 and Time 3, respectively. However, I found no mediation from intergroup contact at Time 1 to collective action

tendencies at Time 3 via dual identification, common ingroup identity, and outgroup attitudes at Time 3. The findings also revealed that the relationship between intergroup contact among minorities and outgroup attitudes is reciprocal and negative.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION: THE INTERGROUP CONTACT THEORY

There is little doubt that the last fifty-odd years of the social psychology of intergroup relations has been dominated by what some call the prejudice reduction path (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Focusing mainly on the majority or advantaged groups, the ultimate aim of this path has been to improve intergroup relations by means of understanding sources of conflict between human groups and eventually eliminating these sources (Wagner, Tropp, Finchilescu, & Tredoux, 2008). While the significance of eradicating conflict between groups cannot be overstated, it has recently been argued that reduction of prejudice and conflict does not necessarily lead to more equal and just social systems (Wright & Baray, 2012) and persistent discrimination and inequalities can only be removed when they are challenged by the very same people who suffer from them (Reicher, 1986). Dubbed the collective action path to social change (Wright & Lubensky, 2009) this latter perspective argues that conflict and discontent resulting from inequalities are necessary elements of social processes leading to social change (Dixon et al., in press). Interestingly, none of the recent theoretical accounts of collective action which form the basis of this line of research considers intergroup contact as an explanatory factor. These recent approaches focus on psychological processes leading to collective action and argue that “getting us to like one another” (Dixon et al., in press) and deemphasizing the inequalities between the groups are two main problems of the prejudice reduction path. Rather ironically, however, the very same approach consider collective action as an explicitly intragroup process implying that groups in society function as isolated islands of human aggregates and as such intergroup relations do not influence the psychological processes leading to collective action.

Despite the very recent empirical research which is beginning to focus on the intersection of prejudice reduction and collective action approaches to social change, little is known about the processes through which intergroup contact influences collective action or vice versa. Understanding the relationship between these two important aspects of intergroup relations has important consequences for social change especially if we consider that in an increasingly diverse and globalized world, intergroup contact is the norm not the exception.

This thesis aims to expand on the existing research on the contact-collective action relationship by focusing on the circumstances in which contact promotes or prevents collective action and the mediating mechanisms. The thesis explores these conditions in multi-ethnic contexts where groups share a history of conflict on the basis of ethnic, religious and racial differences. The present chapter provides a theoretical background to the prejudice reduction perspective as represented by intergroup contact and identifies points of possible convergence and divergence between intergroup contact and collective action approaches to social change. In the second chapter, I elaborate upon the recent models of collective action, namely the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) and the dynamic dual pathway model of collective action (DDPM; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012) and explore possible pathways through which different forms of intergroup contact might influence motivations to engage in collective action. In the remaining chapters of the thesis I report findings from 7 studies, 6 cross sectional and 1 longitudinal, looking at different aspects of the relationship between contact and collective action.

Prejudice Reduction and Intergroup Contact

Despite some early criticism, there is now compelling evidence to support the association between intergroup contact and a number of key intergroup attitudes and

behaviour. In a landmark meta-analytic study which is based on 713 independent samples from 515 (mainly cross-sectional, correlational) studies, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) contend that intergroup contact does reduce prejudice. What is more, and beyond the realms of Pettigrew and Tropp's review, such positive effects are not limited to direct forms of intergroup contact. Knowing that a member of one's group has positive contact with member of the relevant outgroup has also been found to predict positive attitudes toward members of the same outgroup, a process which is now known as extended contact (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Additionally, alternative forms of contact such as imagined contact (Crisp, Husnu, Meleady, Stathi, & Turner, 2010; R. Turner, Crisp, & Lambert, 2007), when individuals imagine that they have contact with a member of the relevant outgroup, can also help to achieve some of the positive effects of direct or extended contact. Moreover, the prejudice-reducing qualities of contact do generalize to the other members of the outgroup. Equally interesting, such effects are now also known to extend to groups which may not even be involved in contact situations with the ingroup, a phenomenon known as the secondary transfer effect of contact (Pettigrew, 2009).

The optimal conditions of contact -- equal status, superordinate goals, cooperation and authority support -- initially suggested by Allport (1954) have later been extended to include the opportunity to develop close, affective ties -- especially cross-group friendships -- now generally regarded as the fifth condition (Pettigrew, 1998). Notwithstanding these optimal conditions, competing accounts have been offered to explain how the positive effects of contact actually lead to attitudinal and behavioural changes which then generalize to other individuals and intergroup situations (R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Despite the fact that they differ in terms of the conclusions they draw, each of these theoretical models incorporates important

elements from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self categorization theory (J. C. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In the following sections, I present a brief outline of these models along with the empirical support they have received.

Decategorization Model of Contact

Building on personal versus social identity distinction offered by Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory, the decategorization model emphasizes the minimization of group differences, and the promotion of contact at an individual level where members of two distinct groups interact as individuals (Brewer & Miller, 1988; N. Miller, 2002). Perceiving members of the outgroup as individuals then would allow the generalization of positive effects of contact to the other members as they would not be perceived as members of an outgroup but simply as individuals.

Although decategorization received a fair amount of support from experimental (Bettencourt, Brewer, Croak, & Miller, 1992; Wilder, Simon, & Faith, 1996) and cross-sectional research (Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997; Vonofakou, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007), it has been argued that in most of these studies it is difficult to claim that decategorization was achieved (R. Brown, Vivian, & Hewstone, 1999) and even if it was achieved generalization may not always occur when category salience is minimized (Gonzalez & Brown, 2003)

Recategorization or Common Ingroup Identity Model

The initial conceptualization of the recategorization model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) proposed that instead of abolishing group boundaries and personalizing contact experiences, encounters between the members of two groups should be arranged so that individuals recategorize themselves as members of a superordinate group which includes former ingroup and outgroup members.

Following this recategorization, former outgroup members now become members of the new superordinate group and will be evaluated more positively as a result of ingroup favouritism (Dovidio et al., 2009; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999).

Despite receiving empirical support across a range of settings and groups (Cunningham, 2005; Gaertner, Bachman, Dovidio, & Banker, 2001; Nier et al., 2001; see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, for a review), the common ingroup identity model has also received some criticism. Firstly, it is understandably difficult to relinquish sub-group identities in real-life situations (R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Secondly, when created, common ingroup identity might hinder collective action and social change (Dovidio et al., 2009; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003). Thirdly, individuals belonging to majority and minority groups might define the content of the new superordinate group identity differently and this may lead to even more prejudice (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Rutchick & Eccleston, 2010).

As Brown and Hewstone (2005) argue, it is relatively easy to induce people to relinquish their sub-group identities in laboratory settings where groups are created with minimum psychological relevance. However, it is less clear whether this could be achieved in real-life settings where the sub-group identity is based on ethnic, linguistic, religious, or racial differences (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Given that most intergroup situations in real-life settings involve at least one of these differences as an identity marker between groups, it even becomes less clear whether creating such common identity is even possible at all and, indeed, whether it is desirable, given that group memberships are a source of pride to many people. Moreover, the issue of individuals' willingness to conceive themselves as a new all inclusive superordinate group when there is a history of conflict between the former ingroup and outgroup also remains elusive.

From a collective action perspective, the cost of creating a common ingroup identity is apparent. Firstly, group identity is central to collective action tendencies (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Secondly, identification with the disadvantaged group influences how people experience and attend to inequalities concerning their group. Thirdly, to the extent that individuals identify with their group, they perceive their group as more efficacious (Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Fourthly, positive perceptions of former outgroup members may hamper mobilization attempts as it is somehow paradoxical to rise up against people about whom one now holds positive views (Reicher, 2007). Finally, such positive views also give the illusion of a just social system which is based on individual merits (Dixon et al., in press; Wright & Lubensky, 2009).

Motivated by this criticism, the common ingroup identity model has recently been revised and it has been suggested that a dual-identity approach might be more relevant to both positive relations with the outgroup and at the same time sustaining the impetus for social change on the basis of sub-group identity (Dovidio et al., 2009). I discuss the relevance of this approach to collective action in the next chapter since it is significantly related to collective action tendencies and dynamics of collective mobilization.

Mutual Intergroup Differentiation/ Intergroup Contact Model

Brown and Hewstone (2005; Hewstone & Brown, 1986) argue that intergroup contact would be most effective when group memberships are salient and the typicality of the individuals with regard to their respective ingroup and outgroups is maintained during contact. In addition to the optimal conditions of contact discussed earlier, this model requires the maintenance of sub-group identities. It is argued that these identities should be preserved and recognized mutually so that positive attitudes can be

generalized to the other members of the outgroup. According to this model, the respective typicality of ingroup and outgroup members should also be preserved as in situations where individuals are perceived as atypical of their groups positive effects of contacts might not generalize to other situations and to other outgroup members (R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Finally, the intergroup contact between the individuals should be structured in such a way that contact is perceived as intergroup rather than interpersonal (Hewstone & Brown, 1986)

The mutual differentiation model has received wide empirical support and has undergone two important modifications (see Brown & Hewstone, 2005, for a review of empirical support). Firstly, contact should be structured at both interpersonal and intergroup levels, not only at an intergroup level, to have optimal benefit from contact situations. Secondly, following Pettigrew (1998), the modified version of the model places a strong emphasis on mediating factors. The inclusion of mediators, additional mechanisms through which contact influences prejudice and other outcomes, represents a major development in research on intergroup contact. Inspired by Pettigrew's (1998) attempts to reformulate contact theory and methodological innovations in other areas of social psychology which were initiated by classic work of Baron and Kenny (1986), Brown and Hewstone (2005) specified an extensive set of mediators through which intergroup contact influences attitudes toward outgroups and hence intergroup relations.

By now it should be clear that despite the opposing predictions they make with regard to the type of identity and the level of its salience (Wright, Brody, & Aron, 2005), all three models have undergone some modifications and received extensive empirical support. There has been a substantial amount of work on decategorization and personalization of contact strategies (Ensari, Christian, Kuriyama, & Miller, 2012).

Dovidio and Gaertner moved forward to suggest the new dual-identity approach (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner et al., 1993). Finally, Hewstone and Brown (1986) shifted from emphasizing the central importance of the intergroup level of contact to accommodate contact at both interpersonal and intergroup levels simultaneously. Taken together, these attempts resulted in a more integrative contact model which incorporates interpersonal and intergroup approaches, each with its underlying processes and mediating and moderating mechanisms (R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005). It is to this aspect of intergroup contact that I now turn. In the next section I briefly review these mediating mechanisms before I focus on a set of variables which might be particularly relevant to collective action tendencies and are followed up in the research reported in this thesis.

Mediators of Intergroup Contact

Following the initial conceptualization of the three models I discussed above, Pettigrew (1998) proposed four mediating mechanisms through which intergroup contact changes attitudes. Firstly, through contact individuals learn new information about the outgroup and this new information amends the existing negative information about the outgroup. This change, then, is followed by attitudinal change toward the outgroup. Secondly, repeated instances of contact with outgroup members, ideally in the presence of facilitating conditions, results in behavioural modification through increasing familiarity with the members of the outgroup. Positive attitudinal modification, then, follows this behavioural change. Thirdly, contact, especially positive contact, reduces negative affect and provides opportunities to develop affective ties such as friendship. In the long term, such affective ties generate positive emotions which change attitudes and behaviour toward outgroups. Finally, through contact individuals learn about the existence of alternative perspectives and worldviews of the

outgroup which might be different than the ones cherished by the ingroup. This leads to reappraisal of the ingroup's way of life and perspective altogether, a process which Pettigrew (1998) calls 'deprovincialization'.

Consideration of these four processes that Pettigrew (1998) specified triggered an impressive amount of research on how contact actually reduces prejudice and helped intergroup contact theory to advance in novel directions (Pettigrew, 2008). As a result of these advances researchers began to shift their interest from prejudice as the classic dependent variable to other variables, and to focus on affective and cognitive processes such as anxiety, perceived threats, ingroup identification, different aspects of empathy, outgroup knowledge and reappraisal of ingroup values (deprovincialization), intergroup trust, and last but not least forgiveness (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). While some of these variables, such as ingroup identification and perceived threats, seem relevant to ingroup oriented collective action tendencies, some others, such as perspective taking and collective guilt, are particularly related to outgroup oriented collective action, when individuals actually engage in, or are at least willing to engage, in collective action on behalf of an outgroup. This bears particular importance when we consider that outgroup oriented collective action is a mostly under-researched topic within the collective action research (Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008). In the following sections, I will elaborate upon each of these mediating mechanisms briefly and discuss how they relate to collective action.

Perceived Threats

Perceived threats have attracted a substantial amount of research interest both within general psychology and social psychology. At an individual level, for instance, perception of external threats has a number of functions. From an evolutionary perspective, it has been suggested that when individuals face a threatening situation or

perceive a source of threat (Gray, 1987) they stop and reassess their situation to take a new course of action (J. M. Miller & Krosnick, 2004). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) argue that this reassessment takes place as a two-stage process. During the first, appraisal stage the situation is evaluated as threatening or not. Second, appraisal allows the individuals to evaluate coping strategies -- either approach, such as taking action to eliminate the source of threat, or avoidance, altering the emotional state through a number of strategies including cognitive reappraisal, and selective attention (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; McKenzie-Mohr, McLoughlin, & Dyal, 1992)

At group level, perceived threats have been a central topic in the study of intergroup relations since the 1950s. In his seminal work on prejudice, Blumer (1958) proposes four important predictors of racial prejudice. While the first two, ingroup bias and categorization, are relevant to ingroup identification, the remaining two are directly related to perceived threats. I will limit myself to the discussion of the last two of these predictors. The first is the contention that individuals are inclined to think that their ingroup is superior to the other group and this superiority entitles them to certain privileges and advantages over the outgroup. According to Blumer (1958), ingroupers harbour a range of suspicions and fears that the outgroup has plans to strip them of these advantages and privileges, and these fears breed hostility and prejudice toward the members of the relevant outgroup. While the first two of Blumer's conditions received attention and were formalized within social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (J. C. Turner et al., 1987), the last two propositions were developed into realistic group threat theory by Sherif and his colleagues (1961) with additional elaboration from Campbell (1965). In its most basic form, the principal argument of realistic group threat theory is that individuals identify with a group and this identification leads them to perceive that a negative interdependence in the form of

competing interests over economic or political resources exists between their ingroup and the outgroup. This perception of competing interests with the outgroup breeds negative attitudes toward the outgroup and this results in conflict between the two groups.

The last twenty years have witnessed further theorizing on threats in social psychology. The two most notable examples are integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan et al., 2009) and socio-functional threat theory (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). While socio-functional approach emphasizes differentiated reactions to perceived threats and thus can be located more at the interpersonal level, integrated threat theory (ITT) underlines the group dimension of threats and focuses on how they influence intergroup attitudes. In the next section, I summarize the basic tenets of ITT and elaborate on how realistic and symbolic threat dimensions relate to collective action.

In their first conceptualization, Stephan and Stephan (2000) specified four different aspects of perceived threats: intergroup anxiety, which arises from anticipation of negative encounters with the outgroup members; negative stereotypes; realistic threats perceived to be posed by the outgroup to the economic and political sources that the ingroup controls; and symbolic threats, which include threats to the values and norms that the ingroup holds. Since then, this initial specification has shifted. In the re-specified model (Stephan et al., 2009), negative stereotypes are now considered as an antecedent of perceived threats while intergroup anxiety is conceptualized as a subtype of threat which focuses on outgroup related apprehensions resulting from expectations of negative intergroup encounters.

Research on threats and contact showed that positive intergroup contact negatively while negative contact positively, predicts both realistic and symbolic threats

(Aberson & Gaffney, 2008; Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000; Tausch, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007). In their meta-analytic review, Riek, Mania, and Gaertner (2006) provided further support for the mediating role of threats on the link between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes.

Despite the early focus on threats and collective action in the early nineties (McKenzie-Mohr et al., 1992) and their subsequent specification as explicit predictors of a range of collective actions in the recent version of ITT (Stephan et al., 2009) however, the recent social psychological accounts of collective mobilization do not specifically consider threat as an antecedent of collective action. In sociology and political science, however, there is a long tradition of research on collective action and protest mobilization in sociology and political science which focuses on threats (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001). As Wright and Lubensky (2009) argue, contact and collective action research have developed as two distinct research areas and have remained isolated for the good part of the last three decades in which collective action research gained momentum and started to enjoy some popularity only very recently (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009; van Zomeren & Klandermans, 2011). Given that both formal theories of threats and integrative attempts to provide a coherent theory of collective action in social psychology have come to prominence in the last decade, this apparent exclusion of threats from the recent accounts of collective action is striking. Revisiting threats as predictors of collective action tendencies, therefore, could contribute toward an integration of intergroup contact and collective action approaches. As threats can be perceived equally by advantaged and disadvantaged group members including threats to explain collective action can help to extend collective action accounts to cover advantaged groups, an issue which is currently lacking in recent theoretical attempts (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2012). In Chapter IV, I put

these ideas into perspective and investigate the mediating role of perceived threats between intergroup contact and collective action tendencies.

Empathy and Perspective Taking

Based on Pettigrew's (1998) attempt to reformulate intergroup contact theory, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) compared three specific mechanisms -- learning about the about the outgroup, anxiety, and empathy -- through which intergroup contact reduces prejudice and improves intergroup relations. Although they found that all three mechanisms mediate the effects of contact on outgroup attitudes, the results yielded stronger support for the mediating role of anxiety and empathy, compared with learning about the other group, on effects of contact. However, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) acknowledge that their findings were limited in the sense that the small number of studies prevented them from obtaining specific effect sizes for empathy and perspective taking, a useful distinction offered by earlier research (Davis, 2004; Duan & Hill, 1996; Gladstein, 1983). In broadest terms, perhaps, empathy can be understood as a set of processes through which an individual reacts to the experiences of another individual (Davis, 2004). These processes may be cognitive, in which the individual attempts to take the role of the other person, or affective, which refers to emotional reactions to the emotional experience of the other person (Gladstein, 1983). While the former is now referred to as cognitive empathy or perspective taking, the latter process is known as affective empathy which might be either parallel, going through the same emotional experiences as the other individual, or reactionary, emotional reactions to the emotional experiences of the other person (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). There is now both psychological (Batson & Ahmad, 2009) and neurological (De Waal, 2008) evidence that cognitive empathy or perspective taking and affective empathy are indeed two distinct processes.

Notwithstanding these conceptual differences, Stephan and Finlay (1999) maintain that empathy has the potential to improve intergroup attitudes in a number of ways. Firstly, empathy can reduce perceptions of fear and threats, a hypothesis which received extensive empirical support especially within the integrated threat theory approach (Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998; Stephan & Renfro, 2002). Secondly, empathy can lead people to realize the similarities they have with outgroup members and thus help toward a process of recategorization of ingroup and outgroup members as members of a common ingroup, a process which has also received wide support within the common ingroup identity model of prejudice reduction (Cunningham, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2009; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999). Thirdly, empathy can also provoke feelings of injustice concerning the members of a relevant outgroup, especially if outgroup members have been subjected to discrimination and treated unfairly by members of the ingroup (Finlay & Stephan, 2000).

In a more detailed attempt, Batson and Ahmad (2009) suggest four distinct psychological states in which empathy might improve intergroup attitudes. In what they call cognitive states empathy can improve attitudes toward members of an outgroup when individuals try to imagine how they would experience another individual's situation, *imagine-self perspective*, or when individuals try to imagine how they would feel in the same situation, and *imagine-other perspective*, when they attempt to feel how the other individual would think or feel in that particular situation. In emotional states, according to Batson and Ahmad (2009), empathy improves intergroup attitudes when individuals match their own emotions with the other individual's, *emotion matching*, or when individuals feel for the other person, *empathic concern*. While each of these psychological states has important consequences for intergroup situations, the imagine-

other perspective is particularly associated with increased empathic concern for outgroup members, more positive attitudes toward the out-group, and increased willingness to help the out-group (Batson & Ahmad, 2009).

Specifically, perspective taking is a stronger predictor of outgroup attitudes as demonstrated by recent research on stereotypes, prosocial behaviour and outgroup attitudes (Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002; Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci, 2005; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). In fact, in a unique study, Mallett et al. (2008) found that perspective taking, together with collective guilt, is related to outgroup oriented collective action, a concept I discuss in detail in Chapter 2.

In sum, there is compelling evidence that intergroup contact is associated with increased perspective taking and that perspective taking mediates intergroup contact effects on a number of outgroup outcomes. There is also initial evidence to suggest that perspective taking is associated with increased willingness to help the other group and even engage in collective action on behalf of the an outgroup. In Chapter 4, therefore, I explore these ideas by explicitly outlining the effects of contact on outgroup oriented collective action via perspective taking and collective guilt across two studies.

Collective Guilt

Individuals may display a range of emotional reactions such as collective guilt, fear, anger and empathy at the group level to the extent that they categorize themselves as a member of a particular group (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004). Such emotional reactions do not necessitate individual agency or active participation in the actual events which cause these reactions as the salience of social identity determines the level of these emotional reactions (for a review of intergroup emotions see Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009).

As for collective guilt as an emotional experience at the group level, it can be argued that individuals experience collective guilt when they consider their ingroup to be responsible for moral transgressions which concern a relevant outgroup (Branscombe, Doosje, & McGarty, 2003). From a functional perspective, emotions and emotional reactions including collective guilt are seen as adaptive mechanisms which have positive consequences for physical and social survival (Keltner & Gross, 1999). Therefore, it can be assumed that collective guilt, as a functional emotional reaction (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004), has particularly important consequences for intergroup situations.

Researchers have presented experimental and correlational support (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2004; Mallett et al., 2008) for the predictive role collective guilt has on reparative attitudes, outgroup oriented collective action and even attempts to reinstate intergroup relations between the ingroup and outgroup at a more equal and positive level (M. Schmitt, Branscombe, & Brehm, 2004). From the contact perspective, intergroup contact has been found to positively predict collective guilt (Cehajic & Brown, 2010; Hewstone, Cairns, McLernon, Niens, & Noor, 2004; Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006). Therefore, it stands to reason that, together with perspective taking, collective guilt might mediate contact effects on outgroup oriented collective action tendencies.

Shared Grievances

Up to now, I have discussed how intergroup contact might relate to ingroup oriented collective action, through a reduction in perceived threat, and to outgroup oriented collective action, through an increase in collective guilt and perspective taking, within the context of two opposing groups, the disadvantaged and the advantaged. Finally, I will elaborate on how contact among two groups might have conducive

effects on collective action when the groups involved in the contact situation share similar, if not exactly the same, social status within the wider fabric of the society. Occasionally, for instance, Asian Americans and Latinos can form a coalition to fight against anti-immigration legislation and discrimination (Saito, 1998) or various interests groups such as lesbian and gay rights activists, or Black students association and women rights organizations, unite forces to improve their rights (Van Dyke, 2003). Paramount to the formation of such coalitions or alliances between the groups is the realization that the groups suffer from the same grievances, such as discrimination or segregation (Okamoto, 2010).

In social psychology, shared grievances have mostly been dealt with in relation to identity processes within the same groups (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). For instance, realization of shared grievances is a necessary precondition for the formation of a politicized identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001) which, in turn, predicts more willingness to engage in collective action. Interestingly, while it is assumed that shared grievances provide the necessary context, no research has considered, so far, how individuals actually come to realize their common suffering (Card, Mas, & Moretti, 2010; Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Bialosiewicz, 2012). While access to information through various sources is one way of learning about other people and groups (Howard & Hussain, 2011; Smith et al., 2012) learning about how other people have suffered, or been discriminated against, through face-to-face contact in daily life provides a richer and a more personalized access to the grievances of outgroup members (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). In the next chapter, I will first discuss collective action and differentiate between outgroup and ingroup oriented dimensions. I then explore two recent theories and further elaborate on how collective action tendencies might be influenced by intergroup contact.

CHAPTER 2: COLLECTIVE ACTION

For decades, the study of collective action has enjoyed well-deserved popularity in the social sciences. Sociologists, political scientists, and economists have published volumes of theoretical and empirical research and investigated issues ranging from definition and content of collective action, to group dynamics, and to societal level antecedents of collective action (Gamson, 1975; Granovetter, 1978; Hardin, 1982; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001; Olson, 1971; Ostrom, 1990; Smelser, 1962). Such a wide, multidisciplinary interest can perhaps be best attributed to the fact that the concept itself covers an eclectic range of social phenomena from cooperation between rational actors, to demonstrations, and even revolutions, e.g., “the Arab Spring” (Baldassarri, 2009).

In contrast, the study of collective action failed to achieve a similar level of popularity (Wright, 2009) in social psychology. However, the prejudice reduction path has enjoyed an ever-increasing interest since the publication of *The Nature of Prejudice* (Allport, 1954) which triggered an unprecedented interest in intergroup contact and prejudice reduction. It could be argued that social psychological research on collective action lacked the impetus of a coherent, unifying, and a robust theory, akin to intergroup contact theory, which can be applied to a diverse range of groups and contexts (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Pettigrew, 2008).

However, this lack of social psychological interest in collective action seems to have changed in the last decade (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). Attempts are in progress to provide an integrative theory that is fuelled, in part, by increasing discontent with the purported inability of contact to eradicate intergroup conflict and social injustice (Dixon et al., in press). At least two theoretical models, the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) and the dynamic

dual pathway model of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2004) have been offered.

Furthermore, empirical research investigating collective action both among the disadvantaged and the advantaged groups has been published (Cakal, Hewstone, Scwahr, & Heath, 2011; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2007), and an increasing body of research is being conducted on outgroup oriented collective action, an important topic which still remains largely under-researched (Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Mallett et al., 2008; Subašić, Schmitt, & Reynolds, 2011). Finally, additional advances have been made in understanding how individuals from different groups form coalitions in solidarity against a common outgroup (Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). Of particular importance is recent work by Glasford and Calcagno (2012) which looks at the impact intergroup contact among minority and majority group members can have on solidarity between two minority groups. All this suggests that although we are still far from a full-blown theory which can be applied to diverse types of mobilization and groups in different situations, there is a vibrant research agenda focusing on psychological mechanisms of collective action. The remaining sections of this chapter are organized into four parts. The next part introduces the concept of collective action and develops it toward a more conceptually clear definition which differentiates between different types of collective action in terms of its temporality (e.g., short term versus long term) and its orientation (e.g., ingroup versus outgroup oriented). Then, I elaborate on the history of research on psychological antecedents of collective action and discuss two recent models, the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) and the dynamic dual pathway model of collective action (DDPM; van Zomeren et al., 2012), before I conclude with an overview of the empirical chapters.

Collective Action (s)

According to an established definition of collective action, when a member of a particular group engages in activities on behalf of that group aiming to improve the conditions of the entire group she is effectively engaging in collective action (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990a). Notwithstanding its conceptual usefulness, this definition rules out situations when collective action is aimed not at improving but maintaining the conditions for the ingroup (Leach et al., 2007). It also fails to capture collective action attempts when the aim is to improve the conditions for an outgroup (Mallett et al., 2008), or when two groups act in coalition against another outgroup (V. Taylor & Whittier, 1992).

What is more, by lumping together protest mobilization, collective action and collective behaviour the definition above blurs the important conceptual and empirical differences between these similar but inherently distinct types of action (Wright, 2009). Obviously, the dynamics leading to the Arab spring are different from those which motivated white activists to take part in freedom rides in an attempt to challenge the inequalities concerning race differences in the US in the 1960s (Arsenault, 2006). Similarly, the motivations and conditions leading to protests in 2010 against university funding cuts in the UK (see Lewis, Vasagar, Williams, & Taylor, 2010) are different from those that motivated Blacks to participate in anti-apartheid demonstrations in South Africa, with increasing levels of violence, before the change of regime in 1994, or even different from the antecedents of protests by Black South Africans against African immigration to South Africa in 2008 (Neocosmos, 2010).

Necessarily, definitions such as the one suggested above (Wright et al., 1990a) are limited in the range of collective action types they can conceptualize. Below, therefore, I attempt to provide a more comprehensive definition of collective action and

establish the conceptual boundaries for the dimensions of collective action investigated in this thesis. Given the range of social phenomena grouped under the general term “collective action” (Baldassarri, 2009), defining the boundaries of the concept and establishing conceptual clarity is particularly important (Wright, 2009). Absent such conceptual clarity, attempts to investigate the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action are problematic as they run the risk of being reductionist and deterministic.

A Working Definition of Collective Action

As discussed above, individuals engage in collective action when they act either to improve the conditions for a specific group or to maintain the conditions for their ingroup when they face future deterioration of their situation. These actions can be ingroup oriented, where the beneficiary is the individuals’ own group, or outgroup oriented where the beneficiary is a relevant outgroup. Such collective action then excludes actions where individuals mobilize to protest or demonstrate in a single instance or series of collective behaviours or social protests which might have individual self-serving interests or whose aim is simply to help an outgroup (Wright, 2009).

The conceptual difference between ingroup versus outgroup oriented collective action is useful in illustrating that the effect of social identity, the key concept in most theoretical accounts of collective action. While ingroup identification positively predicts ingroup oriented collective action as established by earlier research (Van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008), is tenable to assume that ingroup identification will negatively predict outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. In the same manner, the role of intergroup contact can also be conceptualized and tested, whether it promotes or prevents collective action, depending on the direction of collective action.

In the following sections, I first present a brief overview of the social psychological research on collective action and its antecedents, then I focus on the two most recent social psychological theories of collective action.

Early Accounts of Collective Action

In relatively early models, it was assumed that people engage in collective action in reaction to actual conditions of injustice concerning their group (see van Zomeren et al., 2008, for a review). An important development in the history of research on collective action, therefore, concerns the differentiation of objective or actual conditions from subjective perceptions of those conditions. This argument, which now forms the basis of social psychological theories of relative deprivation and collective action, suggests that people react not to the objective conditions of inequalities but to the subjective conditions compared to the other relevant outgroups (Klandermans, 1997; Smith et al., 2012). In a classic study, Stouffer and his colleagues (Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams, 1949) observed that American air corpsmen reported higher levels of discontent than other branches of the army although their rate of promotion was, in fact, higher compared to personnel in those other branches. Stouffer et al. (1949) did not investigate the relationship between this discontent and collective action. It took other scholars to develop the concept of discontent resulting from subjective conditions into relative deprivation, a group level antecedent of collective action (Pettigrew, 1967; Runciman, 1966; and see Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Bialosiewicz, 2011, for an extensive review of the concept).

The second significant development in social psychological research on collective action came with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). when Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that the negative quality of a specific social identity is not only due to objective conditions of deprivation but is also about the social standing of

that group relative to the group of reference. Therefore, to the extent that individuals perceive their group to have a lower position in the social hierarchy, hence a negative social identity, they will seek to improve the position of their group and achieve a positive social identity. Tajfel and Turner's (1979) argument, understandably, contributed toward a more social psychological interpretation of antecedents of collective action as it provided a basis on which to interpret the relevance of subjective inequalities. From there on, research focused on the discontent resulting from subjective conditions, and the group basis upon which these subjective inequalities are interpreted, namely social identity; and perceptions of group's potential to change these inequalities, or group efficacy (van Zomeren et al., 2008). I now turn to these three antecedents of collective action that have received the most research attention in the last two decades: social identity, relative deprivation, and collective efficacy.

Established Antecedents of Collective Action

Social Identity

Social identity theory's contribution to the research on collective action can hardly be overstated. It developed and emphasized the significance of groups in explaining conflict, as first stated by Sherif and his colleagues (Sherif et al., 1961). By placing intergroup relations into society and emphasizing its embedded nature in the social structure, it also laid the theoretical foundations for modern integrative theories of collective action. Last but not least, it proposed clear-cut, easily testable hypotheses concerning how the social self could influence behaviour both at individual and group levels (J. C. Turner & Reynolds, 2010).

For Tajfel and Turner (1978), the positive quality of social identity is intertwined with the socio-structural positions groups hold in the society, which enables the concept of identity at the group level to connect subjective levels of prestige groups

enjoy in the society and actual positions they occupy in the economic and political hierarchy. Tajfel and Turner (1979) further theorized that individuals make every effort possible to have a positive social identity relative to the other groups in the society. In situations when this social identity is negative, and being a member of a minority or a disadvantaged group is inherently negative, they have certain strategies available to them: (a) individual mobility; (b) social creativity, which includes seeking positive distinctiveness by changing the dimensions of comparisons with the other groups, changing the values attained to their group's features, or changing the reference group and comparing themselves to a less positive group; (c) entering into direct competition, namely collective action, with the advantaged or more positive group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) also proposed that individuals would be motivated to engage in collective action when they cannot leave their groups (individual immobility or impermeability of the group boundaries), when they perceive their negative position as unjust (illegitimacy of the situation), and when the system is easy to challenge and hence open to change (instability). How people perceive these group boundaries, however, depends on how strongly people identify with their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Notwithstanding the significance of group boundaries in instigating collective action, more recent research has investigated the direct effects of social identity and of its variants (Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; Simon & Klandermans, 2001) on collective action. Simon and Klandermans (2001) took this relevance to a new level by introducing 'politicized identity' as a more emphatic form of identification with the disadvantaged group. The crucial move here is that while identification with the disadvantaged group is about categorization of individuals into 'us' and 'them,' politicized identity is about 'us' in a fight with 'them'.

Incorporating politicization and hence activism into social identity has important consequences for collective action. First, it allows the development of a more active identity (van Zomeren et al., 2008) with readiness to engage in collective action (Drury & Reicher, 1999). Second, it arms the individual with the ideological tools, in the Althusserian sense (Althusser, 1971), in the struggle against the oppressors. Third, it creates and enforces upon the individual the moral aspect of the struggle and collective action (Sturmer & Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Given these bonding effects of collective identity, perhaps it is not surprising that two of the most recent theoretical attempts (SIMCA and DDPM) place more emphasis on social identity in comparison to relative deprivation or group efficacy.

Relative Deprivation

Starting with Stouffer et al.'s (1949) classic work, relative deprivation too has been widely investigated across the social sciences as an antecedent of or mediating mechanism between other antecedents of collective action and collective action (Smith et al., 2011). Relative deprivation's very richness in terms of its applicability to different situations and in different positions has also led researchers to employ a wide range of definitions and measures as in research on collective action. Following the example of collective action in the earlier sections of this chapter, therefore, it is essential to establish a working definition of the concept for conceptual and analytical clarity.

According to Smith et al. (2011) relative deprivation can best be understood in three stages of psychological processes. The first stage is the process of comparison or a series of comparisons individuals make. This might involve a variety of frames of reference. Therefore, it should be borne in mind that comparisons could be made on an intragroup basis, e.g., comparing the ingroup's present and past, or present and future,

or on an intergroup basis, when individuals compare their ingroup with the relevant outgroup.

The point here is not that individuals are aggrieved about what they do not have or how little they have. Rather, it is about what they think they ought to have compared to the relevant outgroup and how unfair it is to have less than what the relevant outgroup has. The disparity might reflect the actual conditions in terms of social, economic or political resources that the ingroup controls relative to the target group or it might deviate from the reality in the sense that members of a powerful or advantaged group might see themselves as relatively deprived (Leach et al., 2007; L. T. O'Brien, Garcia, Crandall, & Kordys, 2010). Hence it is not wrong to say that relative deprivation is in the eye of the beholder (Major, 1994). The second stage involves reaching the conclusion that the individual or her group is in a worse situation compared to the relevant target group as in 'we have less than what we actually deserve'. The third stage is the stage where individuals see this 'having less' as essentially an unjust and illegitimate condition (Grant & Brown, 1995). So 'having less' becomes 'my group has less than the other group and this is unfair'.

The cognitive appraisal of 'having less' is the most essential characteristic of relative deprivation as a social psychological mechanism as Smith et al. (2011) argue. This is consistent with past work which demonstrated that to the extent that people internalize oppression and inequalities as legitimate they do not react to them nor do they challenge them (Major, 1994; Tyler, 2006). Among many others, one important antecedent of perceiving inequalities as normal and legitimate might be the endorsement and internalization of beliefs and values which justify these differences (Major & Townsend, 2010) results in attributing no responsibility to the dominant

group for the existing inequalities (Major, Kaiser, O'Brien, & McCoy, 2007), hence attribution of blame to internal reasons rather than external actors.

Past research also differentiates between individualistic or egoistic deprivation and fraternal group level relative deprivation (Runciman, 1966); between temporal comparisons within the group (De la Sablonniere, Tougas, & Lortie-Lussier, 2009); and comparisons between the ingroup and the outgroup (De la Sablonnière, Tougas, & Perenlei, 2010); last but not least, between incidental relative deprivation (Klandermans, 1997), when deprivation concerns situation-based injustices (i.e., sudden change of a particular law such as the tuition fee increase in the UK universities), and structural relative deprivation, when inequalities are deeply entrenched in the societal structure and generally result from ascribed status (i.e., belonging to a specific religion or ethnicity; Major, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As I conceptualize collective action at the intergroup level and focus on the relationship between contact and collective action, I test this relationship in multi-ethnic societies where the groups have been involved in a long term conflict. It is, therefore, more appropriate to focus on relative deprivation based on intergroup comparisons and structural inequalities as the most relevant operationalization of the concept to the present research.

One final aspect of relative deprivation is the negative affect resulting from cognitive appraisal of the inequalities as negative and unfair. Based on intergroup emotions theory (Mackie et al., 2009), research on emotions maintains that individuals' experiences of emotions are determined by the level of their ingroup identification (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Branscombe et al., 2004). In an intergroup situation, if the social identity is salient, emotional reactions are experienced at the intergroup level (for a review of intergroup emotions see Mackie et al., 2009). As for the present research, I focus on the actual cognitive appraisals of relative deprivation (e.g.,

perceptions of differences and their relative unfairness) but not on anger as anger may also result from individual differences and it may not always be triggered by collective disadvantage or undeservedness of the collective disadvantage (O'Mara, Jackson, Batson, & Gaertner, 2011).

Group Efficacy

Similar to relative deprivation accounts of collective action, group efficacy accounts combine psychological, social psychological and sociological theories to explain collective action. These include Bandura's self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1982, 2000), the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), and resource mobilization theory (McAdam, 1996). Group efficacy can be considered a group-level extension of self-efficacy first proposed by Bandura (1982) and relates to the judgements and evaluations individuals make of their own performance in dealing with situations in the future. Such evaluations of one's capabilities predict one's likely course of action in the positive direction, the amount of effort she will expend, and the level of perseverance she will display when faced by difficulties. At the group level, efficacy consists of shared beliefs in a group's collective ability to achieve a certain goal as a group and is the result of a complex set of dynamics which include, but are not limited to, interaction, coordination and synergy and mechanisms that facilitate these dynamics (Bandura, 2000). Similar to the perceptions of efficacy at an individual level, group efficacy determines the type of action to be taken as a group, optimal use of the resources available to the group, the amount of effort individual members exert to achieve their collective goal, and their ability to persevere and resist discouragement in the face of adversity.

Another important cornerstone of group efficacy is the relationship between perceived control and behaviour as discussed in the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991, 2005). The basic contention of the theory of planned behaviour is that

behaviour is predicted by a tri-partite model which includes attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control. While the effect of attitudes and subjective norms on actual behaviour is via intention, the model predicts that the effect of perceived behavioural control on behaviour is both direct and indirect, via intention. The model, thus, envisages a significant role for the perceived, not actual, behavioural control in predicting behaviour by specifying an explicit relationship between opportunities and perceived control as “the more resources and opportunities individuals believe they possess, and the fewer obstacles or impediments they anticipate, the greater should be their perceived control over the behaviour” (Ajzen, 1991, p. 196). Perceived availability of resources and opportunities also speaks to societal level accounts of collective action which received substantial amount of research interest in sociology and political science (McAdam, 1996).

The initial argument of resource mobilization theory concerning collective action was that mobilization is essentially bringing individuals together in groups to pursue collective goals (Oberschall, 1973). This rather crude approach was later superseded by finer-grained attempts which elaborated on the processes underlying mobilization. This resulted in renaming the theory as the political process theory of mobilization (McAdam, 1996), emphasizing threats and opportunities during this process (McAdam et al., 2001). While opportunities included political, economic and human assets, threats can best be understood as increased repression or future appropriation of even more rights.

Klandermans (1984, 1997) was the first to attempt to integrate these separate lines of theorizing and research into a coherent concept of group efficacy as it relates to collective action by suggesting that an individual’s decision to participate in collective action is influenced by value-expectancy calculations. In the proposed model, the value

component can be seen as an extension of the attitudes and subjective norms regarding behaviour in Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour (1991). Expectancy beliefs, on the other hand, represent the expectations that individual participation will increase the likelihood of successful outcome, and collective action will succeed with the participation of other members of the group (Klandermans, 1984, 1997), and are informed by perceptions of opportunities as hypothesized by the resource mobilization theory.

In their meta-analytic review of relative deprivation, Smith et al. (2011, p.1) describe relative deprivation as a "social psychological concept par excellence" as it outlines a subjective quality of mind which exercises influence on how individuals feel, perceive and behave, and connects the individuals to the interpersonal and intergroup levels. It can also be combined with other similar social psychological processes to offer a more integrative approach to collective behaviour which is very important in social psychology (Pettigrew, 1991). The same can be said for group efficacy. It is based on a perceived state of mind. It influences individuals' emotions and behaviour and, together with other social psychological predictors of collective action, it can provide a more detailed explanation of the phenomena. In the next section, I discuss two recent attempts to integrate social identity, relative deprivation and group efficacy as a coherent model of collective action.

Social Identity Model of Collective Action

It can be argued that the social identity model of collective action is the first integrative attempt toward a unifying theory of collective action. It builds upon the earlier qualitative attempts by Kelly and Breinlinger, (1996), Klandermans (1997), and Sturmer and Simon (2004). Unlike the earlier reviews, it is a meso-level theory (Jaccard & Jacoby, 2010; Mills, 1959) which focuses on collective action only and whose

specific postulates about collective action are supported by meta-analytic findings. The basic contention of the theory includes one revised and one novel hypothesis. First, social identity, relative deprivation and group efficacy predict collective action independently. Second, social identity also predicts relative deprivation and group efficacy. Thus, its effect on collective action is both direct and indirect, via group efficacy and relative deprivation.

Although both contentions might seem rather obvious at first sight, it is worth remembering that SIMCA extends the earlier theories in more than one way. Firstly, it specifies the basic mechanisms through which social identity predicts relative deprivation and group efficacy. Drawing upon recent research on effects of low-status group membership (Haslam & Reicher, 2006; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002), SIMCA argues that by providing the parameters for intergroup comparisons (Smith et al., 2012), social identity allows individuals to experience relative deprivation at a group level and at the same time protects them from the negative effects of this deprivation by giving them a sense of belongingness (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Secondly, it incorporates Bandura's argument that group efficacy is the result of synergic dynamics between the group members which are determined by a shared sense of social identity and therefore it delineates the path between identity and group efficacy. Thirdly, it specifies direct testable hypotheses between social identity, group efficacy, relative deprivation and collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

So, how strong are the paths between all four concepts? In their final model, van Zomeren et al. (2008) report similar effect sizes between social identity and relative deprivation ($r = .26, p < .001$) and between social identity and relative deprivation ($r = .19, p < .001$). The effect size between relative deprivation and collective action ($r = .28, p < .001$) is slightly stronger and so is the effect size between group efficacy and

collective action ($r = .28, p < .001$). Finally, the path between social identity and collective action is not substantially different ($r = .21, p < .001$) from the path between social identity and relative deprivation. These results are noteworthy for a number of reasons.

For social identity, the meta-analytic findings provide solid evidence in support of its relation to all three variables in the conceptual model. Findings also complement past research on the relationship between relative deprivation and collective action. Earlier it has been argued that structural disadvantage (when the disadvantage is institutionalized on the basis of some group characteristics such as gender, race or ethnicity and is deeply embedded in the social structure), as opposed to incidental disadvantage (when it is the result of some incidental changes or events) is harder to challenge for a number of reasons. Firstly, because it involves a prolonged struggle, therefore the strategies available to the disadvantaged group are scarce. Secondly, it is susceptible to endorsement and legitimization by the very disadvantaged group itself (Major, 1994). Therefore it stands to reason to expect the relationship between collective action and structural disadvantage to be weaker compared to the relationship between incidental disadvantage and collective action.

Van Zomeren et al. (2008) report a medium effect size between relative deprivation and collective action based on sixty five independent studies which include relative deprivation as an antecedent of collective action. Out of these sixty five studies, thirty three focus on structural injustice. Given the nature of the relationship between structural disadvantage and collective action, the results reveal that, irrespective of the type of disadvantage, the two processes are solidly linked. Taken together, these findings further reinforce the position of relative deprivation, which is cognitive and is based on structural inequalities on intergroup comparisons, as a predictor of collective

action. For group efficacy, meta-analytic findings also evince that the group efficacy-collective action intentions path has a medium effect size across fifty four studies on group efficacy (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Although most of these results are correlational, and correlational findings cannot substantiate claims of causality, van Zomeren et al. (2008) suggest that perceived group efficacy and collective action tendencies are closely related.

Notwithstanding its innovative integrative perspective and the solid empirical support it has, SIMCA has two important weaknesses. Firstly, it ignores a fundamental condition of human sociality. As Tajfel (1978, p. 64) perceptively stated “no group lives alone-all groups in society live in the midst of other groups . . . the reinterpretation of attributes and engagement in social action only acquire meaning in relation to, or in comparisons with, other groups”. Therefore, unless intergroup relations are embedded in an extreme intergroup situation, e.g., apartheid, they include interactions, social relations and friendships with the members of the advantaged group or vice versa. To ignore this fact is to ignore the most basic condition of intergroup relations. Secondly, van Zomeren et al. (2008) also admit that most of the data in their meta-analysis come from correlational studies. Therefore, it is possible to interpret the flow of causality in the reverse direction. Recent research has just begun to consider collective action both as a consequence and as a cause (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). So there might be alternative explanations of the meta-analytic findings van Zomeren et al. (2008) use to support SIMCA.

Dynamic Dual Pathway Model

By conceptualizing collective action from an emotional and coping perspective (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lazarus, 1991) the dynamic dual pathway model of collective action (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2004) differs

from SIMCA in a number of ways. Essentially, the model is based on two separate psychological processes of approach coping with collective disadvantage. The emotion-focused approach coping path draws upon intergroup emotions research (Mackie et al., 2009) and elaborates on anger as a distinct predictor of collective action whereas the problem focused approach coping path focuses on cost-benefit calculations such as availability of resources to deal with the situation. Firstly, the model explicitly specifies the link between relative deprivation and anger at the group level. Secondly, it further explicates how anger and cost-benefit calculations based on group efficacy can connect. Thirdly, by conceptualizing collective action, based on a two-staged cognitive appraisal mechanism (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Scherer, Schorr, & Johnstone, 2001), as a dynamic process, it attempts to correct for the issue of causality. I discuss these innovations in detail below.

DDPM suggests that at the primary appraisal stage individuals first assess the problem, collective disadvantage, and its relevance to the group. The assessment of self-relevancy of the collective disadvantage is determined by the strength of identification with the group. Individuals then attribute responsibility for the group-relevant disadvantage to external agents and evaluate whether collective disadvantage is unfair. Furthermore, the efficacy of the group to deal with the collective disadvantage is also assessed at the secondary appraisal stage, and attribution of blame to external sources and unfairness of the situation then leads to group-based anger, and cost-benefit analysis leads to a heightened sense of group efficacy (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). Interesting to note here is the specification of two additional paths: from group efficacy to attribution of blame to external sources, and from group efficacy to anger. I return to these links below. Both group efficacy and anger then translate into collective action tendencies, and these tendencies predict collective action participation.

In line with research on coping and appraisal mechanisms (Lazarus, 1991), DDPM treats appraisal as a process of appraisal-reappraisal. Reappraisal is basically the process of changing evaluations using new information from the environment as well as information from individual's initial reactions (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Based on both sources of information, this reappraisal might either further motivate or demotivate the individual for a particular course of action. This is also in line with recent research on the dynamic nature of emotions. In a dynamic adaptive system, emotions are appraised using multiple criteria on multiple levels which allow for recursive processing of emotions. This approach (Scherer, 2004, 2009) places particular emphasis on the intensity, quality, and duration of emotion as determinants of the feedback process. However, it should be noted that while the dynamic appraisal approach to emotions focuses more on the individual's own reactions as the primary source of information necessary for the reappraisal process, in DDPM the focus moves to, somehow inadvertently, the collective action participation, the actual behaviour. In this manner, DDPM allows for feed-back loops from collective action participation to collective action tendencies, coping potential, social identity, and perceptions of collective disadvantage. In simple terms, participation in collective action predicts, in a recursive manner, collective action tendencies, increased sense of group efficacy, stronger identification with the group, and a heightened sense of collective disadvantage.

There is recent empirical evidence on the effects of participation in collective action on individual outcomes such as psychological well-being and ingroup identification (Becker, Tausch, Spears, & Christ, 2011; Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011) and on anger (Drury & Reicher, 2009). These initial findings evince that participation in collective action has a number of recursive effects. What is less clear,

however, is the underlying processes of certain other recursive paths. How does, for instance, heightened sense of coping potential influence attributions of external blame? Or how does it lead to increased anger? These proposed paths in the conceptual model do not exist in the empirical evidence van Zomeren et al. (2012) borrow from their earlier studies (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2010; van Zomeren et al., 2004; van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008) to support the hypothesized recursive effects of collective action participation.

Both models, SIMCA and DDPM, go a long way toward conceptualization of a coherent and unifying theory to explain collective action. Their innovative approach based on extensive empirical support, in SIMCA, and extensive theorizing, in DDPM, constitutes the first successful attempt to integrate decades of past research on collective action. In my view, however, they ignore one fundamental aspect of the social world, the non-isolated nature of groups, as Tajfel (1978) explains so elegantly. Therefore, although they provide some novel answers to fundamental questions on the nature of collective action, they also create more questions which remain to be answered. In the following chapters, I explore how two paths to social change, as embodied by intergroup contact and collective action, interact with and influence each other and what are the consequences of this interaction.

CHAPTER 3: THE SOCIAL IDENTITY MODEL OF COLLECTIVE ACTION AND
THE SEDATIVE EFFECT OF CONTACT AMONG BLACK AND WHITE
STUDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Almost two decades ago, when America was still debating the appointment of Colin Powell, an African American, to the position Chief of Staff of US Military, Paterson, in a landmark essay published in *The New Republic*, affirmed that “the burden of racial and ethnic change always rests on a minority group” (1995: p.8). Nine years before Paterson, Reicher (1986) stated that the “racist” (p. 23) structure of British society would change through collective action by those who suffer from that racism, not by intergroup contact. While we have no doubts about the transformative power of intergroup contact, as supported by fifty odd years of research (see Hewstone & Swart, 2011), we believe Reicher’s assertion deserves further research attention. The fact that inequality and injustice endure despite increased contact suggests that contact alone may not be sufficient to bring about social change. In the two studies that we report, we attempt to integrate these two approaches (intergroup contact and collective action) towards a more contextual social psychological model (Pettigrew, 1991) aimed at understanding the intergroup processes leading to social change.

According to Social Identity Model of Collective Action (van Zomeren et al., 2008) three key predictors i.e. group efficacy, perceived injustice, and social identity can explain why members of a social group engage in action aimed at changing social conditions for the benefit of the ingroup, either via peaceful or violent means (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990b; Wright, 2009, 2010).

A particular feature of Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA) is that it accords a key role to social identity and suggests that identity influences collective action both directly and indirectly through perceived injustice and group

efficacy. This ‘bridging’ feature of social identity (van Zomeren et al., 2008) is supported by two arguments. Firstly, it is the identification with the group that delineates the group aspects of the deprivation which in turn predicts collective action over objective or personal deprivation. Secondly it gives the otherwise pacified individuals a sense of togetherness and collective power. Therefore, the way individuals identify with their group predicts the way in which they perceive and evaluate the efficacy of their group or the level of perceived injustice that their group experiences. However, we think the relation between social identity and other predictors might be more complex than is suggested by SIMCA.

SIMCA assumes that the relation between social identity, perceived injustice and group efficacy is immune from any influence which might be exerted by other intergroup processes. Additionally, within the SIMCA perspective, there is little emphasis on the ‘structural position’ of the individuals (i.e. whether the participants belong to advantaged or disadvantaged groups). We therefore believe that there is a need for a more comprehensive discussion of collective action which considers equally the involved parties as well as possible relations between predictors of collective action and other intergroup processes. In fact, it has already been suggested that one should consider other intergroup processes and their subsequent impact on collective action among both advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Pettigrew, 2010), and that one should recognize the complexities of interaction between groups, especially its impact on the disadvantaged (Reicher, 2007). In line with this view, we focus on the role that intergroup contact might play within the SIMCA perspective.

Intergroup Contact and SIMCA

It is well established that intergroup contact effectively reduces prejudice (Allport, 1954; R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008). As well

as reducing prejudice, contact also increases trust, perspective taking and empathy (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Kenworthy & Jones, 2009; Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2010) towards the outgroup through learning new information about the outgroup and disconfirming negative views of it, all of which lead to a more sympathetic perspective towards the outgroup (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Bekhuis, 2010). This new perspective involves not only an appreciation of the values and the culture of the outgroup but also re-valuation of ingroup values and norms (Pettigrew, 1997, 1998) and a more critical and realistic approach to the belief system of one's own group. Through contact, one realizes that there are alternative manners to navigate across the complexities of the social world and these are no less correct and valid than the customs, values and norms of the ingroup (Verkuyten et al., 2010). These processes, known as "deprovincialization", encourage individuals, especially the members of the advantaged group, to move away from glorifying the ingroup and to adopt a more inclusive approach towards the outgroup (Brewer, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998). Moreover, this more inclusive approach is also believed to be associated with weaker identification with the ingroup (Pettigrew, 2009; Verkuyten et al., 2010), and it helps to form a common ingroup identity which includes both groups under a new superordinate identity (Dovidio et al., 2009). Once the former outgroup members are categorized into this common group, they can be evaluated positively as a result of "pro-ingroup bias" as "they" and "we" are replaced by "us".

Among the disadvantaged, consequences for social change of this more inclusive identity and the deprovincialized perspective of the social world range from downplaying the essential inequalities between the groups to creating the false attribution that the inequalities are the result of individual differences rather than structural limitations, and that anyone with the right skills and talents can make it to the

top (Wright, 2001). Furthermore, as a result of “pro-ingroup bias”, the members of the disadvantaged group stop seeing the advantaged group members as the perpetrators of the grievances they experienced (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). These predictions are echoed in the findings of recent experimental and survey studies. For example, Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, and Pratto, 2009 found that positive and commonality-focused contact was associated with less support for social change benefitting the disadvantaged ingroup, whereas in South Africa (Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, et al., 2010a) detected a paradoxical negative association between intergroup contact and support for policies benefitting the ingroup among the disadvantaged.

These findings also have additional consequences for social change if we are to consider the role of social identity, perceived injustice (operationalized as relative deprivation) and group efficacy in instigating collective action as suggested by SIMCA. Firstly, similar calming effects of contact in decreasing perceptions of relative deprivation have been reported among African and European Americans (Ellison & Powers, 1994) (Ellison & Powers, 1994) as well as Black and White South Africans (J. Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, & Eaton, 2010b; J. Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, et al., 2010a; Durrheim et al., 2011). Notwithstanding these ‘ironic’ effects of contact, as Pettigrew (2010) argued, contact may well work the other way round by possibly accentuating perceptions of relative deprivation and therefore increasing collective action tendencies (Poore et al., 2002).

As for group efficacy, we believe that its position in SIMCA also needs to be further elaborated in line with the discussion above. Bandura (2000) suggests that collective efficacy emerges from shared beliefs which are constantly negotiated by members of the group. Therefore, a closer reading of both the deprovincialization hypothesis (Pettigrew, 1997) and the common ingroup identity model (Dovidio et al.,

2009) reveals a possible inverse relationship between positive intergroup contact and the efficacy of the ingroup. More contact with the outgroup members might be associated with a tendency to underestimate the efficacy of the ingroup as well as the resources it might mobilize (Reicher, 2007).

In fact, all these ironic effects of intergroup contact among the disadvantaged have already been branded as the “Reicher Effect” or contact’s ‘sedative’ effect. As suggested by Pettigrew (2010), this effect demonstrates itself when members of the disadvantaged group are less motivated to engage in collective action to improve their conditions (Reicher, 2007). Regular contact with the members of the advantaged group activates the mechanisms above and these in turn bring about a certain level of alleviation to the grievances of the disadvantaged as well as improving their attitudes toward the advantaged group. Among the majority group members, however, extending support for social change through collective action by the disadvantaged necessitates a certain degree of dissolution in their will to maintain existing conditions as well as an acknowledgement of the inequalities and the unsustainable (and unjust) nature of these conditions. Conversely, the advantaged group may also be motivated to maintain their position. Both motivation and dissolution to maintain the status quo then may be affected by weaker identification with the ingroup, reinforced moral conviction of the unjust circumstances regarding the disadvantaged (van Zomeren et al., 2008) and re-evaluation of what the ingroup is entitled to. All this suggests that a broader perspective than the one suggested by Reicher (2007) is needed to incorporate the differential effects of contact on collective action and the psychological processes that underlie this action among high status and low status groups respectively.

The Present Research

Based on recent theoretical work on the differential effects of contact among high and low status groups (Pettigrew, 2010; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a) on one hand and the integrative approaches to collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren & Spears, 2009; van Zomeren, Spears, et al., 2008) on the other, we wanted to test the individual and joint effects of contact, social identity, relative deprivation and group efficacy on collective action in a challenging socio-political context. We did this at a university campus in post-Apartheid South Africa where despite the legal termination of the Apartheid, racial categories still exist and race-related issues remain salient (Pillay & Collings, 2004; Slabbert, 2001) and are further exacerbated by Whites' persisting socio-economic advantage over other South Africans despite the political and numerical superiority of Blacks.

Predictions

Based on SIMCA, our global prediction is that social identity will be positively associated with collective action tendencies and support for policies among members of both groups, directly, and indirectly, via relative deprivation and group efficacy. Thus we predicted:

H1: Higher levels of social identity will be associated with higher levels of collective action.

H1a: Among Blacks, social identity will be positively associated with higher levels of support for policies favouring the ingroup. However, among Whites, social identity will be negatively associated with support for policies favouring the outgroup Blacks.

Given the improvements, albeit limited, that Blacks have experienced since the end of Apartheid, we expected the association between social identity and group

efficacy to be more salient among Black than White South Africans. For the association between social identity and relative deprivation, we hypothesized a stronger link among White South Africans, as research on social identity has consistently shown that high status groups are susceptible to feeling more insecure and may seek to maintain the status quo when change is imminent and apparent (Ellemers & Bos, 1998; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). Furthermore, numerical minority groups are comparatively more biased than low status majority groups (Gonzalez & Brown, 2006; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1987) as their distinctiveness is more threatened, causing them to favour the ingroup strongly, especially in times of uncertainty.

Although Blacks' relative position is still not favourable, changing conditions are clearly in their favour and this should have an inverse relationship with their perceptions of relative deprivation (De la Sablonnière et al., 2010). More specifically, comparing themselves with other ingroup members and outgroup members over time and at present, Black university students are less likely to consider themselves relatively deprived. Finally, it has already been established that among Black South Africans, more intergroup contact with high status Whites might result in a tendency to ignore the extent of injustice that their ingroup has long suffered (J. Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, et al., 2010b)

For contact, we predicted that higher levels of contact with the outgroup would be associated with reduced willingness to engage in collective action both directly and indirectly, via relative deprivation and group efficacy (Durrheim et al., 2011; Reicher, 2007; Saguy et al., 2009):

H2: Among Blacks and Whites, positive contact with the outgroup will negatively predict collective action tendencies.

H2a: Among Whites, contact with Blacks will positively predict support for policies favouring the outgroup. However, among Blacks, contact with outgroup Whites will negatively predict support for policies favouring the ingroup.

As a result of the democratic and multicultural policies prevailing on the campus and the emphasis on commonalities (Dovidio et al., 2009) in the post-Apartheid period, we expected that among the low status group, contact with the advantaged group would shift the focus from inequalities to perceptions of procedural fairness. However, the effect should be in the opposite direction among the Whites as their position is certainly not favoured by the current situation and both the changes already underway and those expected in the future are likely to worsen their position. Finally, consistent with the role that contact can play on other group processes we discussed above, especially among low status numerical majority groups (Christ et al., 2010; Pettigrew, 2010), we hypothesized that:

H2b: Among Blacks, regular contact with the outgroup will moderate the paths from social identity to relative deprivation and group efficacy on the one hand, and the paths from all three predictors (i.e., social identity, relative deprivation and group efficacy) to collective action and support for policies, on the other.

Thus we expected that among those who reported lower levels of contact, the paths highlighted above would be stronger than among those who reported frequent contact with the outgroup Whites.

Study 1

Method

Participants

The sample comprised 488 Black students (121 males and 367 females, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.62$ and $SD = 3.60$) recruited online at a mixed South African university (student proportions: 80% Blacks; 15% Whites; 5% Coloureds and Indians). All students who participated in the study received partial course credit for their participation.

Measures

In this study as well as the other studies reported in this thesis, participants completed an omnibus questionnaire on intergroup relations in the country where the study was conducted. However, only specific variables that are pertinent to the research questions of my thesis are included in the analysis and reported subsequently.

All variables reported in the present study were measured on 7-point Likert scales (for contact items: 1, *never*; 7, *all the time*; for all the other items 1, *totally disagree*; 7, *totally agree*). Higher values thus indicate more contact, stronger social identification with the ingroup, higher levels of relative deprivation, more perceived group efficacy, and support for collective action and policies favouring the ingroup.

Predictors

Intergroup contact and social identification with the ingroup served as predictors¹. To measure intergroup contact we adapted three items from Swart et al.

¹ For this and the subsequent studies reported in the thesis, all variables are measured using scales validated and extensively used by prior research. Each latent variable is measured using the full scale consisting of various observed items. For each study, I first conducted a confirmatory factor analysis using Mplus software. Following the results of confirmatory factor analysis and in line with existing research, those items with factor loadings below .5 (T. A. Brown, 2006; Hair et al., 2010; Kline, 2011) were dropped from the analysis. I followed the same strategy for the rest of the studies in the thesis. For each study only the items with satisfactory factor loadings were reported.

(2010) to assess positive outgroup contact ($\alpha = .84$). Participants reported the amount of contact they have at university, in social activities, and in their homes or university residences (i.e., ‘How often do you meet your White friends at the university’, ‘How often do you meet them in social activities’, and ‘How often do you visit your White friends in their home?’). Social identification was measured by two items from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992): ‘Being Black is an important reflection of who I am’ and ‘In general, belonging to the Black community in SA is an important part of my self-image’ ($r = .52, p < .001$).

Mediators

Relative deprivation was measured by two items adapted from Leach et al. (2007): ‘Blacks are economically disadvantaged compared to Whites’ and ‘Blacks are socially disadvantaged compared to Whites’ ($r = .60, p < .001$). Group efficacy was measured by three items adapted from Kelly and Breinlinger (1996), and Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, and Mielke (1999): ‘Blacks as a group can change the current conditions of Blacks in SA’, ‘We Black South Africans can change our relations with White South Africans by our own effort’, and ‘Working with other Black South African people I can change the conditions of Black South Africans’ ($\alpha = .84$).

Different items from the same scale met the criteria in different studies. Therefore, the items I employed to measure some variables, e.g., social identity, might slightly vary in different studies. For instance, in the present study, social identity was measured by ‘Being Black is an important reflection of who I am’ and ‘In general, belonging to the Black community in SA is an important part of my self-image’ adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992 whereas in study 3 social identity was measured by ‘I am proud to be Turkish’, ‘In general, being Turkish is an important part of my self-image’, and ‘I am very happy to be Turkish’ which were also adapted from the same scale.

Outcome Variables

We measured collective action with three items ($\alpha = .79$) adapted from van Zomeren et al., (2008) and Smith, Cronin, and Kessler (2008), 'I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the current situation of Blacks in South Africa', 'I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the conditions for Blacks', and 'I would be willing to sign up for a neighbourhood project to improve the conditions for Blacks in my neighbourhood'. Support for policies benefitting the ingroup was measured by four items ($\alpha = .91$) adapted from Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysa (1997): 'Special university scholarships should be provided for Black students who attain good grades' and 'Some people think that Blacks have been discriminated against for so long that the government has a special obligation to help improve their standard of living', 'Special university scholarships should be provided for Black students who attain good grades', and 'Government should invest more in the predominantly Black neighbourhoods'.

Results and Discussion

We used Structural Equation Modelling in Mplus (version 5.2; Muthen & Muthen, 2008) to test our theoretical model, using the Robust Maximum Likelihood (MLR) estimation method against any possible non-normality in the data. The overall model fit was assessed through the χ^2 test, χ^2/df ratio, RMSEA (root mean square error of approximation), CFI (Comparative Fit Index) and SRMR (the standardized root mean square residual). Acceptable cut off points for these indices are a non-significant χ^2 value (Barrett, 2007; Mulaik, 2007), or a χ^2/df ratio lower than or equal to 3 for satisfactory fit or below 2 indicating excellent fit, .06 or lower for RMSEA, 95 or higher for CFI and .08 or lower for SRMR (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Marsh, Hau, & Wen, 2004). Exploiting a raw data format, we handled the missing data (less than 5%)

through “full information likelihood” approach in Mplus, which is the default for datasets with missing data.

We first tested the measurement model (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Kline, 2011), allowing all latent variables to correlate with each other without specifying any paths (confirmatory factor analysis or CFA). When possible, we created our latent variables by combining individual items in subsets (‘parcels’), which were then used as indicators for the corresponding latent variables. Parcelling is generally employed to achieve a better normality of distribution and better indicator to sample size ratio (T. D. Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002; A. Meade & Kroustalis, 2005). Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables in the model are shown in Table 3.1. Overall our model fits the data very well with fit values well below the cut-off values, indicating excellent fit ($\chi^2 = 104.59$, $p > .05$, $df = 102$, $\chi^2/df = 1.02$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .007, SRMR = .027), including a non-significant chi square value.

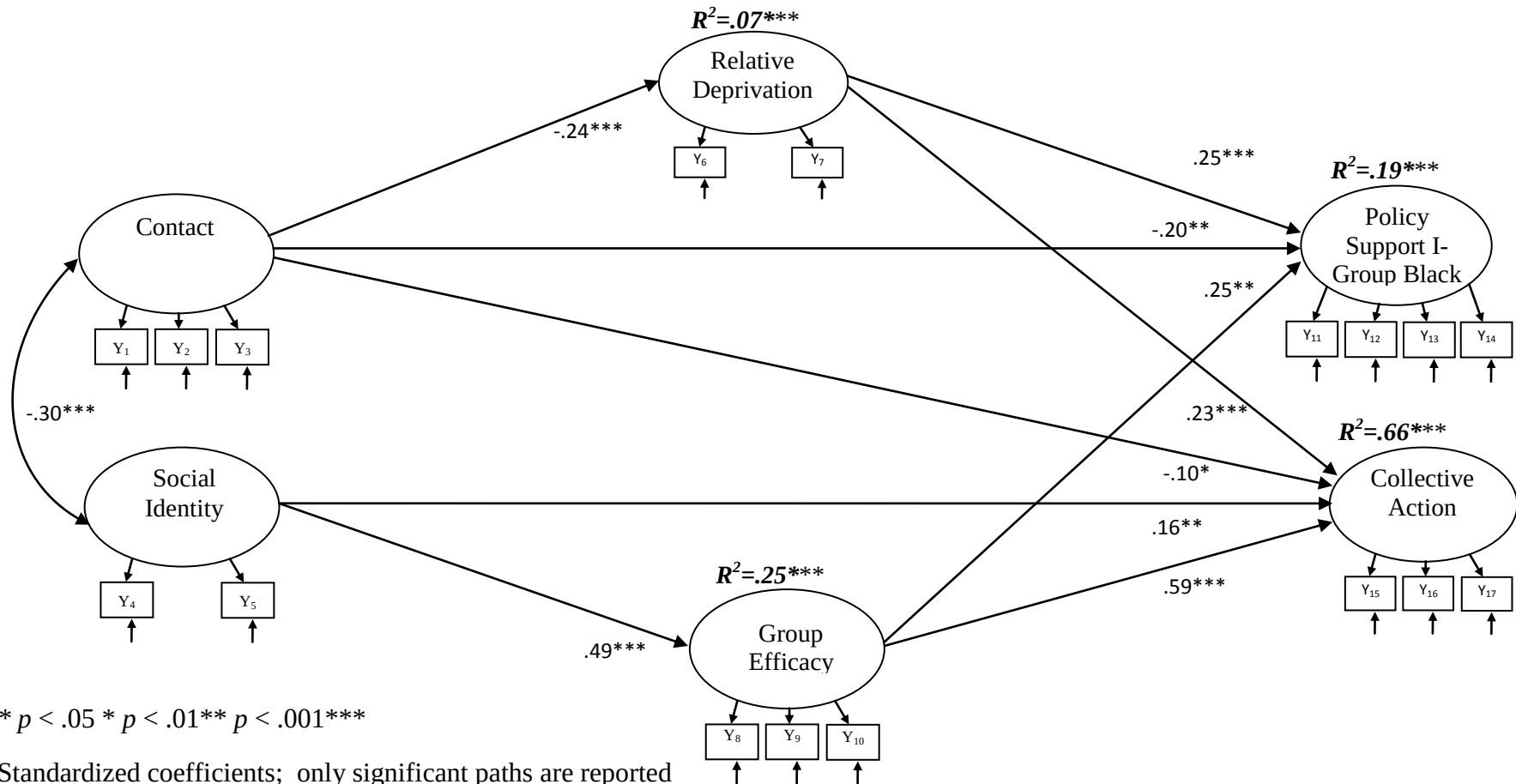
Table. 3.1. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables in the model (Study 1).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Contact	1	-.273***	-.258***	-.126**	-.292***	-.270***
2. Social Identity		1	.060	.487***	.505***	.163*
3. Relative Deprivation			1	.076	.312***	.305***
4. Group Efficacy				1	.599***	.252***
5. Collective Action					1	.339***
6. Policy Support						1
Mean	2.03	6.11	5.67	6.21	6.65	6.02
SD	1.30	2.08	1.78	1.64	1.55	1.60

Figure 3.1 summarizes the results which are in line with the predictions suggested by SIMCA. Social identity had a significant positive association with group efficacy ($\beta = .49, p < .001$) and collective action ($\beta = .16, p < .05$). Contrary to our expectations, no significant association was detected between social identity and either relative deprivation or support for policies. Contact had a significant negative association with relative deprivation ($\beta = -.24, p < .001$), collective action ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$) and support for policies ($\beta = -.20, p < .001$). As expected, relative deprivation was positively associated with collective action ($\beta = .23, p < .01$) and support for policies ($\beta = .25, p < .05$). Associations between group efficacy and support for policies ($\beta = .25, p < .001$) and collective action ($\beta = .59, p < .001$) were also positive and significant. The model explained 66% and 19% of the variance in collective action and support for ingroup-favouring policies respectively. The significant negative correlation between contact and social identity is also noteworthy ($\beta = -.30, p < .001$), providing indirect support for the deprovincialization hypothesis.

Because these data are correlational, claims of causality should only be considered provisional. To overcome this barrier and to test the possibility of a reverse causal order, we specified alternative models to the model tested in Study 1. One can argue that those who are already mobilized perceive greater group efficacy and feel more relatively deprived which in turn lead to less contact with the outgroup and higher identification with the ingroup. We therefore tested an alternative model in which we entered collective action and support for policies as predictors, and contact and social identity as outcome variables. The fit values of the alternative model were considerably poorer than the first model ($\chi^2 = 147.087, p < .05, df = 102, \chi^2/df = 1.44, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .030, SRMR = .050$). Additionally, we hypothesized a second alternative

Figure 3.1. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and support for policies benefitting the ingroup via group efficacy and relative deprivation among Blacks in South Africa.



model in which relative deprivation and group efficacy predicted contact and social identity via collective action and support for policies. This model did not converge.

Mediating Role of Relative Deprivation and Group Efficacy

We also tested for indirect effects from contact and social identity to collective action and support for policies, using bootstrapping (Efron & Tibshirani, 1993; Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). We preferred bootstrapping as it does not force any symmetry on the sampling distribution of the indirect effects and enables the researcher to contrast the effects of different mediators in multiple mediator models (by creating a specific confidence interval for each mediator).

The mediation test results (Table 2) confirmed several significant indirect paths in favour of both SIMCA as well as the sedative effect of contact. Using 5000 re-samples, we created point estimates (PE) for each single indirect effect from our predictors, contact and social identity, to our criterion variables, collective action and support for policies, via our mediators, group efficacy and relative deprivation. We used confidence intervals (CI) to test the significance of the indirect effects. When (CI) do not include zero this indicates a significant indirect effect (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The association between social identity and collective action (PE $\beta = .19$, with 99% CI [.11, .32]) and support for the policies favouring the ingroup (PE $\beta = .08$, with 99% CI [.02, .16]) was mediated by group efficacy, which partially supported SIMCA. Contact had a negative association (PE $\beta = -.05$, with 99% CI [-.11, -.01]) with collective action and policy support (PE $\beta = -.07$, with 99% CI [-.12, -.02]) via relative deprivation. Unlike Baron and Kenny (1986) MacKinnon (2008) suggests that it is possible to have a mediated effect without a direct path between the predictor and the outcome variable. Thus, the results indicate that the path from social identity to support for policies is fully mediated, but that this mediation is partial for the path from social

identity to collective action where the direct path is not cancelled out but modified by the mediator. For contact effects on collective action and support for policies, the results provided marginal support for partial mediation of both paths via relative deprivation.

Moderating Role of Contact

Consistent with Pettigrew's (2010) call for testing alternative effects of contact on collective action we also tested for moderating effects of contact on all possible paths. Following Jaccard and Wan (1996), on multi-group comparisons I split our sample into low ($n = 227$) and high ($n = 247$) contact groups on the basis of their reported level of contact (median value = 1.78). We used the Satorra-Bentler Chi Square difference test to compare chi square values of the nested model (paths constrained to be equal across low and high contact groups) to the baseline model (paths free to vary across groups). We first tested the measurement invariance. The fit values for the base model where all the factor loadings are allowed to be freely estimated across low and high contact groups were acceptable ($\chi^2 = 243.85$, $p > .05$, $df = 224$, $\chi^2/df = 1.08$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .019, SRMR = .052). When we constrained the factor loadings to be equal in both groups, the fit values did not significantly deviate from the base model ($\chi^2 = 247.99$, $p < .05$, $df = 229$, $\chi^2/df = 1.08$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .019, SRMR = .054; $\Delta\chi^2(5) = 4.32$, $p = .504$), thus showing measurement invariance across groups.

Table 3.2. Mediation bootstrap* test results** (Study 1).

Path	Mediator	Point Estimate (β)	95 % CI	99 % CI
Social identity- Collective Action	Group Efficacy	.193		.108,.319
Social identity-Policy Support	Group Efficacy	.076		.020, .158
Contact-Collective Action	Relative Deprivation	-.054		-.107,-.013
Contact-Policy Support	Relative deprivation	-.065		-.118,-.019

*Bootstrap is based on 5000 re-samples (MacKinnon, 2008; Preacher and Hayes, 2008). When confidence intervals do not include zero this shows that there is a significant indirect effect (MacKinnon, 2008; Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

**Standardized coefficients.

Having established measurement invariance, we tested for structural invariance constraining all the paths among our latent variables to be equal. This resulted in a considerably poorer fit ($\chi^2 = 282.40$, $p < .001$, $df = 231$, $\chi^2/df = 1.22$, $CFI = .97$, $RMSEA = .031$, $SRMR = .064$; $\Delta\chi^2(7) = 36.87$, $p = .001$). We then tested for the moderating effects of contact on all possible paths. This was done by forcing the path in question to be equal across low contact and high contact groups and testing for significant deterioration of the model fit. We detected a significant moderating effect of contact on the path from relative deprivation to collective action. The model in which we allowed the association between relative deprivation and collective action to be different across low and high contact groups demonstrated superior fit values to the one in which we constrained the same association to be equal in both groups ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 29.71$, $p = .001$ with 1 degree of freedom). Specifically, in the low contact group, relative deprivation was positively associated with collective action ($\beta = .55$, $p < .001$), whereas the same association was insignificant among those who reported higher levels of contact ($\beta = -.036$, $p = .696$). We also detected a significant moderation effect of contact on the association between social identity and relative deprivation ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 8.25$, $p = .004$). In the low contact group social identity was significantly associated with relative deprivation ($\beta = .23$, $p < .01$), but this association was not significant in the high contact group ($\beta = -.14$, $p = .110$).

Further inspection of our results shows that our data provided partial support for SIMCA. The paths suggested by SIMCA were consistently stronger than the contact paths, both direct and indirect, on collective action and policy support. We found, for example, strong evidence in favour of a positive association between social identity and collective action tendencies especially through group efficacy. There was also evidence in favour of the 'sedative' effect of contact, both directly, and indirectly via reduction in

relative deprivation. The most striking evidence, however, in support of the ‘sedative’ effect of contact came from the moderating effects of contact on the relative deprivation-collective action and social identity-relative deprivation paths. Among those who reported having more interracial contact, the association between relative deprivation and collective action was not significant, and the association between social identity and relative deprivation was weakened. In contrast, in the low contact group, relative deprivation was significantly and positively associated with collective action, and social identity with relative deprivation.

Study 2

To extend the results of Study 1 and to take into account the perspective of the formerly-powerful White group in South Africa, we collected similar data from White South African students. We sought to test whether (a) SIMCA would equally predict collective action tendencies among the advantaged; (b) contact would have any effect on collective action tendencies and support for policies favouring the disadvantaged Black outgroup. We kept the measure of support for policies benefitting the outgroup as it is, firstly, because it is inconceivable in present-day South Africa that there would be officially-sanctioned policies in favour of Whites. Secondly, we believe that measures of support for policies benefitting the outgroup may be directly related to social change, as they are indirect measures of behavioural tendencies aimed at changing the conditions for the benefit of the disadvantaged outgroup. Thirdly, we sought to provide additional measures to test whether contact has any positive influence through Whites’ acknowledgement of the structural inequalities and intentions to help change conditions. In this respect, support for outgroup-favouring policies can be taken as a proxy for recognition of the structural injustices that concern the disadvantaged group.

Method

Participants

The sample comprised 244 White South African students (55 males and 188 females, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.49$ and $SD = 3.31$) recruited online who received partial course credit for their participation.

Measures

Unless noted otherwise, we used the same items as in Study 1 to assess all the constructs and re-phrased them where necessary for White respondents.

Predictors

The same intergroup contact (3 items; $\alpha = .86$) and social identity (2 items; $r = .71, p < .001$) measures as in Study 1 were used as predictors.

Mediators

Relative deprivation was measured with two items, adapted from Leach, Iyer, and Pedersen (2007), 'Whites are economically disadvantaged compared to Blacks' and 'Whites are politically disadvantaged compared to Blacks' ($r = .58, p < .001$). Group efficacy was assessed by the same three items ($\alpha = .84$) as in Study 1 (e.g., 'Whites as a group can change the current conditions of Whites in SA').

Outcome variables

We used the same four items as in Study 1 to measure collective action tendencies among White students (e.g., 'I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the current situation of Whites in South Africa' and 'I would be willing to sign up for a neighbourhood project to improve the conditions for Whites in my neighbourhood'; $\alpha = .79$). Support for policy measures concerning the Black outgroup was measured by two items: 'More money should be spent on schools in Black neighbourhoods, especially

for preschool and early education programmes,’ and ‘Special university scholarships should be provided for Black students who attain good grades’ ($r = .55, p < .001$).

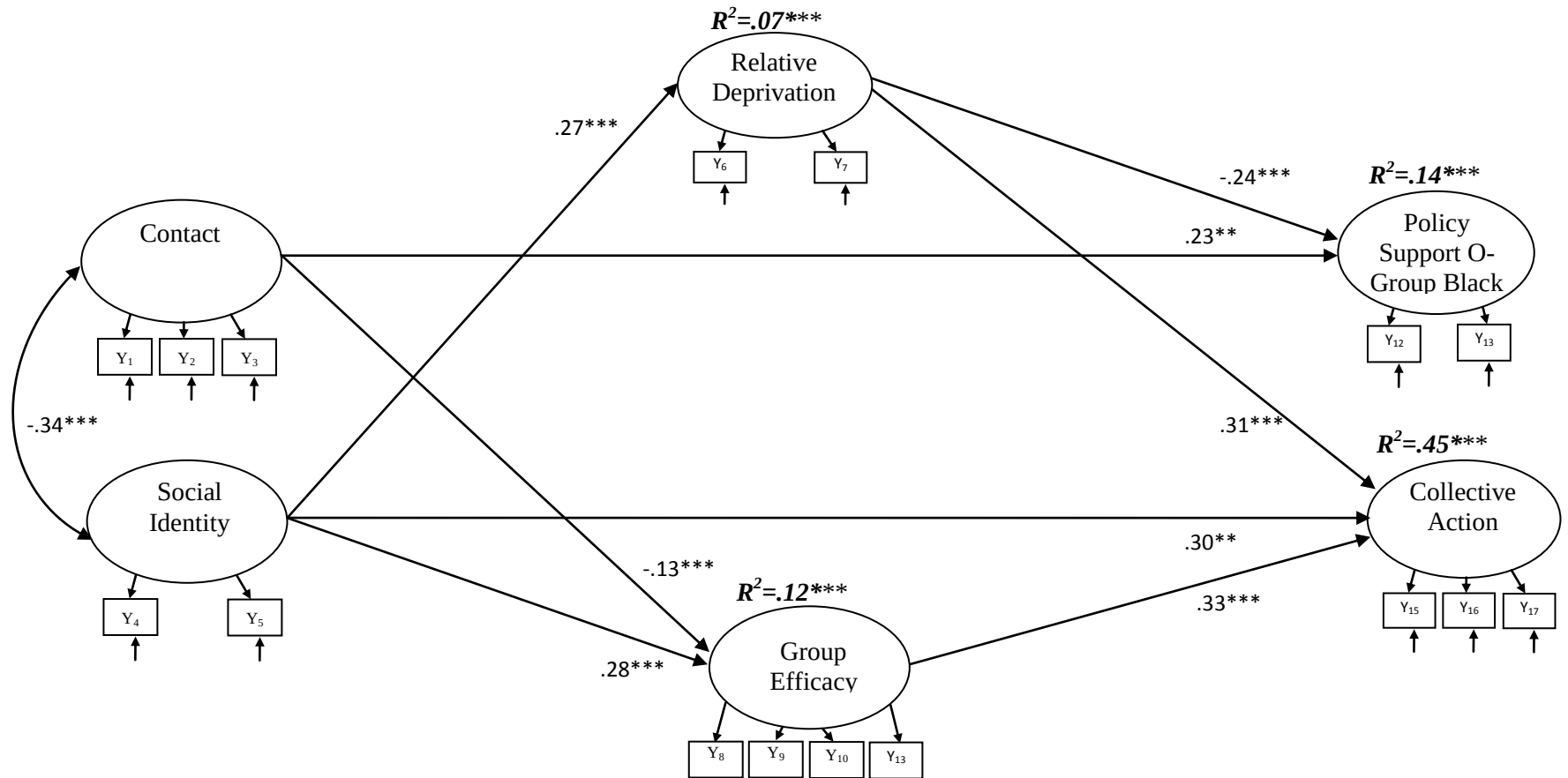
Results and Discussion

The results of CFA showed that almost all items loaded highly onto their respective factors with values above $\beta = .70$ (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). Descriptive statistics and correlations between latent variables are given in Table 3.3. As in Study 1, we used raw data and estimated a model (see Figure 3.2) which fits the data well ($\chi^2 = 96.15, p > .05, df = 79, \chi^2/df = 1.23, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .032, SRMR = .039$) with a non-significant chi square value. Social identity was significantly associated with collective action ($\beta = .30, p < .001$) but not with support for policies. Contact, on the other hand, was significantly associated with support for policies favouring the outgroup ($\beta = .23, p < .001$) but not with collective action. Both group efficacy ($\beta = .33, p < .001$) and relative deprivation ($\beta = .31, p < .001$) were significantly associated with collective action, but only relative deprivation had a significant association ($\beta = -.24, p < .001$) with support for policies. As in Study 1, we estimated alternative models to test whether they would fit the data equally well indicating either selection bias, or reverse processes. We specified a model where both collective action and support for policies predicted contact and identity via group power and relative deprivation. The fit values for this model were all above the accepted threshold levels ($\chi^2 = 182.78, p < .001, df = 79, \chi^2/df = 2.37, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .077, SRMR = .099$). We also tested a model specifying group efficacy and relative deprivation as predictors, collective action and support for policies as mediators, and contact and social identity as outcome variables. This model too had poorer fit values than the model we tested ($\chi^2 = 154.97, p < .001, df = 77, \chi^2/df = 2.01, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .066, SRMR = .054$).

Table 3.3. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables in the model (Study 2).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Contact	1	-.34***	-.07	-.19**	-.18*	-.24**
2. Identification		1	.137	.33***	.45***	-.19
3. Relative deprivation			1	.14	.41***	-.24*
4. Group Efficacy				1	.45***	-.004
5. Collective Action					1	-.30
6. Policy Support						1
Mean	3.35	4.55	4.48	3.72	5.22	3.80
SD	1.49	2.18	1.60	1.74	2.12	1.69

Figure 3.2. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and support for policies benefitting the ingroup via group efficacy and relative deprivation among Whites in South Africa (n=241).



* $p < .05$ * $p < .01$ ** $p < .001$ ***

Standardized coefficients; only significant paths are reported.

Mediation by Group Efficacy and Relative Deprivation

We tested whether relative deprivation and group efficacy mediated any of the paths from contact and social identity to collective action and support for policies favouring the Black outgroup (see Table 3.4). Using the bootstrapping method, as in Study 1, we found that social identity influenced collective action positively (PE $\beta = .110$, with 99 % CI [.023, .230]) via group efficacy and relative deprivation (PE $\beta = .080$, with 99 % CI [.026, .148]). Additionally it had a negative indirect effect (PE $\beta = -.047$, with 99 % CI [-.107, -.003]) on support for policies via relative deprivation. In the case of the effects of contact on the two outcome variables, only group efficacy negatively mediated the path from contact to collective action (PE $\beta = -.031$, with 99 % CI [-.052, -.013]). More specifically, contact decreased perceptions of group efficacy which, in turn, decreased collective action tendencies.

In general, the results of Study 2 provided additional support for SIMCA and for the ‘sedative’ effects of contact. The results we reported for social identity, relative deprivation and group efficacy are very close to the average effect sizes reported by van Zomeren et al. (2008) in their meta-analysis. Moreover, contact was not associated with relative deprivation or collective action in either direction, but more contact with the Black outgroup was associated with decreased perceptions of group efficacy and weaker identification with the ingroup which is in line both with Reicher (2007) and the deprovincialization hypothesis (Pettigrew, 1998). Given the negative experiences of Whites in terms of political power and in line with the double comparison process (de la Sablonnière et al., 2010), this is not surprising.

Table 3.4. Mediation bootstrap* test results** (Study 2).

Path	Mediator	Point Estimate (β)	95 % CI	99 % CI
Social identity- Collective Action	Group Efficacy	.100		.023,.230
Social identity- Collective Action	Relative Deprivation	.080		.025,.148
Social identity-Policy Support	Relative Deprivation	-.047		-.130, .-003
Contact-Collective Action	Group Efficacy	-.031	-.051,-.013	

*Bootstrap is based on 5000 re-samples (MacKinnon,2008; Preacher and Hayes, 2008). When confidence intervals do not include zero this shows that there is a significant indirect effect (Mac Kinnon, 2008; Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

**Standardized coefficients

Finally, as in Study 1, we tested for the moderating effect of contact following the same steps as we did in Study 1. Constraining all the paths to be equal across groups did not cause a significant drop in the χ^2 values, suggesting that contact failed to moderate any of the paths. This could be the result of some additional processes that we did not measure directly. It might be the case that the advantaged group members' subjective identification with the ingroup is reinforced by their belief in the legitimacy of their historical superiority. Such a perception of legitimacy, when coupled with the negative consequences of the current structural changes, may result in increased perceptions of relative deprivation. Similarly, being the historically advantaged numerical minority group, Whites might be more biased when it comes to evaluating their position and therefore might display greater dedication to maintain their position irrespective of their amicable relations with Blacks.

General Discussion

In the two studies reported we examined how intergroup contact and the three predictors of collective action suggested by the SIMCA influence collective action tendencies on behalf of the ingroup and support for policies favouring the ingroup and outgroup. Both studies showed that intergroup contact and social identity are significantly associated with collective action tendencies and support for policies. In Study 1, our data supported a model in which intergroup contact negatively predicted collective action tendencies, both directly and indirectly, via relative deprivation. However, the effects of contact were more pronounced when we consider its role as a moderator of the effects of social identity and relative deprivation: In the high contact group, relative deprivation was not associated with collective action, and social identity did not predict relative deprivation. This model also provided support for the positive path between social identity and collective action via group efficacy.

In Study 2, we were able to partly replicate SIMCA but not the putative negative effect of contact on collective action tendencies. Below, we discuss these findings in terms of the interplay between the sedative effect of contact, SIMCA and the moderating role of contact. We then acknowledge some limitations of the two studies, and highlight some implications of our findings for future research.

Sedative Effects of Contact and SIMCA

The results provide partial support for both the sedative effect of contact and the predictions of SIMCA. In Study 1, among Black South Africans, more contact was associated with less collective action and less support for policies benefitting the ingroup directly. We found evidence for contact's negative association with both outcome measures both directly and via relative deprivation. Perhaps, through regular contact with the advantaged, South African Blacks think that they may not be deprived at all and that identifying with the Black ingroup does not mean much to them. In Study 2, among White South Africans, we found stronger evidence for the predictions of SIMCA. Higher levels of social identity were associated with more collective action, both directly and indirectly, via both relative deprivation and group efficacy. Stronger identification with the ingroup was associated with a stronger belief in the group's ability and power to change things for the benefit of the ingroup (in Study 1), and with a higher level of relative deprivation (in Study 2). In Study 2, those who strongly identified with their ingroup believed that their group was more deprived, and, in Study 1, that it had the potential to change things.

In both studies we found weaker evidence for the 'sedative' effect of contact. However, our data indicates that this effect is stronger among the members of the low status group. Among members of the high status group, despite the fact that their position is under threat from social and structural changes, the positive effects of

contact suggested by Pettigrew (2010) still seem to hold. This might be the result of the deprovincializing process we discussed earlier and was further supported by contact's moderating role on social identity and relative deprivation in the same study. In Study 2, however, contact predicted more support for outgroup oriented policies, which shows White's acceptance of the inequalities concerning the outgroup as well as their improved attitudes toward them. Again this might be the result of a reconsideration of the legitimacy of the differences between Whites and Blacks and affirmation of Blacks' right to have equal opportunities to Whites both in economic and social terms. Although this evidence is correlational and it needs to be supported with direct measures of deprovincialization, i.e. perceptions of collective guilt and questioning group norms which ascertain the legitimacy of the superior position of Whites in South Africa. This process warrants further attention to better explain the positive effect of contact on social change through deprovincialization among the members of the advantaged. Additionally, future discussions of SIMCA and other integrative explanations of collective action need to take the deprovincializing effect of contact into consideration as, based on our findings, it seems that deprovincialization is not limited to the majority group.

We believe that these results are robust for three reasons. First, we included members of both disadvantaged (Study 1) and advantaged (Study 2) groups. Second, we provided an additional outcome measure to collective action, i.e. support for policies, in order to broaden the scope of our model, to cross-check the potential 'sedative' effects of contact among the disadvantaged, and to tap into the effects of contact on high status group members' willingness to acknowledge the structural inequalities facing the outgroup. Third, we used sophisticated statistical methodology, including structural

equation modelling, rigorous tests of any potential indirect effects detected and tests of moderating effects of contact.

Summarizing our results, and in line with the previous literature on contact, both studies further replicated the positive effects of contact on outgroup attitudes. Especially among Whites, contact predicted more support for policies favouring the outgroup. This is important for two reasons. First, by getting to know members of the outgroup and through reappraisal of the ingroup and the intergroup situation, members of the high status group may contribute to redressing societal imbalance, for example through cooperation with the low status group (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). Second, those who have more contact with members of the low status group members are more likely to take the minority group's perspective and willing to support social change to the benefit of the disadvantaged (Mallet, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008). The problem here, though, would be whether low status groups would be sufficiently mobilized to take collective action, especially in the light of contact's sedative effects. From the SIMCA perspective, however, a stronger social identity is the key factor which influences the perceptions and evaluations of the efficacy of the group and the level of injustice that the group experiences (van Zomeren et al., 2008). This was fully supported in Study 2 among White South Africans but only received partial support in Study 1, as social identity did not predict relative deprivation among Black South Africans. We believe this was due to the fluidity of the conditions in South Africa and the current changes which favour Blacks relatively.

Earlier, we suggested that, comparing themselves with other ingroup members, especially, and with Whites over time, Black South African students might find somewhat less reason to feel relatively deprived. Previous research on relative deprivation suggests that the association between social identity and relative deprivation

is prone to complexities and may change over time (Fischer, Maes, & Schmitt, 2007). Additionally, in their meta-analysis, Smith et al. (Smith et al., 2012) did not find a consistent relationship between social identity and relative deprivation. This suggests that a more multidimensional approach to collective action is needed, and that the relationship between social identity and relative deprivation should be tested through longitudinal designs which would take into account the dynamic nature of these relations

CHAPTER 4: PERCEIVED THREAT AS MEDIATOR OF INTERGROUP

CONTACT AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

Societal level accounts of collective mobilization suggest that opportunities to challenge the advantaged group and perceptions of threat to the economic and social well-being of the disadvantaged ingroup are important predictors of collective action (McAdam et al., 2001). Contrary to this strong emphasis on threats as motivators of collective action at a societal level, recent social psychological research eschews threats as an antecedent of collective action. Recent models such as the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (van Zomeren et al., 2008) or the Dual Pathway Model (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012) focus either on dynamics of collective action, i.e., relative deprivation and group efficacy (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), or on experiential processes (Van Zomeren et al., 2004), i.e., negative appraisals and the related emotional outcomes among the disadvantaged (Leach et al., 2007). However, research in other areas of intergroup relations maintains that people might be willing to mobilize to prevent perceived future injustice related to their group (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009) or to remove what they perceive as a future threat to the social, economic or cultural resources that their group cherishes (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009).

We believe this function of threats as a mobilizing factor deserves more attention for a number of reasons. Firstly, contemporary accounts of collective action are limited in the sense that they focus explicitly on the disadvantaged and are therefore unable to explain counter-collective action which might be taken by the advantaged. Secondly, perceived threats might elicit a number of reactions which include collective mobilization to eliminate sources of threats (Stephan et al., 2009) and a number of other action tendencies such as reclaiming economic control, reclaiming or securing property, protecting compromised liberties, protecting self and valued others (Cottrell &

Neuberg, 2005) which can be displayed by the disadvantaged and the advantaged alike. In the interest of providing a more proximal and psychological account of what motivates people to mobilize, recent models of collective action have largely ignored threats as direct predictors of collective action and contributed toward a widening gap between societal (e.g., sociological and political) and psychological accounts of collective mobilization.

In this chapter, we (1) discuss the role of threats as proximal and psychological predictors of collective action both among the advantaged and the disadvantaged; and (2) consider the impact of social relations, in the form of intergroup contact, on collective action tendencies. Thus, by specifying threats as predictors we extend the existing accounts of collective action by overcoming the structural limitations that currently exist in collective action theory and research in social psychology and by covering collective action tendencies among both the disadvantaged and the advantaged. Additionally, we provide a more contextual account of collective action by specifying the role of intergroup contact in predicting threats and collective action tendencies. Finally, we attempt to bridge the existing gap between societal and social psychological accounts of collective action by testing the role of perceived threats in predicting collective action tendencies.

Macro Level Accounts of Threats and Collective Action

An ensemble of theories in the general field of social sciences suggests a number of conditions under which people are motivated to engage in collective action. In sociology, for instance, strain theory argues that people are motivated to engage in collective action when groups compete against each other to control more assets (McAdam, 1996; Olzak, 1992) and when they have the necessary resources such as manpower and financial means to mobilize (McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

Much of the theoretical work in political science shares sociology's focus on competition and resources, but empirical studies have recently begun to emphasize the political process that leads to mobilization. During this political process certain opportunities such as access to more resources or the weakening of the advantaged group arise and certain threats to the economic, social and political well-being of the group become more prominent and interact with each other. A combination of these opportunities and threats, then, motivate individuals to engage in collective action.

Yet in economics, earlier work by Olson (1971) suggested that people would be willing to participate in collective action when they see some benefit from it and when this expected benefit was being denied to those who refrain from participating in collective action. Despite this earlier emphasis on structural conditions and threats, current research in sociology points toward a more dynamic account of collective action based on the assumption that all behaviour, including collective action, is embedded in the social relations which form the fabric of society (Granovetter, 1985; Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Stekelenburg, 2008). Central to this emphasis are the social ties and networks which connect individuals and are addressed as effective ways of mobilization (Diani & McAdam, 2003; Gould, 2003).

Building on the earlier work by McAdam (1996), Goldstone and Tilly (2001) describe threat as the costs that will incur if the group do not take action. They further argue that societal-level mobilizations such the one by the African National Congress in South Africa (Olivier, 1992) or the Palestinian Intifada (Khawaja, 1993, 1995) are examples of collective action undertaken to change the much feared status quo or to prevent unwanted changes which would worsen the conditions for the ingroup.

In much the same way, more recent research argues that when people face or perceive potential threats they are more likely to become politically active (G. Marcus,

Neuman, & MacKuen, 2000), mobilize and get involved in collective behaviour to protect the assets they control (see Miller & Krosnick, 2004, for a review of empirical work on this issue). From the advantaged group perspective this political activism and subsequent mobilization might be triggered by fear of losing what they already have which motivates them to stand up and fight to maintain their position. On the other hand, immigrants or minorities as disadvantaged groups perceive threats as obstacles preventing them from enjoying the privileges and benefits to which the advantaged group members have free access (Okamoto & Ebert, 2010).

A separate line of research which looks at how individuals mobilize in extreme circumstances, such as Jewish resistance movements during the Holocaust, considers perception of threats and the assessment of their severity as the primary cause of success for successful collective mobilization (Einwohner & Maher, 2011; Maher, 2010). Einwohner and Maher (2011) compared the Warsaw Ghetto and the Sobibór death camp, both homes to heroic mobilization against the Nazi forces, to another ghetto and another camp, Łódź and Belżec, respectively, where no such mobilization took place. They argue that the early recognition of the threats awaiting Jews as a group, availability of the opportunities to organize a resistance movement, and access to material resources were the primary antecedents of the heroic collective mobilization in Warsaw and Sobibór. From this perspective threat is seen as a ‘push’ factor which translates into the inherent cost that the group would have to pay should the group collective action not take place (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001).

It is therefore crucial to understand how people’s perceptions of threats are shaped through their interactions with people with whom they share the same values, namely the ingroup, and their social relations with those who belong to rival groups.

Meso Level Accounts of Threats and Collective Action

In social psychological terms, the issue of threats has been at the forefront of theory and research. Early on it has been argued that when groups have mutually exclusive claims over scarce resources, and attempts by one group to control those resources pose a threat to the other, perceptions of this threat result in negative attitudes toward the outgroup (Sherif, 1966) a premise now known as Realistic Group Conflict theory. Although the Sherifs focused mainly on negative attitudes, other research in social psychology looked at other outcomes such as opposition to outgroup oriented policies (Bobo, 1999; L. T. O'Brien et al., 2010; Quillian, 1996; Zarate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004) and negative stereotypes (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Taylor, 1998; Wilson, 1996), and also negative attitudes (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001) and emotional reactions (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005).

Groups not only compete over resources; they also have their own set of values, traditions and beliefs or simply their way of life which can also be threatened by the existence of a different set of values entertained by the members of the outgroup (Riek et al., 2006). When such a threat is perceived, it might equally result in negative attitudes toward the outgroup. This aspect of threats, which is based on an abstract set of values rather than threats to tangible resources, has its roots in symbolic racism theory (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003, 2005).

These alternative conceptualizations of threat have recently been unified as Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009) which distinguishes between two dimensions of perceived threat, realistic and symbolic. Realistic threats are threats perceived to be posed by the outgroup to the tangible assets (i.e., economic and political resources) that are controlled by the ingroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Symbolic threats, on the other hand, are those perceived to

be posed to the values and belief systems held by the ingroup as contained in the ingroup's way of life, customs and traditions. These threats are predicted by a number of antecedents including negative and positive intergroup encounters, perceived intergroup conflict, strong identification with the ingroup, and the status differentials among the groups (Stephan & Stephan, 2002). When individuals perceive higher levels of threat from outgroup members, they are more likely to engage in social competition with the outgroup.

It is our contention that both realistic and symbolic threats, as group-level threats (Stephan et al., 2009), are relevant to collective action as collective action can specifically be aimed at either maintaining the dominant position of the majority or improving the standards and life chances for the subordinate group (Blanz, Mummendey, Mielke, & Klink, 1998; Leach et al., 2007; Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, & Blanz, 1999), both of which will likely trigger increased competition (Tajfel, 1981) in intergroup situations. In this chapter, we focus on group-level realistic and symbolic threats as there is strong evidence from research on intergroup relations (see Riek et al., 2006 for a meta-analytic review) concerning their role in predicting outgroup attitudes. Additionally sociology and political science evince that perceived threats can predict collective action in a number of contexts. All this implies that they should be more implicated in collective action compared to individual level threats (Stephan & Renfro, 2002).

As for antecedents of threats, power and status differentials among the groups are known to influence the way individuals perceive threats and how they react to them. Low power groups experience threats more than high power groups (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001). However, high power groups tend to respond to these threats in a

stronger and more emphatic manner compared to low power groups (Stephan et al., 2009).

Among other antecedents of threats, Integrated Threat Theory attaches much significance to the history of conflict among groups. If groups have a history of conflict, then individuals perceive more threat from the outgroup (Stephan et al., 2009). Conversely, positive intergroup relations or intergroup contact reduce perception of threats and improve intergroup attitudes (Aberson & Gaffney, 2009; Stephan et al., 2002; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). On the other hand, the differences in value systems and cultural traits such as language, religion and other cultural values among groups (e.g., immigrants in a host society or minorities in plural societies) elicit symbolic threats, specifically if the competition among the groups focuses more on the cultural and social issues than political and economic issues. In their Integrated Threat Theory, Stephan et al. (2009) list many forms of collective action ranging from normative (e.g., protests and strikes) to non-normative (such as retaliation, sabotage, and attempts to eliminate the sources of threat) as behavioural consequences of threats. They do not, however, put these ideas to the test, nor do they refer to any studies which investigate this association.

Intergroup Contact and Collective Action

Although the collective action literature has mainly investigated what motivates people to mobilize in order to improve the conditions for their group, a separate and extensive line of research has examined how inequalities can be remedied by improving intergroup relations through reducing prejudice (Wright, 2001; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Spearheaded by intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005) this perspective has mainly focused on advantaged group members (Wright & Lubensky, 2009) and has rarely investigated the role of cross-group social

relations as they relate to collective action or their potential ‘calming’ effects among the disadvantaged.

Initial theorizing suggests that positive attitudes induced by contact between the majority and minority groups might have somewhat paradoxical effects (Reicher, 2007). Positive social relations, as epitomized by frequent contact with the outgroup, argues Reicher (2007), may impede mobilization of the disadvantaged based on the assumption that friendship by its very nature makes disagreement an unpleasant, emotionally draining state, and most people will be unwilling to jeopardise their friendships by taking an opposing stance to friends (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). Dixon, Levine, Reicher, and Durrheim (in press) further maintain that positive perceptions may also disempower the disadvantaged by sugarcoating structural inequalities and giving the disadvantaged the illusion of a meritocratic system.

These so-called ‘paradoxical’ effects of contact have recently been corroborated by studies which focus on intergroup contact and perceived level of discrimination. Dixon and his colleagues provide evidence for the negative association between intergroup contact and perceived discrimination among Blacks in South Africa (2010). Those who report frequent contact with Whites perceived lower levels of discrimination. Using data from Black South African students, Cakal et al. (2011, Study 1) argue that, among those who report more contact with Whites, ingroup identification did not predict relative deprivation. Similarly, for those students, relative deprivation did not seem to have a significant association with collective action tendencies compared to those students who reported less contact with Whites. In their second study Cakal et al. (2011) also discovered a negative relation between intergroup contact and perceptions of group efficacy among the socially advantaged Whites. Taken together these results suggest that intergroup contact, at least some forms of it, may be

negatively associated with collective action tendencies or, rather, with predictors of collective action.

The cross-sectional findings reviewed above have also been supported by recent longitudinal (Tropp, Hawi, Van Laar, & Levin, 2012) and experimental (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) research. Findings by Tropp et al. (2011) lend support to the role played by contact in delimiting political activism through reducing perceptions of discrimination. Similarly, Glasford and Calcagno (2012) maintain that while common ingroup identity increased perceptions of solidarity among two minority groups, contact with the majority group moderated these perceptions. Specifically, among those who reported having higher levels of contact with the majority, perceptions of solidarity between the two minority groups, their own and the other minority, were significantly lower compared to those who reported having less contact with the majority group.

Notwithstanding the initial empirical support reported here, the issues raised by Reicher (2007) have recently been challenged by Pettigrew and his colleagues (Pettigrew, 2010; Pettigrew et al., 2011) who argued that the interaction between intergroup contact and collective action tendencies is a complex phenomenon and any attempt to decompose this relationship should also take into consideration conducive effects of contact on collective action. For instance, positive effects of contact might also contribute toward social change by weakening the advantaged group's will to maintain the unjust system and by giving the disadvantaged the opportunity to better assess the weaknesses of the advantaged group. What is more, attitudes toward the outgroup may not always be related to collective action tendencies as Reicher (2007) argues. Acting on behalf of one's group, with the aim of improving or maintaining the group's conditions, is central to collective action and as such necessitates a strong commitment to the group. However, the assumption that this strong preference and

positive attitudes to one's group would also mean equally strong negative attitudes toward other groups might not hold in reality as past research demonstrates (Brewer, 1999; Wright & Lubensky, 2009).

Overall, research looking at positive effects of contact on reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations also suffers from the structural position issue. This line of research predominantly focuses on effects of contact on perceptions of and attitudes to minorities or the disadvantaged among the majority. As such, it is unable to offer much insight into the applicability of collective action accounts to the collective action tendencies among the advantaged or the effects of contact on collective action among the majority. In a similar vein, the line of research we reviewed above has been conducted mostly in settings where contact is institutionally supported and expressions of discrimination are legally sanctioned. Thus, further research is needed in more challenging contexts where groups are currently involved in conflict.

Present Research

To address this existing gap we test a model where we investigate the role of social identity, a classic predictor of collective mobilization, and intergroup contact, only recently conceived as a predictor of collective action (Cakal et al., 2011), as predictors and perceived threats as mediators of social identity and intergroup contact on collective action tendencies. We use data from groups which have long been locked in a violent conflict: Turks and Kurds in South-eastern Turkey.

Although recent accounts focus on 1984 as the date when the conflict gained a violent momentum (Jongerden & Akkaya, 2011; Jongerden, 2007), in fact the history of the Turkish-Kurdish conflict can be traced back much earlier than that. It is almost as old as the modern Turkish Republic and violence can be considered as only one of its many dimensions. Since the establishment of the first Kurdish nationalist organization

in Istanbul in 1908 and the first uprising of the Kurdish minority in 1925, to the Kurdish rebellion, notorious repression and the subsequent mass displacement of the Kurds in current Tunceli (formerly Dersim) in 1938 (Lundgren, 2007; McDowall, 2007), the conflict has always been a violent one.

Although 1984 cannot be taken as the starting point of this conflict, it does deserve to be marked as a milestone as it was in that year that PKK (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, in Kurdish, and Kurdish Workers' Party in English) launched its first military operation against the government forces in Turkey. Since then, Turkey has witnessed a brutal conflict between the majority Turks and the ethnic Kurdish minority. The conflict is so violent that it has claimed around 40,000 lives of soldiers, militants and civilians and forced one million civilians to migrate, mainly from the rural areas, since 1984 (Sinclair-Webb, 2010). Continuing political and military insurgency of the Kurds and the Turks' apparent inability to counter this insurgency have resulted in a violent impasse where the traditional distinction between the powerful or the advantaged and the minority or the disadvantaged is blurred.

Caught in such a stalemate both communities adapted a narrative which portrays the other as the powerful and the self as the sufferer. For Turks, the Kurdish minority is the advantaged group with their consistent and insurmountable political and military campaigns, and the foreign support they receive. For Kurds, Turks represent the quintessential oppressor with control over every aspect of Kurdish social, economic and cultural life. Both sides have been constantly mobilized against each other on both the political and military fronts for a long time (A. Marcus, 2007; Tezcür, 2009).

In the first years of the new century the conflict, after years of oppressive denial from the Turkish side and fierce resistance from the Kurdish side, entered a new era. After the recognition of the Kurds as a distinct ethnic group in late 1990s, in 2009 the

Turkish government took bold steps to introduce programmes in Kurdish on the state television channel, TRT, and passed a higher education bill to launch Kurdish language and literature departments in state universities. To some extent, this can be seen as the first sign of full recognition of Kurdish rights (Yeğen, 2011). Although there is scant research on this issue from a political science perspective (Gunter, 2000; Kirisci & Winrow, 1997), we know of no social psychological investigation of the social- and political-psychological aspects of this conflict. We also think that the political implications of such research cannot be underestimated especially when we consider Turkey's rise to become a regional superpower and its European Union bid (Kamov, 2006). We believe that this complex social and political context and the enduring conflict between the groups goes beyond most of the conventional accounts of power relations and binary divisions (e.g., advantaged versus disadvantaged). In the following sections we discuss the role played by threats in mobilizing people and outline how threats are related to collective action and intergroup contact. We then test a social psychological model based on our reading of threats and collective action in the context of the political and military conflict briefly discussed above.

Based on past research, we hypothesize that ingroup identification will predict collective action tendencies over and above any effects of contact and perceived threats. Thus stronger identification with the ingroup will predict higher levels of perceived threats and stronger tendencies to engage in collective action both directly and via perceived threats. Given the level and the nature of conflict, we predict this relationship to occur among both the advantaged Turks, and the disadvantaged Kurds. In line with this premise and the extensive literature on perceived threats we also hypothesize that both symbolic and realistic threats will predict collective action tendencies. We argue, however, that in a context such as the Turkish-Kurdish dispute, where conflict is overt

and violent and groups share the same societal context, the predictive power of realistic threats on collective action tendencies will be somewhat stronger compared to symbolic threats.

Additionally, we contend that positive relations and frequent contact with members of the outgroup will reduce perceptions of threat which, in turn, will be negatively associated with collective action tendencies. The effect of ingroup identification, however, we predict to be mainly indirect via threats. Finally, in line with past research (Brewer, 1999; Pettigrew, 2010; Wright & Lubensky, 2009), we expect attitudes toward the outgroup not to be related to collective action tendencies for the ingroup.

In two studies we test a model where intergroup contact and social identity are employed as predictors, perceived symbolic and realistic threats as mediators, and collective action and positive outgroup evaluations serve as criterion variables. In Study 3, we test collective action tendencies among the majority Turkish via perceived threats. Study 4 investigates collective action tendencies among the Kurdish minority using the same variables.

Study 3

Method

Participants

Two hundred and eighty nine adults (178 females and 111 males, $M_{\text{age}} = 31.98$ and $SD = 10.92$) who identified themselves as Turkish participated in the study on a voluntary basis. They were recruited from a multiethnic city in southeast Turkey by a Turkish research assistant who visited them at their homes and invited them to participate in the study.

Measures

Variables were measured on 5-point Likert scales where higher values indicate stronger ingroup identification, more intergroup contact, higher levels of perceived symbolic and realistic threats, stronger collective action tendencies, and more positive outgroup evaluations. The questionnaires used in the studies reported in this chapter and the other cross-cultural studies in chapters 4, 5, and 6 were first constructed in English and translated into respective languages using back-translation method suggested by Brislin (1970). Back-translation involves translating the research instrument into the language of participants. The resulting text is then translated back into English. The original questionnaire and the back-translated questionnaire are then compared and contrasted for conceptual and semantic equivalence.

Predictors

Ingroup identification and quantity of intergroup contact with the Turkish outgroup were employed as predictors. To measure ingroup identification we adapted three items from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992): 'I am proud to be Turkish', 'In general, being Turkish is an important part of my self-image', and 'I am very happy to be Turkish'. ($\alpha=.89$) (1, *strongly disagree*; 5, *strongly agree*). Intergroup contact was measured by three items ($\alpha=.90$). Items included the following: 'How often do you talk to your Kurdish friends?', 'How often do you spend time with them socially?', 'How often do you visit them at their home?' (1, *never*; 5, *very often*).

Mediators

We used three items to measure perceived realistic threat ($\alpha=.72$): 'Kurds have too much economic power in this country', 'Too much money is spent on educational programs that benefit Kurds', and 'Kurds have too much political power in this country'. Symbolic threat was measured by three items ($\alpha=.77$): 'Turks and Kurds have

different values', 'I feel that the values and beliefs of Kurds regarding moral and religious issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of Turks', 'I feel that the values and beliefs of Kurds regarding family issues are not compatible with the beliefs and values of Turks' (1, *strongly disagree*; 5, *strongly agree*). All threat items used in the study were adapted from Stephan et al. (2002).

Outcome variables

Three items ($\alpha=.88$) were adapted from Smith, Cronin and Kessler (2008) to assess collective action tendencies among the Turkish ingroup: 'I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the current situation of Turks in Turkey', 'I would be willing to sign up for a neighbourhood project to improve the conditions for Turks in my neighbourhood', and 'I would be willing to participate in a peaceful demonstration to improve the current conditions for Turks in Turkey' (1, *strongly disagree*; 5, *strongly agree*). To measure evaluations of the outgroup, we used three positive trait adjectives ($\alpha=.82$) from Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998). Participants reported how characteristic the terms 'kind', 'polite', and 'sincere' were of Kurds (1, *very much*; 5, *not at all*).

Results and Discussion

Descriptive statistics of the variables in the model are given in Table 4.1. We created latent variables and used Structural Equation Modelling with the Mplus software package (Muthen & Muthen, 2008a, 2008b) to test our model. The amount of missing data we had was less than 2% so we did not treat the missing data in any statistical way. We used robust maximum likelihood estimation (Muthen & Muthen, 2008b; Schermelleh-Engel, 2003) to handle any possible non-normality in the data. Data was entered in raw format and the model fit was assessed using the χ^2 test, χ^2 test/df ratio, RMSEA (root mean square error of approximation), CFI (Comparative Fit Index), and SRMR (the standardized root mean square residual) as suggested by the existing

literature on model assessment (Bentler, 2007; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Cut-off points for indices mentioned above are a non-significant χ^2 value (Barrett, 2007; Mulaik, 2007); χ^2 /df ratio lower than or equal to 3 for satisfactory fit or below 2 indicating excellent fit, .95 or higher for CFI, .06 or lower for RMSEA, and .08 or lower for SRMR (Bentler, 2007; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Marsh et al., 2004).

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) revealed that we had satisfactory loadings for all observed items within the range of $\beta = .60-.85$ (Hair et al., 2010) and Model fit statistics indicated excellent fit ($\chi^2 = 127.329$, $p > .05$, $df = 115$, $\chi^2 /df = 1.10$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .019, SRMR = .039) with a highly non-significant χ^2 value and very good χ^2 to df ratio indicating excellent fit.

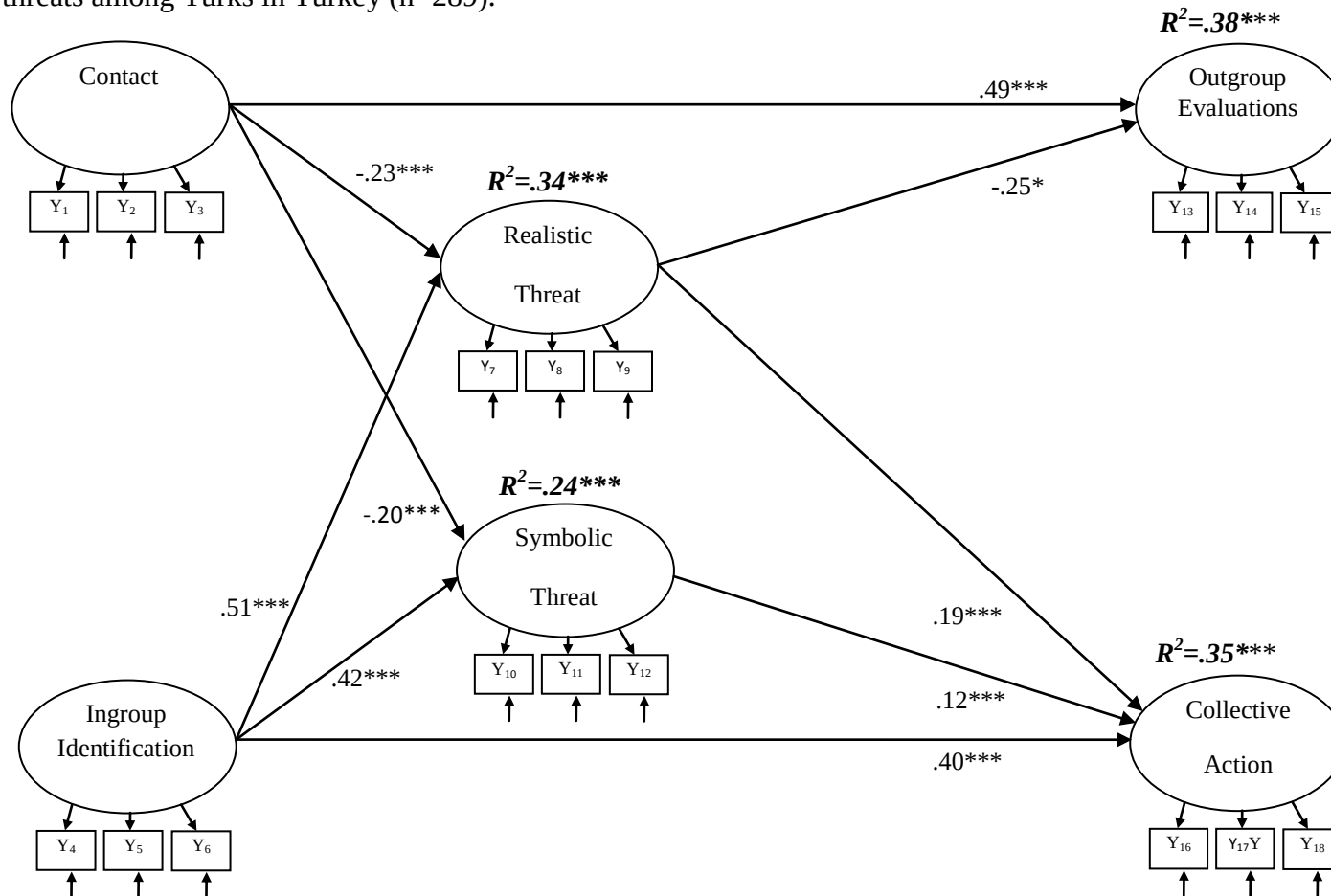
Table 4.1. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables in the model (Study 3).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Intergroup Contact	1	-.09 ^{na}	-.34***	-.25**	-.05 ^{na}	.58***
2. Ingroup Identification		1	.54***	.44***	.55***	-.24***
3. Realistic Threat			1	.59***	.45***	-.44***
4. Symbolic threat				1	.39***	-.27***
5. Collective Action					1	-.13*
6. Outgroup Evaluations						1
Mean	2.80	3.32	2.80	3.29	3.61	2.88
SD	.98	.94	.93	.93	1.01	.89

Figure 4.1 shows the overall results. As we predicted, intergroup contact was significantly and negatively associated with both realistic ($\beta = -.23, p < .001$) and symbolic threat ($\beta = -.20, p < .001$). Ingroup identification too was significantly but positively associated with realistic ($\beta = .52, p < .000$) and symbolic ($\beta = .43, p < .001$) threat, and collective action tendencies ($\beta = .40, p < .001$). Both realistic ($\beta = .19, p < .001$) and symbolic ($\beta = .12, p < .001$) threats in return were significantly and positively associated with collective action tendencies. Additionally, contact ($\beta = .49, p < .001$) was significantly and positively associated with outgroup evaluations. As for threats, only realistic threats ($\beta = -.25, p < .001$) were found to be negatively associated with outgroup evaluations. The model explained 38% and 35% of variance in our criterion variables outgroup evaluations and collective action respectively. For our mediator variables, realistic and symbolic threats, the percentage of the variance explained by the model was 34 % and 24 % respectively.

Although our results are in line with existing accounts of collective action, threats and intergroup contact, one could argue for reverse causality. For instance perceived threats might predict negative feelings toward the outgroup (Riek et al., 2006)

Figure 4.1. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and outgroup evaluations via perceived realistic and symbolic threats among Turks in Turkey (n=289).



. $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$ ***

Standardized coefficients; only significant paths are reported

and delineate group boundaries (Levine & Campbell, 1972). Therefore, those who perceive higher levels of threat from the outgroup refrain from social encounters with outgroup members, harbour negative feelings toward them and identify with their ingroup more strongly compared to those who perceive less or no threat from the outgroup. Similarly, perceived threats might motivate people to engage in collective action which, in turn, results in stronger ties with the ingroup. Thus, we sought to test these alternative hypotheses. The alternative model, however, in which we entered perceived threats as predictors and intergroup contact and ingroup identification as mediators fit the data significantly worse than our original model. ($\chi^2 = 152.196$, $p < .05$, $df = 118$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.28$, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .032, SRMR = .071) with a significant χ^2 value. Although the model fit values of the alternative model are still within the acceptable levels, we rejected this model as it had a significant χ^2 value which is the criterion in comparing nested models.

Consistent with recent research which suggest that collective active participation might influence identification with the ingroup (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012) we estimated a second alternative model in which we entered collective action and outgroup evaluations as predictors, perceived threats as mediators, and intergroup contact and ingroup identification as outcome variables. This model too fit the data significantly worse than our original model ($\chi^2 = 152.196$, $p < .05$, $df = 118$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.28$, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .032, SRMR = .071) and therefore was rejected.

Mediation by Realistic and Symbolic Threats

In our model, we also investigated whether any of our independent variables had any indirect effect on collective action tendencies via perceived threats. Using the Bias Corrected Bootstrap command in Mplus (Muthen & Muthen, 2008b) we created confidence intervals based on 5,000 re-samples to test the indirect mediation effects. The effect sizes are represented by point estimates (PE) and their values are further consolidated through confidence intervals. The indirect effect of a predictor through a mediator is significant when confidence intervals (CI) do not include zero (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). The mediation test results are shown in Table 4.2. Confirming our expectations, intergroup contact had an indirect negative effect on collective action via realistic threat (PE $\beta = -.04$, with 95 % CI [-.09, -.01]) and symbolic threat (PE $\beta = -.02$, with 95 % CI [-.05, -.01]). Effect of intergroup contact (PE $\beta = .06$, with 99 % CI [.01, .12]) on outgroup evaluations was also mediated by perceived realistic threat. Perceived threats also mediated the path between ingroup identification and collective action tendencies. Specifically, ingroup identification had a positive indirect effect on collective action via realistic threat (PE $\beta = .10$, with 99 % CI [.04, .16]) and symbolic threat (PE $\beta = .05$, with 99 % CI [.02, .08]). As for outgroup evaluations, effect of ingroup identification (PE $\beta = -.13$, with 99 % CI [-.21, -.05]) was mediated by realistic threat only. Results reveal that social identity, measured here as ingroup identification, is a significant predictor of collective action tendencies both directly, and indirectly via perceived threats. Results also imply that positive intergroup contact may negatively predict collective action tendencies indirectly by reducing perceptions of threat. Consistent with recent integrative research on collective action tendencies (van Zomeren et al., 2008), social identity emerged as the strongest predictor of collective action.

Table 4.2. Mediation bootstrap* test results** (Study 3).

Path	Mediator	Point Estimate (β)	95 % CI	99 % CI
Intergroup Contact- Collective Action	Realistic Threat	-.043	-.087, -.010	
Intergroup Contact – Collective Action	Symbolic Threat	-.022	-.052,-.002	
Intergroup Contact – Outgroup Evaluations	Realistic Threat	.057	.013,.115	.
Ingroup Identification - Collective Action	Realistic Threat	.098		.035,.161
Ingroup Identification – Collective Action	Symbolic Threat	.050		.022, .078
Ingroup identification– Outgroup Evaluations	Realistic Threat	-.129		-.213,-.045

*Bootstrap is based on 5000 re-samples (MacKinnon,2008; Preacher and Hayes, 2008). When confidence intervals do not include zero this shows that there is a significant indirect effect (Mac Kinnon, 2008; Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

**Standardized coefficients

Study 4

In Study 3, we extended the research on intergroup contact and the mediating role of threats to take the advantaged group's position into consideration. Unless it happens overnight as revolution, social change necessitates a certain degree of weakening in the ranks of the advantaged group and contact appears crucial to this weakening as it improves attitudes towards the outgroup via decreasing perceptions of threat from the outgroup. Thus, positive effects of contact having been established (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), in Study 4, we sought to replicate our model with the ethnic minority Kurdish group and test whether our model would also hold for the minority.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and eleven adults (79 females and 132 males, $M_{age} = 31.54$ and $SD = 12.04$) who identified themselves as Kurdish, from a multiethnic city in South-eastern Turkey, were recruited on a voluntary basis. As in Study 1 they were visited by a Kurdish research assistant at their homes in the Kurdish neighbourhoods of the city and invited to participate.

Measures

As in Study 3, variables were measured on 5-point Likert scales where higher values indicate stronger ingroup identification, more intergroup contact, higher levels of perceived symbolic and realistic threats, more willingness to take collective action on behalf of the Kurdish ingroup, and more positive evaluations of the Turkish outgroup.

Predictors

Ingroup identification and quantity of intergroup contact with the Turkish outgroup were employed as predictors. To measure ingroup identification we adapted four items from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992), e.g., 'I identify strongly with Kurds' and

‘I am proud to be a Kurd’ ($\alpha=.83$). Respondents replied using a seven point Likert scale and reported whether they agreed or disagreed with each item (1, *strongly disagree*; 5, *strongly agree*). Intergroup contact was measured by six items ($\alpha=.86$). Participants reported, e.g., how often they chat with their Turkish friends, how often they meet their Turkish friends, and how often they spend time with their Turkish friends socially (1, *never*; 5, *very often*).

Mediators

We used three items to measure perceived realistic threats ($\alpha=.77$): e.g., ‘Turks have more political rights than Kurds’ and ‘Too much money is spent on educational programs that benefit Turks’; and three items to measure symbolic threat ($\alpha=.79$): e.g., ‘Turkish beliefs and values regarding family are not compatible with those of Kurdish’ and ‘Turkish religious beliefs and values are not compatible with Kurdish religious beliefs and values’ (1, *strongly disagree*; 5, *strongly agree*).

Outcome variables

Collective action for the Kurdish ingroup was measured with two items ($\alpha = .82$, $r = .69$, $p < .001$) adapted from Smith et al. (2008): ‘I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the current situation of Kurds in Turkey’ and ‘I would be willing to sign up for a neighbourhood project to improve the conditions for Kurds in my neighbourhood’ (1, *strongly disagree*; 5, *strongly agree*). Participants were also asked to evaluate the outgroup by reporting how characteristic they think the terms ‘trustworthy’, ‘kind’, and ‘just’ are of Turks ($\alpha = .80$; adapted from Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998).

Results and Discussion

Descriptive statistics are given are reported in Table 4.3. A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) revealed that all items satisfactorily loaded on their expected factors. For contact and ingroup identification we created three parcels each. The model in

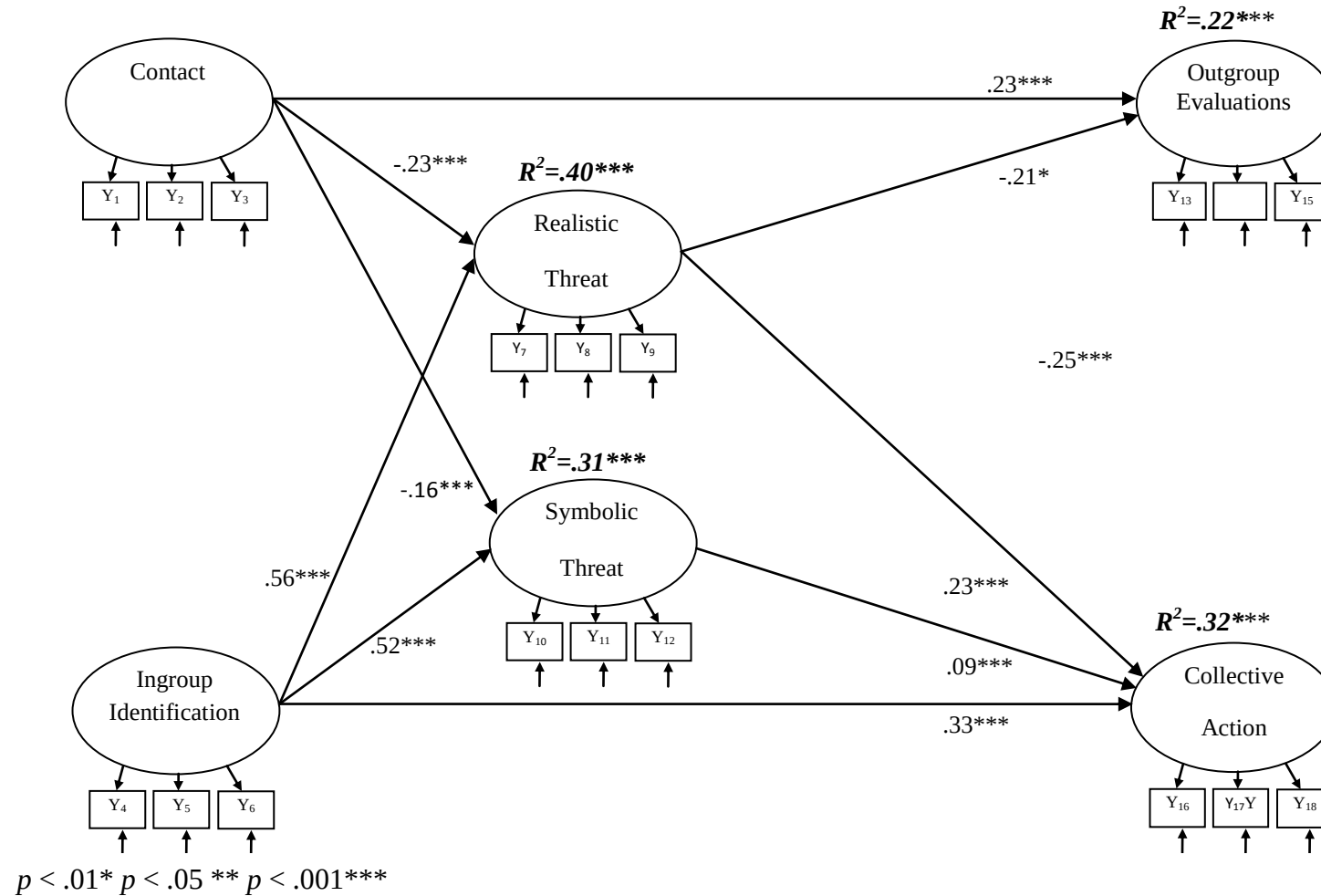
which we entered intergroup contact and ingroup identification as predictors, realistic and symbolic threat as mediators, and collective action and positive outgroup evaluations as criterion variables demonstrated excellent fit to the data ($\chi^2 = 111.869$, $p > .05$, $df = 106$, $\chi^2/df = 1.05$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .016, SRMR = .052).

Overall results of the model are given in Figure 4.2. Confirming our hypotheses, intergroup contact negatively predicted realistic threat ($\beta = -.23$, $p < .001$) and symbolic threat ($\beta = -.16$, $p < .001$). Ingroup identification positively predicted realistic threat ($\beta = .56$, $p < .001$) and symbolic threat ($\beta = .52$, $p < .001$). Unlike contact, ingroup identification had a direct positive association with collective action ($\beta = .33$, $p < .05$). Additionally both realistic threat ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$) and symbolic threat ($\beta = .09$, $p < .05$) were positively associated with collective action. In terms of our second criterion variable, positive evaluations of the Turkish outgroup, results confirmed our expectations. Intergroup contact was positively and directly associated with outgroup evaluations ($\beta = .23$, $p < .05$) whereas we detected a significant negative association between realistic ($\beta = -.21$, $p < .001$) and symbolic ($\beta = -.25$, $p < .001$) threat and outgroup evaluations, respectively.

Table 4.3. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables in the model (Study 4).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Intergroup Contact	1	-.13*	-.33***	-.22**	-.15***	.34***
2. Ingroup Identification		1	.60***	.54***	.51***	-.18*
3. Realistic Threat			1	.61***	.50***	.35***
4. Symbolic threat				1	.41***	.30***
5. Collective Action					1	-.09*
6. Outgroup Evaluations						1
Mean	2.96	3.79	3.76	3.31	4.18	2.78
SD	.92	.95	.96	.89	.87	.083

Figure 4.2. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting collective action and outgroup evaluations via perceived realistic and symbolic threats among Kurds in Turkey (n=209). Correlations between variables: realistic threat-symbolic threat, $r=.40***$.



Standardized coefficients; only significant paths are reported.

Overall, our model explained 32% of the variance in collective action, 22% of the variance in positive outgroup evaluations, and 40% and 32% of the variance in realistic threat and symbolic threat, respectively. We thus replicated earlier research (Cakal et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008) on ingroup identification and collective action. Furthermore, the model confirmed our hypotheses that perceived threats are important predictors of collective action. In line with integrated threat theory, stronger identification with the ingroup predicted higher levels of perceived realistic and symbolic threat, and these in return negatively predicted positive outgroup evaluations. As in Study 3, we tested two alternative models. First alternative model where we entered the threats as predictors, intergroup contact and ingroup identification as mediators, and collective action and outgroup evaluation as criterion variables fit the data poorly with a significant χ^2 value and SRMR value well above acceptable level ($\chi^2 = 160.069$ $p < .05$, $df = 107$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.49$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .038, SRMR = .82). Second alternative model where we entered collective action and outgroup evaluations as predictors, perceived threats as mediators, and contact and ingroup identification as outcome variables did not converge.

Perceived Threats as Mediators of Contact and Social Identity on Collective Action

The mediation test results are given in Table 4.4. The results provided further evidence of the predictive power of intergroup contact as well as the mediating role of perceived threats on collective action tendencies. Intergroup contact was negatively associated with collective action tendencies via realistic threat (PE $\beta = -.05$, with 99 % CI [-.08, -.025]) and symbolic threat (PE $\beta = -.01$, with 99 % CI [-.02, -.01]). The path from contact to outgroup evaluations was also mediated by both realistic threat (PE $\beta = .05$, with 99 % CI [.03, .07]) and symbolic threat (PE $\beta = .04$, with 99 % CI [.02,

.06]). Effect of ingroup identification on collective action tendencies and outgroup evaluations was also mediated by realistic threat (PE $\beta = .13$, with 99 % CI [.08, .19]) and symbolic threat (PE $\beta = .05$, with 99 % CI [.02, .08]); Realistic threat (PE $\beta = -.12$, with 99 % CI [-.16, -.07]) and symbolic threat (PE $\beta = -.013$, with 99 % CI [-.21, -.05]) mediated the ingroup identification-outgroup evaluations path too. Overall, the mediation test results confirm the mediating role of both realistic threat and symbolic threat in the model. Comparing both point estimates, and consistent with our expectations, realistic threat emerged as a stronger predictor of collective action compared to symbolic threat.

Table 4.4 Mediation bootstrap* test results** (Study 4).

Path	Mediator	Point Estimate (β)	95 % CI	99 % CI
Intergroup Contact- Collective Action	Realistic Threat	-.054		-.083,-.025
Intergroup Contact – Collective Action	Symbolic Threat	-.014		-.022,-.007
Intergroup Contact – Outgroup Evaluations	Realistic Threat	.048		.026,.070
Intergroup Contact – Outgroup Evaluations	Symbolic Threat	.040		.022,.058
Ingroup Identification - Collective Action	Realistic Threat	.130		.075,.186
Ingroup Identification – Collective Action	Symbolic Threat	.046		.015, .078
Ingroup Identification – Outgroup Evaluations	Realistic Threat	-.116		-.159,-.073
Ingroup Identification – Outgroup Evaluations	Symbolic Threat	-.131		-.214,-.049

*Bootstrap is based on 5000 re-samples (MacKinnon,2008; Preacher and Hayes, 2008). When confidence intervals do not include zero this shows that there is a significant indirect effect (Mac Kinnon, 2008; Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

**Standardized coefficients

General Discussion

The present research sought to extend the recent findings on collective action by providing a simpler model that can be applied to explain mobilization among both majority and minority groups. We provided evidence on the central role of social identity in collective mobilization not only through relative deprivation and perceived group efficacy, as shown in previous research by van Zomeren et al. (2008), but also through perceived realistic and symbolic threats as argued by integrated threat theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan et al., 2009). Building on macro accounts of collective action which focus on threats and opportunity structures, on the one hand, and an emerging line of research on the delimiting effects of intergroup contact on collective action, on the other hand, we also found evidence that having frequent social relations with members of the outgroup, measured here as quantity of intergroup contact, indirectly and negatively predicts collective action tendencies. Thus, we corroborated past research on intergroup contact, perceived threats, and more recent studies on the sedative effects of contact among the disadvantaged and extended earlier research by testing this effect among the advantaged.

In both studies, however, identification with the ingroup emerged as the most powerful predictor of collective action tendencies. It is noteworthy though, that the average effect size of the ingroup identification-collective action path in both studies ($\beta = .28, p < .001$), obtained through Fisher's z transformation (Silver & Dunlap, 1987), suggests that the path coefficient is significantly smaller than the effect size for the same path ($\beta = .38, p < .001$) in the meta-analytic review by van Zomeren et al. (2008). Van Zomeren et al.'s findings are based on studies of disadvantaged groups only and they did not include any studies looking at the combined effect of intergroup contact

and ingroup identification; thus, we suggest that the difference between the two effect sizes may be attributable to the impact of contact.

Mediating Effect of Perceived Threats on Collective Action

As expected, perceived threats predicted collective action tendencies in both studies. The higher the level of perceived realistic and symbolic threats, the stronger the tendencies to engage in collective action to maintain the existing conditions (Study 1), and the greater readiness to mobilize to improve conditions and prevent further deterioration of the situation for the ingroup (Study 2). A closer look at the effects of realistic threat and symbolic threat on collective action tendencies confirms our earlier predictions too. In both studies, compared to perceptions of symbolic threats, perceptions of realistic threats exerted greater influence on collective action tendencies. We believe this is due to the prevailing levels of conflict in the region. Among our samples, both Turks and Kurds experience real threats in their daily lives. These results further support earlier work on threat and collective action at a macro level (Maher, 2010; McAdam et al., 2001; Osborne, Davies, & Duran, 2008).

As for contact effects, it is interesting but not surprising that intergroup contact seems to be more effective among the members of the majority group. Research on the differential effects of contact on prejudice among majority and minority groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2006) has shown that contact effects were consistently higher among the members of the majority group than among the members of the minority group. In terms of the so-called “paradoxical” effects of contact, our data seem to suggest that contact tends to reduce collective action tendencies (Reicher, 2007). However, as discussed elsewhere, the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action is a rather complex and multidimensional one (Pettigrew, 2010). Contact is more effective among the members of the advantaged group and, as our data suggest, it does

reduce collective action tendencies among the majority, albeit indirectly; thus it contributes toward a weakening of the advantaged group's determination to maintain the existing conditions. As for the disadvantaged group, findings imply that frequent contact with members of the majority group results in psychological consequences which might prevent the disadvantaged from entering into direct competition with the advantaged. It should be noted though that in the present study we focused on groups who have been involved in a violent and intractable conflict (Villellas, 2011). If contact reduces perceptions of threat and contributes toward more peaceful ways of engagement among groups perhaps this should not be considered a "paradoxical" effect of contact after all

CHAPTER 5: OUTGROUP ORIENTED COLLECTIVE ACTION TENDENCIES

What made a handful of white students join forces with Blacks during the heroic sit-ins in 1960s that changed America's struggle for racial equality forever (Andrews & Biggs, 2006; Carson, 1981)? What did Joan Trumpauer Mulholland, a nineteen year old white, female student at Duke University, have in mind when she participated in the Freedom Rides which led to her arrest in Jackson Mississippi and subsequent sexual abuse at the hands of the prison guards in Parchman State Prison Farm (Arsenault, 2006)? Earlier research on collective action suggests that individuals mobilize either to improve or maintain the conditions for their ingroup (Wright, 2009). As these examples show, however, people might also engage in collective action which aims at redressing inequalities concerning a disadvantaged outgroup.

Recent accounts of collective mobilization assume that collective action is ingroup oriented (Wright, 2009); there are two competing groups, namely the majority and the minority (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012); and intergroup contact between these groups has generally adverse affects on collective action tendencies among the disadvantaged (Reicher, 2007). However, these assumptions may not always hold in the real world. Firstly, individuals may sometimes mobilize on behalf of an outgroup (Iyer & Leach, 2009; Mallett et al., 2008; Schwar, Cakal, & Hewstone, 2011). Secondly, the social environment in which the intergroup relations are embedded is very rarely shared by only two groups. Rather, a multiplicity of groups exists in any given social context and the relations between any two groups are susceptible to influence from other groups that share the same social context (Dixon et al., in press; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). Thirdly, intergroup contact might not always hinder mobilization attempts (Pettigrew, 2010). On the contrary, it may serve to form solidarity between some members of the advantaged group who distance themselves from the advantaged group and the

members of the disadvantaged group (Subašić et al., 2008). Alternatively, through intergroup contact members of two minority group might pool their resources against a common oppressor. (Okamoto, 2010).

Initial findings suggest that, among members of the disadvantaged groups, intergroup contact with the advantaged group might increase perceptions of fair treatment and improve attitudes toward the members of the advantaged group (Saguy et al., 2009), decrease perceptions of relative deprivation, group efficacy and support for policies benefitting the disadvantaged ingroup (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; J. Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). However, members of an advantaged group may show solidarity with members of a minority group (Subašić et al., 2008) and engage in outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of an outgroup. Alternatively, positive social relations between two disadvantaged groups, for instance, might well contribute to a sense of solidarity and hence subsequent collective action against a common oppressor. Taken together, these alternative dimensions of collective action have largely been ignored by recent research on protest mobilization and collective action. In the present chapter, we: (1) suggest a distinction between ingroup oriented and outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of an outgroup; (2) argue that outgroup oriented collective action might benefit from positive intergroup contact; (3) take into consideration the effect of contact with the advantaged group and its impact on outgroup oriented collective action between two disadvantaged groups. Thus, we extend the existing accounts of collective action to cover collective action taken on behalf of an outgroup, and specify the role of the third group and the social relations with this group in predicting both ingroup and outgroup oriented collective action tendencies.

Collective Action

In two recent theoretical accounts of collective action, the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) and the dual pathway model of collective action (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2004), collective disadvantage is paramount to why people protest. SIMCA argues that people engage in collective action when they identify strongly with their groups, experience subjective disadvantage related to their group, and when they believe that their group is capable of reversing the collective disadvantage (van Zomeren et al., 2008). The dual pathway model, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of affective appraisals, namely negative emotions such as anger, and group efficacy in changing the conditions (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). Both models make implicit reference to the perceived disadvantage and underline that collective action is triggered by a range of cognitive appraisals and negative affect. These include perceived relevance of this disadvantage, attribution of blame to external sources and perceived group efficacy, and anger resulting from injustice appraisals and attributions of blame respectively. In fact, this preferred conceptualization of collective mobilization as a reaction to collective disadvantage is very similar to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) earlier assertion that when individuals are not satisfied with their social identity they display a range of reactions that includes but is not limited to entering into direct social competition with the advantaged group.

There are, however, at least two alternative situations where intergroup contact might play a crucial role in instigating collective action. Firstly, individuals might be motivated to engage in collective action to improve the situation for an outgroup. Based on the political solidarity model of Subasic et al. (2008), members of an advantaged group might distance themselves from the ingroup and form a political alliance with the

members of the disadvantaged group (Mallett et al., 2008). Secondly, individuals from two disadvantaged groups may form a strategic solidarity and pool their resources against the authority (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; Subašić et al., 2008). Mallett et al. (2008) focus on perspective taking and collective guilt as predictors of outgroup oriented collective action and do not consider what actually motivates members of the majority group to take the perspective of the minority outgroups. Similarly, Glasford and Calcagno (2012) emphasize the role of intergroup contact both in forming camaraderie and creating discord without extending their analysis to collective action tendencies. Below, we first introduce outgroup oriented collective action, outline the possible link between intergroup contact and outgroup oriented collective action tendencies and specify the mediating processes through which intergroup contact might influence outgroup oriented collective action tendencies.

Outgroup Oriented Collective Action

In contrast to the increasing popularity of collective action as a research topic among social psychologists, outgroup oriented collective action has received relatively little attention. A small number of studies suggests that members of an advantaged group might be motivated to engage in outgroup oriented collective action when they consider the inequalities as pervasive (Iyer & Ryan, 2009) or when they categorize themselves as members of a superordinate group which also includes the members of the disadvantaged group (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). Alternatively, collective action intentions to benefit a disadvantaged outgroup might be motivated by certain intergroup emotions such as sympathy, empathy, and collective guilt (Batson & Ahmad, 2009; Batson et al., 2002; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Mallett et al., 2008).

Whatever the motivations of the members of the advantaged group are, Mallett et al. (2008) suggest that participation of the advantaged group members in collective action on behalf of a disadvantaged group is significant for at least two reasons. Firstly, by virtue of their social-structural position in society, members of the advantaged group command more power and resources, both of which are crucial to collective mobilization. At an individual level, perception of power is known to be associated with uninhibited behaviour, efficacy and a higher level of enthusiasm (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003) all of which are known to be influential on mobilization. Secondly, when some members of a majority group engage in collective action to benefit a disadvantaged outgroup, they can send a much more powerful message to the rest of mainstream society than members of the minority group can (Mallett et al., 2008), not least because they cannot be seen to be acting in their own interests. Such messages can not only speed up the process of weakening the majority group's resolve to maintain the oppressive system (Pettigrew, 2010), but also create a ripple effect among other members of the majority group to participate in outgroup oriented collective action. Therefore potential outcomes of outgroup-oriented collective action taken by the privileged group members can have dramatic consequences for social change. In the next section, we briefly discuss two possible predictors of collective action among members of majority groups, namely collective guilt and perspective taking, and how these two constructs, together with the possible role of intergroup contact in predicting them, might influence outgroup oriented collective action tendencies.

Intergroup Contact and Intergroup Emotions

In their meta-analytic review of contact mediators, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) argue that frequent contact with the members of an outgroup increases knowledge about that outgroup, empathy and perspective taking, and reduces intergroup anxiety. Aberson

and Haag (2007) used data from white university students and found that both quality and quantity of contact with African Americans as the outgroup were associated with more perspective taking which, in turn, predicted positive outgroup attitudes via reduced intergroup anxiety. In Northern Ireland, intergroup contact among Protestants and Catholics was positively associated with perspective taking and forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2006).

In one of the first studies to investigate the impact of intergroup contact on accepting responsibility for the wrongdoings to the outgroup, Hewstone, Cairns, McLernon, Niens, and Noor (2004) tested the relation between intergroup contact, experience of victimization, religiosity, collective guilt and forgiveness. In both religious groups, Catholics and Protestants, those who reported having more intergroup contact with the outgroup displayed more willingness to accept the wrongdoings of their community against the outgroup. In a similar study conducted in Bosnia, Cehajic and Brown (2010) found that Serbians who reported positive intergroup contact with Bosnians acknowledged their ingroup's responsibility in committing atrocities against the Bosnian outgroup, an effect mediated by perspective taking. Specifically positive intergroup contact predicted taking the perspective of the outgroup members and this, in turn, predicted stronger willingness to acknowledge the ingroup's responsibility for the wrongdoings. Notwithstanding the correlational nature of these studies, these preliminary findings suggest that intergroup contact might be particularly effective in motivating individuals toward accepting past transgressions against the outgroup, especially in contexts where the groups have a long history of violent conflict.

Perspective Taking

It is now well established that perspective taking, alternatively labelled as cognitive, rather than affective, empathy (Stephan & Finlay, 1999), predicts positive intergroup relations by combating negative stereotypes (Vescio et al., 2003), improving attitudes (Harwood et al., 2005), and inducing pro-social behaviour (Batson et al., 2002). Although effects of the mental construction of others' point of view on collective action tendencies are not conclusive (but see Batson et al. 2002; and Mallett et al., 2008), we have initial evidence to assume that perspective taking might be positively associated with outgroup oriented collective action tendencies.

Batson and Ahmad (2009) differentiate between cognitive and emotional aspects of empathy. They argue that the psychological state of empathy may involve a cognitive or perceptual condition in which the individual either attempts to imagine how they would feel in another individual's situation, namely "imagine-other", or, given his or her situation, how the other individual would feel. In what Batson and Ahmad (2009) call emotional and/or affective states, individuals try either to match their emotions with the target individual's by attempting to emotionally experience what the other individual feels, or to display empathic concern by feeling for another person who is in a difficult or needy state. Batson and Ahmad (2009) also specify the consequences of each of these empathic psychological states at the intergroup level, suggesting that, among others, it is the "imagine-other" perspective that motivates individuals to help the members of a disadvantaged group.

A handful of studies provide support for the issues raised by Batson and Ahmad (2009). Batson, Chang, Orr, and Rowland (2002) induced participants to feel empathy, taking the perspective of an imaginary drug addict, and found that taking the perspective of a member of the stigmatized outgroup, drug addicts, motivated them to

improve the conditions of drug addicts as well as allocating more money to them. Harth, Kessler, and Leach (2008) tested the impact of the “imagine-other” perspective in a situation where the outgroup was “disadvantaged pedagogy students” (Study 2) and found that participants, a group of psychology students, in the outgroup perspective-taking condition were more willing to redress the inequality. Harth et al. (2008) replicated the same effect in their third study where the outgroup was disadvantaged ethnic German immigrants of eastern European descent.

The link between perspective taking, collective guilt and outgroup oriented collective action implied above has been tested in only one paper so far. Across three studies Mallett et al. (2008) found that heterosexuals engaged in collective action to benefit gays (Study 1), and European Americans mobilized in favour of African Americans (Studies 2 and 3) when they took the perspective of the outgroup and experienced group-based guilt. In Study 1, participants were asked to read a short text on hate crimes targeting non-heterosexuals on the university campus and to write a short description of their emotional experience, the reactions of the gay students to these hate crimes, and how the administration dealt with these incidents. Trained coders then assessed the extent to which the participants took the perspective of the gay outgroup in their texts. Participants were also asked to report their actual participation in a series of campus protests against the hate crimes. In Study 2, the same procedure was repeated for the African American outgroup and Mallett et al. (2008) found a positive link between perspective taking and group-based guilt and actual participation in campus protests against hate crimes targeting African Americans. More perspective taking was associated with increased participation. In Study 3, Mallett et al. (2008) experimentally manipulated perspective taking and found that it predicted outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. Testing the moderating role of ingroup

identification in all three studies, Mallett et al. (2008) found evidence in support of this role only in Study 3.

Although Mallett et al. (2008) provide convincing evidence in support of the predictive role of perspective taking and group-based guilt, we believe that there might be alternative explanations of their findings. Firstly, it appears that the participants in all three studies were sampled from a rather mobilized universe. The studies were conducted, as it appears, during or after a series of social protests. Participating in these events may foster emotions concerned with the outgroups as a result of reverse causality mechanism. According to the dual pathway model of collective action (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2004), collective action participation can feed back into a range of perceptions related to the ingroup. After participating in social protests, for example, individuals' identification with their ingroup may become stronger, they may come to perceive their group as more efficacious (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012); they may experience more anger and contempt for the outgroup (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; Drury & Reicher, 2005, 2009), or feel better about themselves at an individual level (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011). Effects of participation in collective action may then extend to perspective taking and group based guilt toward the outgroup.

Secondly, recent research suggests that intergroup contact is an important predictor of intergroup emotions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and ingroup oriented collective action tendencies (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). Therefore, the apparent association between perspective taking and collective guilt and outgroup collective action might be due, at least in part, to effects of intergroup contact with the relevant outgroup. Regular contact with disadvantaged group members might predict taking the perspective of the outgroup, experiencing

collective guilt and therefore engaging in collective action to benefit the disadvantaged outgroup.

Collective Guilt

Individuals may display a range of emotional reactions such as collective guilt, fear, anger and empathy at the group level to the extent that they categorize themselves as a member of a particular group (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Branscombe et al., 2004). Such emotional reactions do not necessitate individual agency or active participation in the actual events which cause these reactions as it is the salience of social identity determines the level of these emotional reactions (for a review of intergroup emotions see Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009).

Among other emotional reactions to intergroup situations, collective guilt is experienced when the ingroup is seen as responsible for immoral actions or inactions that, in one way or the other, harmed the outgroup in the past (Branscombe et al., 2003). Such wrongdoing may range from extreme forms of violence and oppression (e.g., genocide, slavery and colonialism) to harmful actions and incidents, and group-based inequalities, as well as perpetuating a discriminatory societal system (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). From a functional perspective, emotions and emotional reactions including collective guilt are seen as adaptive mechanisms which have positive consequences for physical and social survival (Keltner & Gross, 1999). Therefore it can be assumed that collective guilt, as a functional emotional reaction (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004), has particularly important consequences for intergroup situations.

As individuals strive for a positive social identity, it is understandably stressful for them to see their efforts being undermined as a result of confrontations with past wrongdoings (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). This happens when past wrongdoings are

perceived as transgressions against the current moral standards of the ingroup and lead to feelings of collective guilt. As a result of this emotional experience, which threatens the current moral standards of the ingroup, individuals might display a number of outgroup oriented action tendencies.

In fact, the predictive role of collective guilt on compensatory attitudes toward outgroups is well documented in recent research on intergroup emotions. In two experiments, Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead (1998) found collective guilt to be positively associated with stronger support for reparations to the outgroup which suffered from the past wrongdoings of the ingroup. In another study, perceptions of collective guilt encouraged European Americans to apologize for the racial discrimination of African Americans (Doosje et al., 2004). Similarly, in the US context, collective guilt predicted support for affirmative action and actual participation in collective action on behalf of the harmed outgroup (Mallett et al., 2008) among university students.

Of particular importance in the association of collective guilt with outgroup compensatory attitudes is the time-frame of the inequalities (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). When collective guilt concerns ongoing present-day inequalities and wrongdoings rather than happenings in the past individuals may not only display more positive attitudes and act in a less discriminatory manner, but also be more willing to take action to establish a more egalitarian social context. Focusing on gender inequality, Schmitt, Branscombe, and Brehm (2004) suggest that this tendency to establish a more democratic context may involve reparations as well as actual attempts to improve the nature of the relationship members of the advantaged group have with the disadvantaged group members. Klandermans, Werner, and van Doorn (2008) traced the link between collective action and support for policy measures benefitting the

economically and socially disadvantaged outgroup. They used qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews and quantitative survey data from White students and reported that experiences of collective guilt resulting from Apartheid were positively associated with more support for affirmative action benefitting Blacks in post-Apartheid South Africa. Accordingly, we believe that there is sufficient empirical evidence to conceptualize collective guilt as a predictor of outgroup oriented collective action.

Shared Grievances

In much the same way as members of the advantaged group may move away from their group and show solidarity with the members of disadvantaged groups, members of minority groups might also show solidarity (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) and engage in mutual collective action as well as collective action on behalf of the other minority group. Research on immigrant mobilization argues that sharing a minority position in the societal structure is the first step toward forming such solidarity (Okamoto & Ebert, 2010). Solidarity between different minority groups might also be further solidified by delineated group boundaries between the minorities and the majority group (Alba, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Recent social psychological work on solidarity (Subašić et al., 2008) argues that focusing on a more inclusive group membership defined by common goals and interests fosters solidarity among groups (J. C. Turner, Reynolds, Haslam, & Veenstra, 2006). Earlier work on the feminist and gay solidarity movement found that perceptions of ‘being in the same boat’ were instrumental in the formation of solidarity among different activist groups (Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004; V. Taylor & Whittier, 1992). The basic process which underlies this solidarity is that a realization of being subjected to same violations in the past could motivate individuals to act together. Such a collective experience could help to further cement the relationship between the two

minority groups and promote a view of ‘we, the minorities’ as opposed to ‘they, the majority’ (Simon & Hamilton, 1994).

Realization of shared interests and an awareness of having been subjected to similar injustices on the basis of being a minority is also associated with heightened political awareness and increased political activism toward the majority or the ‘authority’ (Okamoto & Ebert, 2010; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Simon & Ruhs, 2008). Yet, little social psychological research has investigated the role that ‘shared grievances’ might play in building up solidarity and promoting mutual collective action or collective action on behalf of another minority group. Simon and Ruhs (2008), for instance, found that among German students shared grievances were significantly associated with anger, politicized identity and political activism to benefit the Turkish immigrant ingroup in Germany. Similarly, Cable, Walsh, and Warland (1988) discuss how shared grievances, namely being affected by a nuclear accident, motivated different environmental activist groups toward solidarity and engaging in collective action. More recently, it has been argued that learning about common grievances, through digital media and social networks, motivated people to engage in collective mobilization in a number of Arab countries, generally referred as ‘the Arab Spring’ (Howard & Hussain, 2011). We therefore hypothesize that, apart from sharing a minority position, awareness of mutual grievances might help members of one minority group to join in solidarity with another such group, and engage in collective action on behalf of that other minority group.

Present Research

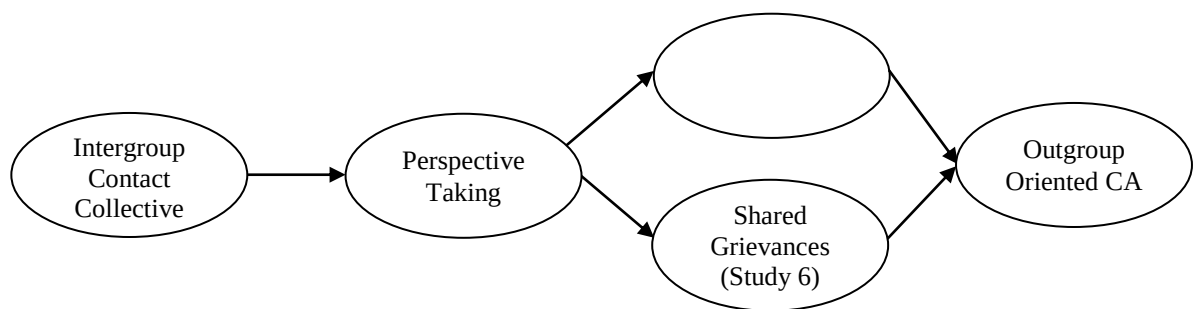
As Mallett et al. (2008) state, existing approaches to collective action are unable to explain why individuals engage in outgroup oriented collective action. We sought to answer this question by integrating intergroup contact and outgroup oriented collective

action. We conducted our research in Transylvania - the North-Western part of Romania which is home to a large Hungarian ethnic minority as well as a sizeable Roma community. Although there is no apparent violence between the groups in today's Transylvania, the history of intergroup relations between the majority Romanians and Hungarians, who make up the biggest ethnic minority group in the country, has been dotted with spells of violence (Cernat, 2012) and oppression, especially during the Communist regime (Schöpflin, 1988). In 1967, Bolyai University in Cluj, the only Hungarian-medium university in the country and the intellectual hub of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Romania, was merged with Romanian-medium Babeş University (Ludanyi, 2007), the merger marking the beginning of a decline in the relative autonomy Hungarians enjoyed between 1952–1968, due to the establishment of the Hungarian Autonomous Region in 1952. After the violent clashes in 1990 in the city of Targu Mureş (Brubaker, Feischmidt, Fox, & Grancea, 2006), intergroup relations between the two communities took a more peaceful turn, fostered by favourable conditions as a result of Romania's accession to NATO and the European Union. However, this did not alter the conditions for Roma who remained as the weakest and lowest-status ethnic minority in Romania as elsewhere. To date, intergroup relations between Roma and Romanians and Hungarians remain negative and dotted with sporadic violence erupting occasionally both between Romanians and Roma, and Roma and Hungarians. Moreover, the Roma community remains largely an outcast and Romanians and Hungarians share concerns about the lack of success in attempts to integrate the sizeable Roma community (Preoteasa & Tarnovschi, 2011). Therefore, it is imperative to take into consideration how willing both majority Romanians and the minority Hungarians would be to improve the conditions for Roma and the role of intergroup contact in these motivations. Given this very brief history of intergroup

relations in the region, we believe Transylvania is both a relevant and convenient context in which to test our predictions.

Following Pettigrew's (2010) call for more research to unpack the complex relationship between contact and collective action, we wanted to investigate whether there are any positive effects of contact on collective action. Based on the research on empathy (Batson & Ahmad, 2009; Batson et al., 2002) and intergroup emotions (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004), reviewed above, we argue that perspective taking and collective guilt will mediate such positive effects of contact on outgroup collective action tendencies. In line with meta-analytic (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), longitudinal (Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2011), and cross-sectional (Swart et al., 2010) evidence on the predictive role of intergroup contact on perspective taking and collective guilt (Cehajic & Brown, 2010) we hypothesized that intergroup contact will be associated with perspective taking which will, in turn, be associated with collective guilt and outgroup collective action (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1. Conceptual Model for Studies 5 and 6.



Specifically, we predicted:

H1: Members of the advantaged group who report positive contact with the outgroup (s) will display more willingness to take the perspective of the outgroup(s) and, in turn, will experience more guilt at the group level as a result of the wrongdoings their group committed against the outgroup(s).

H1b: Perspective taking will be positively associated with collective guilt which will, in turn, be associated with readiness to engage in outgroup oriented collective action.

Extending the political solidarity model of social change (Subašić et al., 2008) to intergroup relations between two minority groups and emphasizing the functional role of shared grievances in building solidarity (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; Simon & Ruhs, 2008), we also predicted that:

H2: Intergroup contact with the weaker disadvantaged group will be positively associated with taking the perspective of the weaker minority group which will, in turn, be associated with perceptions of shared grievances and collective action tendencies on behalf of the minority outgroup among the ethnic minority Hungarian ingroup.

Finally, integrative research on intergroup contact and collective action (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) maintains that for minority group members positive contact with the members of the advantaged group might have so-called “paradoxical effects” on collective action. Glasford and Calcagno (2012) provided the first experimental evidence of this ‘spill-over’ effect of intergroup contact with the majority group on intergroup relations between two minority groups.

It stands to reason that groups rarely exist in isolation and in plural societies intergroup relations between any two group are the product of each group’s relations with other relevant groups in the society (Dixon et al., in press). We therefore also hypothesized that:

H3: Among members of the disadvantaged group, intergroup contact with the members of the advantaged group will moderate the paths between perspective taking and shared grievances, intergroup contact with Roma and collective action on behalf of Roma, and shared grievances and collective action on behalf of Roma.

Finally, we predicted:

H4: Ingroup identification will be negatively associated with outgroup oriented collective action (Study 5 and Study 6) whereas it will be positively associated with ingroup oriented collective action (Study 6).

Study 5

Method

Participants

Two hundred and seventy participants were recruited from a multi-cultural and mixed-ethnicity (Romanian and Hungarian) university in Romania (249 females and 21 males, $M_{age} = 24.26$ and $SD = 6.38$) on a voluntary basis. On identifying themselves as Romanian they were asked to complete the Romanian version of a questionnaire on intergroup relations in Romania.

Measures

All variables were measured on 7-point Likert scales (for contact items: 1, *never*; 7, *all the time*; for Roma friends: 1, *none*; 7, *all of my friends are Roma*; for all the other items 1, *totally disagree*; 7, *totally agree*). Higher values thus indicate more contact, stronger social identification with the ingroup, higher levels of collective guilt, more perspective taking, and support for outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Hungarians and Romanians.

Predictors

Intergroup contact and social identification with the ingroup served as predictors. Intergroup contact with the Hungarian outgroup was measured by three items ($\alpha = .93$) adapted from Cakal et al. (2011). Participants reported the amount of contact they have with Hungarians in general: ‘How often do you talk to Hungarians?’, ‘How often do you socialize with Hungarians?’, and ‘How often do you spend time with Hungarians?’. Intergroup contact with the Roma outgroup was measured with two items ($\alpha = .76$; $r = .62$, $p < .001$) specifically developed for this study: ‘Do you have Roma friends?’ and ‘How often do you spend time with Roma people in general?’. Identification with the ingroup was measured by three items ($\alpha = .90$) from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992): ‘Being Romanian is an important part of my self-image’, ‘I am proud to be Romanian’, and ‘I identify strongly with Romanians.’

Mediators

To measure perspective taking, we adapted two items from Batson et al. (1997): ‘I can easily see things from the [outgroup] perspective’, and ‘I can easily understand the [outgroup] perspective’ formed a reliable scale (Roma, $\alpha = .74$, $r = .59$, $p < .001$; Hungarian $\alpha = .88$, $r = .78$, $p < .001$). Collective guilt was measured by three items adapted from Doosje et al. (1998): ‘I feel guilty about the negative things Romanians have done to Hungarians/Roma in Romania’, ‘I feel regret for the harmful past actions of Romanians toward the Hungarians/Roma in Romania’, and ‘I feel bad about the things that happened to Hungarians/Roma in Romania’.

Outcome Variable

We measured outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Hungarian outgroup with three items ($\alpha = .91$) adapted from Van Zomeren et al. (2008) and Smith, Cronin, and Kessler (2008): ‘I would be willing to support a candidate who is willing to improve the current situation of the Hungarians’, ‘I would be willing to sign up to a project to improve the condition of Hungarians’, and ‘I would be willing to attend a peaceful demonstration to improve the condition of Hungarians in Romania’. Collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup was measured with two items: ‘I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the current situation of Roma in Romania’ and ‘I would be willing to sign up a project to improve the condition of Roma’ ($\alpha = .83$; $r = .71$, $p < .001$).

Results and Discussion

We used Structural Equation Modelling in Mplus (version 5.2; Muthen & Muthen, 2008) to test our model. We used the Robust Maximum Likelihood (MLR) estimation method to control for possible non normality and the model fit was assessed through the χ^2 test, χ^2 /df ratio, RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation), CFI (Comparative Fit Index), and SRMR (Standardized Root Mean Square Residual). Acceptable cut-off points for these indices are a non-significant χ^2 value or a χ^2 /df ratio lower than or equal to 3 for satisfactory fit (Barrett, 2007; Bentler, 2007; Mulaik, 2007), or below 2 indicating excellent fit, .06 or lower for RMSEA, .95 or higher for CFI, and .08 or lower for SRMR (Marsh et al., 2004). Data was entered as raw and the total amount of missing data was less than 3%. Therefore, we did not apply any statistical treatment to the missing values.

For conceptual and analytical clarity we modelled attitudes for Hungarian and Roma outgroups in separate models. For both models, we first ran a confirmatory factor

analysis (Kline, 2011). A confirmatory factor analysis showed that almost all items loaded highly onto their respective factors with values above $\beta=.70$ (Hair et al., 2010). Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables are shown in Table 5.1. Overall, both models fit the data very well with fit values well below the threshold values (Model 1, Hungarians as the outgroup: $\chi^2 = 63.71.55$, $p = .566$, $df = 67$, $\chi^2/df = .95$, CFI =1, RMSEA = .0, SRMR = .027; Model 2, Roma as the outgroup: $\chi^2 = 41.50$, $p = .670$, $df = 45$, $\chi^2/df = .92$, CFI =.1, RMSEA = 0, SRMR =. 027). Results for the Hungarian outgroup and the Roma outgroup are summarized in Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3 respectively.

Table 5.1. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables in the models (Study 5).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Contact with Hungarians	1	-.27**	-.07ns	.37**	.12*	.15*	.03	.30**	.17*
2. Contact with Roma		1	.12ns	.04ns	.39**	.20**	.27**	.14*	.28**
3. Identification as Hungarian			1	-.08ns	.03ns	.07ns	.03ns	-.18***	-.02ns
4. Perspective Taking (Hungarian Outgroup)				1	.40**	.37**	.19**	.45**	.24**
5. Perspective Taking (Roma Outgroup)					1	.30**	.39**	.15*	.41**
6. Collective Guilt (Hungarian Outgroup)						1	.73**	.47**	.38**
7. Collective Guilt (Roma Outgroup)							1	.33**	.49**
8. Outgroup Oriented CA Tendencies for Hungarians								1	.42**
9. Outgroup Oriented CA Tendencies for Roma									1
Mean	3.50	2.26	4.29	3.25	3.15	2.47	2.68	2.83	3.67
SD	1.75	1.33	1.80	1.78	1.67	1.56	1.65	1.61	1.88

Figure 5.2. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the ethnic minority Hungarian outgroup via collective guilt and perspective taking among Romanians in Romania (n=270). Model 1, Hungarians as the outgroup.

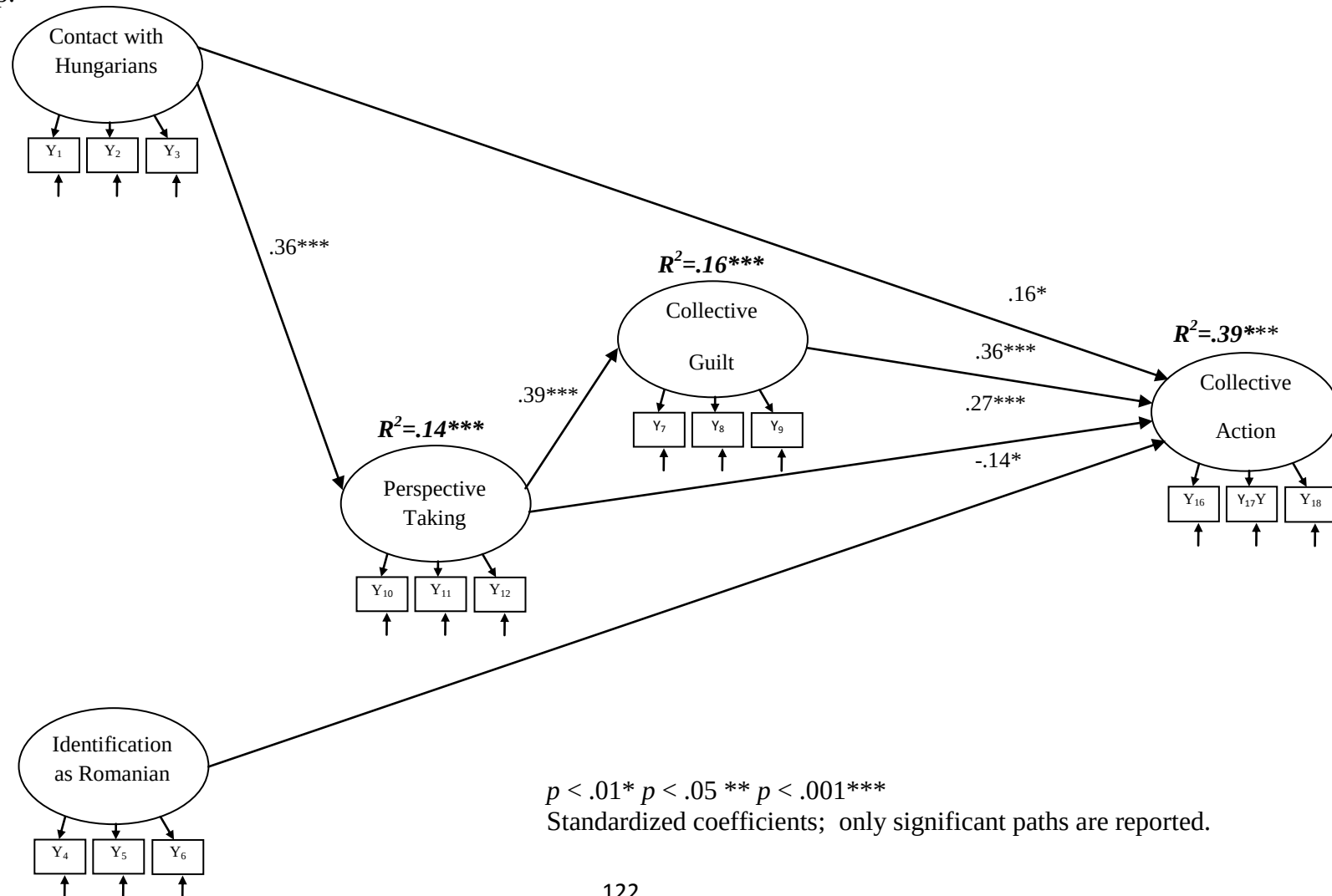
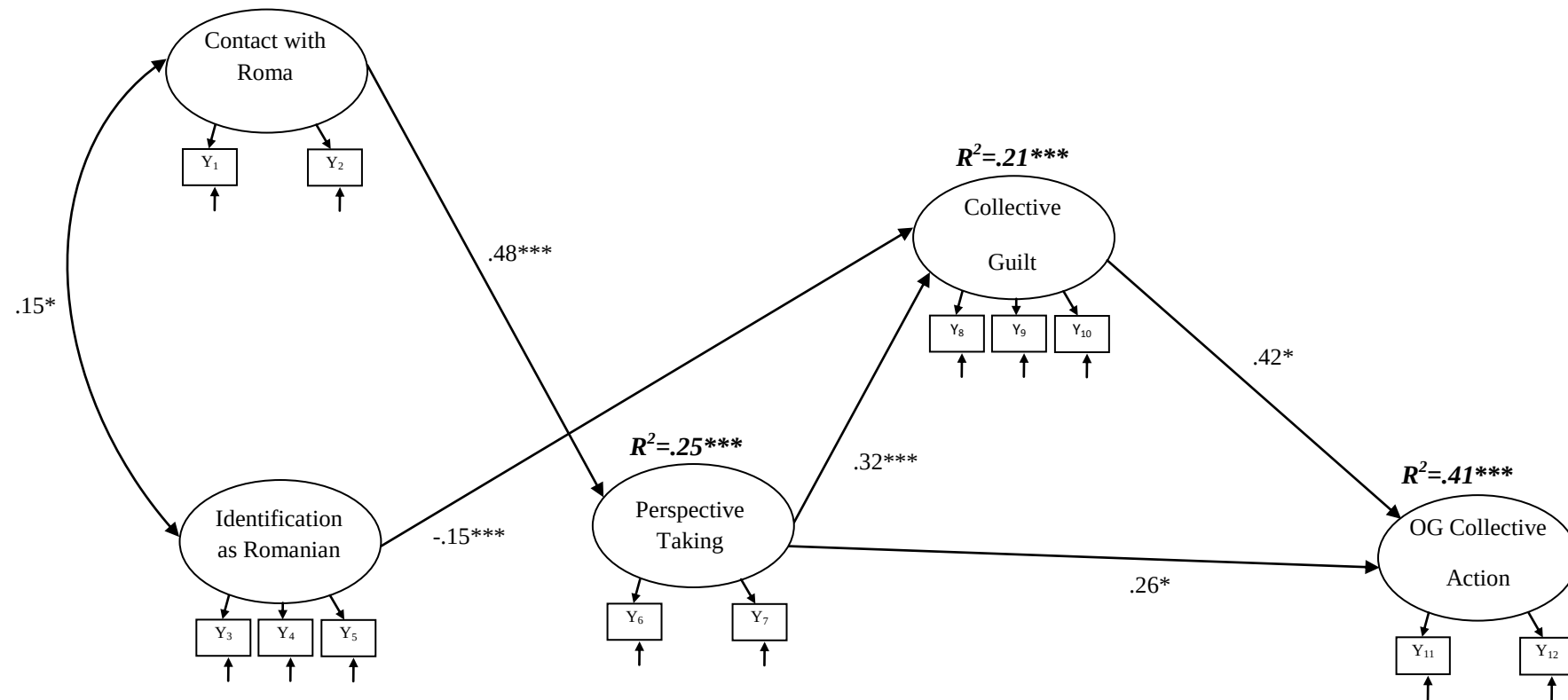


Figure 5.3. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the ethnic minority Roma outgroup via collective guilt and perspective taking among Romanians in Romania (n=270): Model 2, Roma as the outgroup.



$p < .01^*$ $p < .05^{**}$ $p < .001^{***}$

Standardized coefficients; only significant paths are reported.

In Figure 5.2, social identity had a direct significant negative association with outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Hungarians ($\beta = -.14, p < .05$). Intergroup contact was significantly and positively associated with collective action on behalf of Hungarians ($\beta = .16, p < .05$), and perspective taking ($\beta = .36, p < .001$). Perspective taking ($\beta = .39, p < .001$) was positively associated with collective guilt. As expected, both collective guilt ($\beta = .36, p < .001$) and perspective taking ($\beta = .27, p < .001$) were positively associated with outgroup oriented collective action. The model explained 39% of the variance in our criterion variable, outgroup oriented collective action, and 14% and 16% of the variance in perspective taking and collective guilt respectively.

In Figure 5.3, social identity had a direct significant negative association with collective guilt ($\beta = -.15, p < .05$) whereas intergroup contact had a significant positive association with perspective taking ($\beta = .48, p < .001$) only. Perspective taking ($\beta = .32, p < .001$) was positively associated with collective guilt. Additionally, both perspective taking ($\beta = .26, p < .001$) and collective guilt ($\beta = .42, p < .001$) were positively associated with outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup. The model explained 41% of the variance in our criterion variable, outgroup oriented collective action, and 25% and 21% of the variance in our mediators, perspective taking and collective guilt respectively.

Mediating Role of Collective Guilt and Perspective Taking

We tested indirect effects of intergroup contact and ingroup identification on outgroup oriented collective action for both outgroups. In line with the recent research on indirect effects (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2008; Williams & MacKinnon, 2008), which suggests that a significant direct path between the predictor and criterion variable is not essential for mediation, we tested all possible combinations of paths

which connect our predictor variables, intergroup contact and ingroup identification, with our criterion variable, outgroup oriented collective action. We used bootstrapping (Efron & Tibshirani, 1993; Preacher & Hayes, 2008) to create specific confidence intervals for each mediator in the models. Full mediation results for both models are reported in Table 5.2. For each significant indirect effect we report the overall path, the mediators, indirect path coefficient, and confidence intervals which are necessary for correct interpretation of path coefficients and their significance (Preacher & Kelley, 2011).

The association between intergroup contact and outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Hungarian outgroup was mediated by collective guilt and perspective taking (PE $\beta = .05$, with 99% CI [.01, .09]). When this is decomposed into individual mediators, intergroup contact had an indirect positive association with outgroup oriented collective action via perspective taking only (PE $\beta = .10$, with 99% CI [.01, .18]), and perspective taking was associated with outgroup oriented collective action via collective guilt (PE $\beta = .14$, with 99% CI [.04, .23]).

Table 5.2. Mediation bootstrap* test results** (Study 5).

Outgroup	Path	Mediator (s)	Point Estimate (β)	95 % CI	99 % CI
Hungarian	Intergroup Collective Action	Contact- Perspective Taking, Collective Guilt	.050		.012,.098
	Intergroup Collective Action	Contact- Perspective Taking	.104		.010, .187
	Perspective Collective Action	Taking- Collective Guilt	.139		.042,.235
Roma	Intergroup Collective Action	Contact- Perspective Taking, Collective Guilt	.071		.004,.152
	Intergroup Collective Action	Contact- Perspective Taking	.135		.009, .266
	Perspective Collective Action	Taking- Collective Guilt	.137	.009,.269	
	Ingroup Collective Action	Identification- Collective Guilt	-.054	-.082,-.027	

* 5000 re-samples. When confidence intervals do not include zero this shows that there is a significant indirect effect (Mac Kinnon, 2008; Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

**Standardized coefficients.

Next, we repeated the same steps for the Roma outgroup. Intergroup contact had a positive association with outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup via two mediators, collective guilt and perspective taking ($PE \beta = .07$, with 99% CI [.01, .15]). The path from contact with Roma to collective action on behalf of Roma via perspective taking only ($PE \beta = .13$, with 99% CI [.02, .27]) was also significant. As in the previous model, perspective taking was associated with outgroup oriented collective action via collective guilt ($PE \beta = .14$, with 99% CI [.09, .27]). Additionally, ingroup identification was marginally and negatively associated with outgroup oriented collective action via collective guilt ($PE \beta = -.05$, with 99% CI [- .08, -.03]).

For both outgroups, effects of intergroup contact on outgroup oriented collective action were mediated by perspective taking and collective guilt. Individuals who reported higher levels of contact took the perspective of the outgroups more which, in turn, predicted more collective guilt, and they were more willing to take collective action on behalf of the outgroups. Additionally, the effects of intergroup contact on outgroup oriented collective action appeared to be outgroup specific. For the Hungarian outgroup the association was both direct and indirect via mediators whereas for the Roma outgroup both intergroup contact and ingroup identification were associated with outgroup oriented collective action only indirectly.

Given the correlational nature of the data, we cannot rule out alternative causal orders of the variables in the model. Experiencing collective guilt and perspective taking could motivate individuals to have more contact with the outgroup, and frequent contact with the outgroup could predict outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. Therefore, we tested alternative models in which we entered perspective taking and collective guilt as predictors, intergroup contact as mediator and outgroup collective

action as criterion. This theoretical model, however, yielded poorer fit values for the Hungarian outgroup (Model 1, Hungarians as the outgroup: $\chi^2 = 89.05$, $p = .047$, $df = 67$, $\chi^2/df = 1.32$, $CFI = .98$, $RMSEA = .033$, $SRMR = .079$) and failed to converge for the Roma outgroup. Additionally, experiencing emotional reactions at the group level necessitates a salient social identity (Branscombe et al., 2002; Mackie & Smith, 2002; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999; Smith, 1993). However, intense collective guilt could be associated with increased willingness to take the perspective of the outgroup, which could predict weaker identification with the ingroup and more intergroup contact. Weaker identification with the ingroup and more contact with the outgroup, in turn, could be associated with a stronger desire to improve the conditions for the outgroup. We tested this alternative causal relationship for both outgroups, but this model did not fit the data well (Model 1, Hungarians as the outgroup: $\chi^2 = 91.33$, $p = .034$, $df = 69$, $\chi^2/df = 1.42$, $CFI = .98$, $RMSEA = .035$, $SRMR = .068$; Model 2, Roma as the outgroup: $\chi^2 = 71.82$, $p = .017$, $df = 47$, $\chi^2/df = 1.52$, $CFI = .98$, $RMSEA = .044$, $SRMR = .055$). We argue, therefore, in favour of our proposed model, which provides support for our predictions and extends earlier research on intergroup contact, perspective taking, collective guilt and collective action.

Study 6

Our overall aim was to test the positive effects of intergroup contact on outgroup oriented collective action. In Study 2, we wanted to investigate whether these positive effects could be replicated among the members of a disadvantaged group for collective action on behalf of another disadvantaged group as well as collective action tendencies to benefit the ingroup. Additionally, following Glasford and Calcagno (2012), we wanted to test whether intergroup contact with the advantaged group would moderate outgroup oriented collective action tendencies on behalf of the weaker

minority Roma outgroup. Earlier, Cakal et al. (2011, Study 1) argued that, for South African blacks, intergroup contact with Whites moderated the paths between ingroup identification and relative deprivation, and between relative deprivation and collective action. Dividing Black participants into two groups on the basis of the amount of contact they have with Whites, low-contact versus high-contact, they found that among participants in the high-contact group ingroup identification did not predict relative deprivation which, in turn, did not predict collective action tendencies. Using an experimental design, Glasford and Calcagno (2012) also found that intergroup contact with the majority European Americans moderated perceptions of solidarity among Hispanic and Asian Americans. Therefore, following these two studies, we wanted to test whether intergroup contact with the majority Romanians would have a similar effect on both ingroup and outgroup collective action tendencies among the Hungarian minority.

Method

Participants

The sample comprised 271 students (51 males and 220 females, $M_{\text{age}}=19.96$ and $SD=1.98$) who identified themselves as Hungarian and completed the Hungarian version of the questionnaire. They were recruited on a voluntary basis.

Measures

All variables were measured on 7-point Likert scales (for contact items: 1, *never*; 7, *all the time*; for Roma contact items 1 and 2: 1, *none*; 7, *a lot*; for item 3: 1, *never*; 7, *all the time*; for all the other items 1, *totally disagree*; 7, *totally agree*).

Predictors

We used the same items, appropriately worded, as in Study 1 to assess intergroup contact with the Romanian outgroup (3 items; $\alpha = .96$). Intergroup contact

with the Roma outgroup was measured by three items ($\alpha = .81$), ‘Do you know any Roma people?’, ‘Do you have any friends who are Roma people?’, and ‘How often do you interact with Roma people (greeting, talking or doing something together)?’ Ingroup identification was measured by three items ($\alpha = .84$) adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992): ‘Being Hungarian is an important part of my self-image’, ‘I am proud to be Hungarian’, and ‘I identify strongly with Hungarians in Romania’

Mediators

Perspective taking was measured by three items ($\alpha = .72$) adapted from Batson et al. (1997): ‘I try to look at the relations between Roma and Hungarians from the Roma perspective’, ‘I believe I have a good understanding of the problems that Roma have’, and ‘I can easily understand the Roma perspective’. We used two items ($\alpha = .72$; $r = .56$, $p < .001$) adapted from Simon and Ruhs (2008) to measure the extent of shared grievances between Hungarians and Roma people: ‘In the past, Roma and Hungarians have been discriminated against in Romania’, and ‘Roma and Hungarians suffered from harmful actions in the past’.

Outcome variables

Collective action tendencies to benefit the Hungarian ingroup were measured by two items ($\alpha = .72$; $r = .56$, $p < .001$): ‘I would vote for a candidate who would be willing to improve the current situation of Hungarians’, and ‘I would be willing to sign up for a neighbourhood project to improve the conditions for Hungarians in my neighbourhood’. Outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup was measured by two items ($\alpha = .78$; $r = .65$, $p < .001$): ‘I would be willing to sign up for a neighbourhood project to improve the conditions for Roma in my neighbourhood’, and ‘I would be willing to participate in a demonstration to improve the current conditions for Roma in Romania’.

Results and Discussion

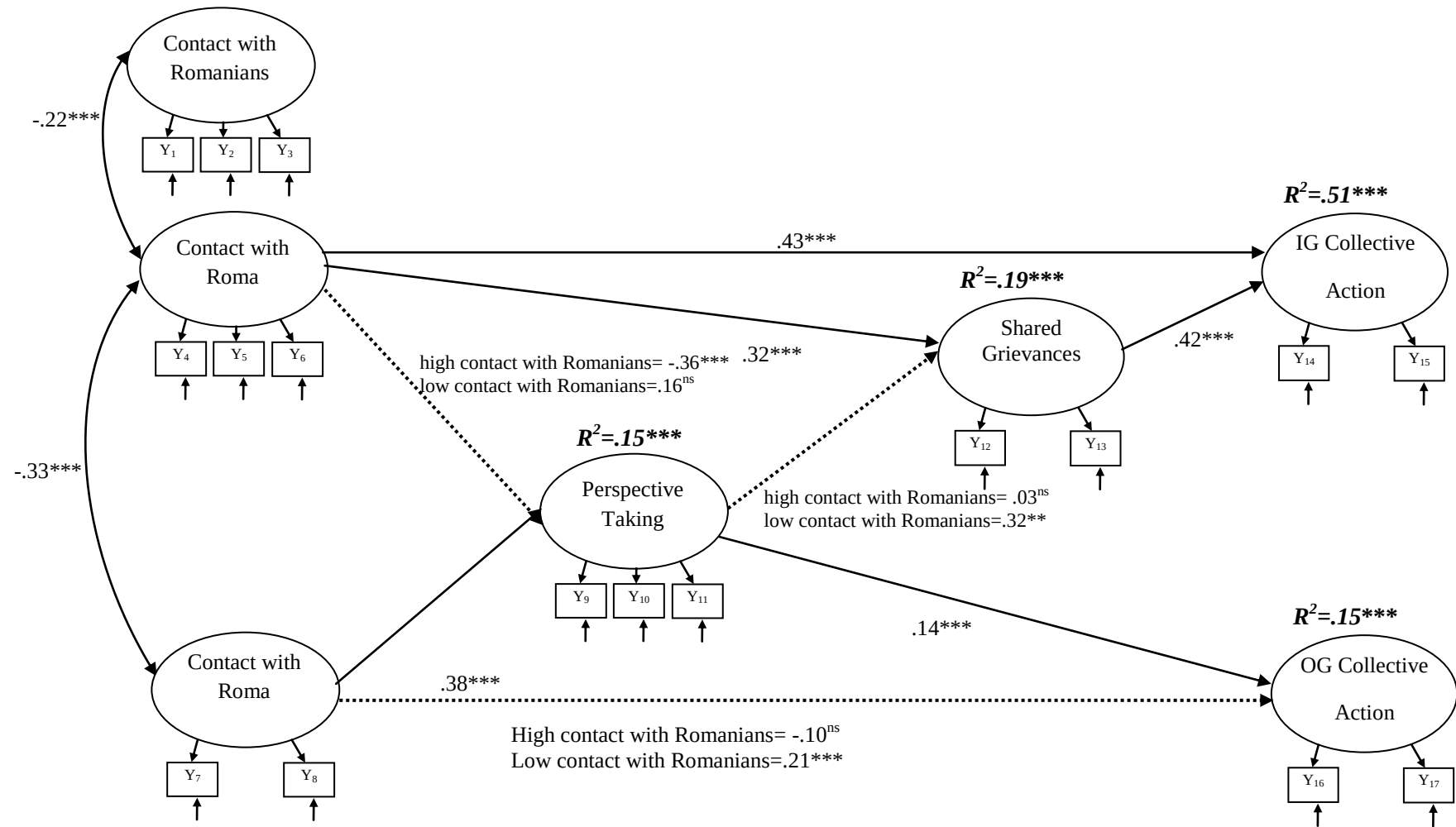
We present the descriptive statistics and correlations between variables in Table 5.3 and results for Study 6 are given in Figure 5.4. We used the same statistical procedure as in Study 5 to assess our model. Using the Robust Maximum Likelihood (MLR) estimation method, the same model-data fit indices as in Study 5 were utilized and data was entered as raw. There was no missing data for this study. Results of confirmatory factor analysis showed that all items loaded on to their respective latent variables with satisfactory loadings. Our model fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 128.19$, $p < .05$, $df = 98$, $\chi^2/df = 1.30$, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .034, SRMR = .037).

As expected ingroup identification was positively associated with collective action tendencies benefitting the ingroup ($\beta = .43$, $p < .001$) and shared grievances ($\beta = .42$, $p < .001$). Intergroup contact with the Roma outgroup was positively associated only with perspective taking ($\beta = .38$, $p < .001$).

Table 5.3. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables in the model (Study 6).

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Contact with Romanians	1	-.01ns	-.17**	-.02ns	-.12ns	-.20**	-.04
2. Contact with Roma		1	-.08ns	.25***	-.11ns	.05ns	.16**
3. Identification as Hungarian			1	-.13*	.23**	.44***	.0
4. Perspective Taking				1	.10ns	.03ns	.26***
5. Shared Grievances					1	.39***	.06ns
6. Collective Action Tendencies						1	.17**
7. Outgroup Oriented Collective Action Tendencies							1
Mean	2.92	2.87	5.99	2.98	5.01	5.86	2.77
SD	1.67	1.60	1.28	1.18	1.22	1.12	1.50

Figure 5.4. Saturated model showing contact and social identity predicting ingroup oriented collective action for the Hungarian ingroup and outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup.



$p < .01^* p < .05^{**} p < .001^{***}$

Standardized coefficients; only significant paths are reported.

In return, perspective taking was positively associated with outgroup oriented collective action benefitting the Roma outgroup ($\beta = .31, p < .001$) and with shared grievances ($\beta = .28, p < .001$) whereas shared grievances were positively associated with collective action tendencies benefitting the Hungarian ingroup ($\beta = .42, p < .001$) but not with collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup. The model explained 51% of the variance in our first criterion variable, ingroup oriented collective action, and 15% of the variance in our second outcome variable, collective action tendencies benefitting the Roma outgroup. Additionally, the model explained 15% and 19% of perspective taking and shared grievances, our mediator variables, respectively.

Mediating Role of Collective Guilt and Perspective Taking

As in Study 5, we tested the indirect effects of intergroup contact with the Roma outgroup, and ingroup identification on both collective action tendencies benefitting the ingroup and outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup. We used bootstrapping to test the indirect effects and created point estimates. Results are given in Table 5.4. Intergroup contact with Roma was positively associated with collective action benefitting outgroup Roma (PE $\beta = .12$, with 95% CI [.02, .24]) via perspective taking. Intergroup contact with Roma increased taking the perspective of the Roma minority and this, in turn, motivated the Hungarians, the stronger minority group in this case, to be more willing to engage in outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Roma. Additionally, ingroup identification was positively associated with collective action benefitting the ingroup (PE $\beta = .14$, with 99% CI [.03, .24]) via shared grievances. Specifically, stronger identification with the Hungarian ingroup increased perceptions of shared grievances with the Roma outgroup which, in turn, motivated individuals to be more willing to engage in collective action benefitting the Hungarian ingroup. Finally, perspective taking was positively associated with ingroup oriented

collective action tendencies ($PE \beta = .12$, with 95% CI [.01, .23]) via shared grievances. Taking the perspective of the other minority group increased perceptions of shared grievances with the outgroup but interestingly this motivated the ingroup members to be more willing to engage in ingroup oriented action not outgroup oriented collective action.

Regardless of the correlational nature of our data, findings from Study 6 further replicated the previous research on the predictive role of perspective taking on outgroup oriented collective action. Additionally, the findings are the first to provide evidence for the mobilizing role of contact among members of minority groups.

Finally, in order to increase my confidence in our model, we also tested alternative explanations for the associations between our variables. It could be argued that individuals might engage in collective action and this participation, in return, might predict their ingroup identification (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012) which, in turn, might predict perspective taking and shared grievances via intergroup contact with the outgroups. We therefore entered collective action for outgroup and ingroup as antecedents of ingroup identification which was, in turn, entered as an antecedent of intergroup contact with Roma and Romanians. Intergroup contact with both outgroups was then specified as a predictor of perspective taking and shared grievances with Roma. This model fit the data significantly worse ($\chi^2 = 163.97$, $p < .05$, $df = 102$, $\chi^2/df = 1.60$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .059). A second alternative model where we specified contact with both outgroups and ingroup identification as predictors, collective action tendencies as mediators and perspective taking and shared grievances as outcome variables also had poorer fit ($\chi^2 = 149.702$, $p < .05$, $df=102$, $\chi^2/df = 1.46$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .041, SRMR = .048) compared to our first model. Therefore, we rejected both alternative models.

Table 5.4. Mediation bootstrap* test results** (Study 6).

Outgroup	Path	Mediator (s)	Point Estimate (β)	95 % CI	99 % CI
Hungarian	Contact with Roma- Outgroup Oriented Collective Action	Perspective Taking	.116		.024,.238
	Ingroup Identification- Collective Action for the Ingroup	Shared Grievances	.136		.031,.242
	Perspective Taking- Outgroup Oriented Collective Action	Shared Grievances	.118		.006,.242

* 5000 re-samples. When confidence intervals do not include zero this shows that there is a significant indirect effect (Mac Kinnon, 2008; Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

**Standardized coefficients.

Moderating Role of Intergroup Contact with the Majority Group

We employed a multi-group approach and split our sample into low ($n = 172$) and high ($n = 99$) contact groups on the basis of their reported level of contact (median value = 2.92) with the Romanian majority. We then compared the models, the baseline model where paths were allowed to vary across low and high contact groups and a nested model where factor loadings were constrained to be equal across both models to ensure measurement invariance in both models. We used the scaled chi-square difference test (Satorra & Bentler, 2001, 2010). For the base model we allowed all the factor loadings to be freely estimated across low and high contact groups. The fit values of this model were acceptable ($\chi^2 = 265.53$, $p > .05$, $df = 216$, $\chi^2/df = 1.22$, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .041, SRMR = .062). We then constrained the factor loadings to be equal in both groups. The fit values for the resulting model did not significantly deviate from the base model ($\chi^2 = 271.71$, $p > .05$, $df = 219$, $\chi^2/df = 1.25$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .042, SRMR = .064; $\Delta\chi^2 (3) = 6.38$, $p = .094$) thus showing measurement invariance across low and high contact groups (Table 5.5). Establishing measurement invariance across groups is important in showing that there are no differences in terms of how scales function across two groups (N. Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000) and helps to assure that any difference in structural paths across low and high contact groups is not caused by a discrepancy in the scale functioning

Next, we tested the equality of structural paths across models. We forced all paths to be equal across groups in a stepwise manner, constraining one path at a time. Results of multiple group model fit comparisons are given in Table 5.5 and moderated path coefficients are given in Table 5.6. Equality constraints on (a) intergroup contact with Roma-outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Roma ($\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 4.38$, $p = .037$); (b) ingroup identification as Hungarian – perspective taking ($\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 20.99$, p

= .001); and (c) perspective taking –shared grievances ($\Delta \chi^2 (1) = 4.22, p = .039$) paths resulted in statistically significant deterioration of the model fit.

Intergroup contact with Roma was positively associated with outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Roma ($\beta = .21, p < .05$) in the low contact group but this association, although non-significant, was negative in the high-contact group ($\beta = -.10^{ns}$). In the low contact group, ingroup identification had a positive, albeit non-significant, association with perspective taking ($\beta = .16^{ns}$) but this association was negative and significant ($\beta = -.36, p = .001$) in the high-contact group. Finally, perspective taking was significantly and positively associated with shared grievances ($\beta = .32, p = .001$) in the low contact group but this association, although positive, was not significant ($\beta = .03^{ns}$) in the high-contact group

Table 5.5. Model Comparisons (Study 6).

Model Fit						Model Comparison	Corrected Chi Square Difference ($\Delta \chi^2$)
Model		χ^2 (df)	CFI	RMSEA [90% CI]	SRMR		
M1	Baseline Model	265.53 (216)	.96	.041	.062		
M2	Factor Loadings Constrained Across Groups	271.71 (219)	.96	.042	.064	M1 vs. M2	$\Delta \chi^2$ (3) = 6.38, p=.094
M3	Contact with Roma-Collective Action Tendencies on behalf of Roma Path Constrained	274.68	.95	.043	.065	M3 vs. M2	$\Delta \chi^2$ (1) = 4.32, p=.037*
M4	Ingroup Identification-Perspective Taking Path Constrained					M4 vs. M2	$\Delta \chi^2$ (1) = 20.99, p = .000***
M5	Perspective Taking-Shared Grievances Path Constrained					M5 vs. M2	$\Delta \chi^2$ (1) = 4.22, p=.039***

Table 5.6. Moderation Test Results (Study 6)

Path	Moderator	Condition	
		Low Contact with Romanians	High Contact with Romanians
Contact with Roma- Collective Action for Roma OG	Contact with Romanians	.21***	-.10 ^{ns}
Identity as Hungarian- Perspective Taking	Contact with Romanians	.16 ^{ns}	-.36**
Perspective Taking- Shared grievances	Contact with Romanians	.32***	.03 ^{ns}

Overall, these results provide evidence in support of the interactive effects of intergroup contact with different outgroups. The results replicate and extend the findings of the first study to collective action tendencies on behalf of another minority group. Intergroup contact among two minority groups motivates outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the weaker and more stigmatized outgroup, both directly and indirectly via perspective taking. This positive effect of contact on outgroup oriented collective action tendencies depends, however, partly on the amount of intergroup contact that the stronger minority group has with the majority group. Consistent with previous research, ingroup identification predicted collective action tendencies on behalf of the ingroup. This effect was mediated by shared grievances (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Simon & Ruhs, 2008), an important motivator but an under-researched predictor of collective action; and was moderated by intergroup contact with the majority outgroup. As for intergroup contact among advantaged and disadvantaged groups, these findings extend the so called ‘paradoxical effects’ of contact to affective mediators of intergroup contact.

General Discussion

These two studies investigated outgroup oriented collective action tendencies, a relatively under-researched aspect of collective action, in a multi-group context. We tested a model in which frequent intergroup contact with the outgroup predicts outgroup oriented collective action tendencies via perspective taking and collective guilt (Study 1) and perspective taking and shared grievances (Study 2). We incorporated various perspectives (e.g., collective action, intergroup emotions, and intergroup contact) to provide a more contextual account of why individuals engage in outgroup oriented collective action, and how their willingness to engage in outgroup oriented collective action might be influenced by their relations with other groups. Consistent with the

recent ‘relational approach’ to intergroup relations, which takes into consideration all the relevant groups in any given context (Dixon et al., in press), we also sought to replicate the moderating effects of intergroup contact with the advantaged group on outgroup oriented collective action tendencies among disadvantaged groups.

In Study 5, we tested our model in a setting which involves groups with well defined group boundaries (i.e., ethnicity, language and religion). Intergroup contact with members of disadvantaged groups motivated majority Romanians to display readiness to engage in outgroup oriented collective action benefitting two minority outgroups, Hungarians and the Roma. Modelling our findings separately for each target outgroup, Hungarians and Roma, we found that for the Hungarian outgroup intergroup contact positively, whereas ingroup identification negatively, predicted outgroup collective action tendencies. In addition, intergroup contact had indirect effects on outgroup oriented collective action tendencies via both perspective taking and collective guilt. For the Roma outgroup, however, both intergroup contact and ingroup identification were associated with outgroup oriented collective action tendencies via perspective taking and, only marginally, via collective guilt. Consistent with our hypotheses, positive intergroup contact motivated individuals to take the perspective of the wronged group, and this was associated with experiences of collective guilt which, in turn, predicted collective action tendencies benefitting the outgroup. Voluntarily engaging in contact, that is positive in nature, seems to invoke a range of emotional experiences which have positive consequences for outgroup oriented collective action. Taken together, however, it appears that effects of contact on outgroup attitudes depends on the status of the outgroup. Initial evidence suggested that contact has indirect effects on ingroup oriented collective action via a range of mediators (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; Reicher, 2007). However, our findings suggest that the effects

of contact on outgroup oriented collective action can be more direct depending on the status of the outgroup concerned. When the outgroup is more integrated into the society (i.e., Hungarians) intergroup contact predicted outgroup oriented collective action tendencies directly. When the outgroup is relatively stigmatized and less integrated into the society, as is the case for the Roma, however, these effects were mainly indirect.

In Study 6, using a sample of the Hungarian minority in Romania, we replicated the same model replacing collective guilt with shared grievances as both the ingroup, Hungarians, and the outgroup, Roma, share a similar, if not the same, social status as minority groups. Drawing upon past research on the mobilizing role of shared grievances across different interest groups (V. Taylor, Kimport, Van Dyke, & Andersen, 2009; V. Taylor & Whittier, 1992), we hypothesized that feeling mutually aggrieved could motivate Hungarians to engage in collective action on behalf of the weaker minority outgroup Roma. Instead, Hungarians who reported frequent contact with Roma demonstrated more willingness to take the Roma perspective and engage in collective action benefitting Roma. In terms of ingroup oriented collective action tendencies, findings of Study 2 confirmed our expectations. Identification as a Hungarian and collective action were positively associated (van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Rather unexpectedly, however, we found shared grievances to be positively associated with ingroup oriented collective action tendencies but not with outgroup oriented collective action tendencies.

While the mobilizing force of shared grievances and adversarial attributions among the members of the same group is well known (Klandermans, 1997; Lalonde & Cameron, 1994; Simon & Klandermans, 2001), in this context shared grievances failed to motivate outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. As Simon and Klandermans (2001) maintain, existence of a collective identity acts as a catalyst in turning individual

experiences and grievances into ‘our experiences’ (Haslam, Oakes, Turner, & McGarty, 1996). In the absence of such an overarching identity, which could equally include Hungarians and Roma, it is understandable that grievances failed to predict outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of the Roma outgroup. A strong negative association between identification as Hungarian and contact with Roma ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$) provides little evidence for such a superordinate identity. These findings have important consequences for research on solidarity among minority groups, suggesting that solidarity between two minority groups might be subject to the relative position of groups in the societal structure and a number of other issues (e.g., whether the other group is stigmatized or not).

Finally, we successfully demonstrated that the nature of intergroup relations between two minority groups, namely between Hungarians and Roma, is the cumulative product of the relations between the majority group, Romanians, and the minority groups. The effects of frequent contact with the majority appear to be particularly influential on ingroup identification and related processes. Our results show that intergroup contact with the majority group has far reaching consequences for minority ingroup processes (i.e., identification and perceptions of shared grievances, as well as outgroup oriented emotional experiences and action tendencies related to the other minority outgroup).

We believe that our findings contribute to the ongoing debate on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action, on the one hand, and recent theoretical attempts to provide an integrative account of collective action, on the other hand. We provide the first empirical evidence for Pettigrew’s (2010) assertion that the relationship between contact and collective action is complex and not limited to paradoxical effects. Building on past research (Mallett et al., 2008), we also add to the

existing research on solidarity between majority and minority groups (Subašić et al., 2008) and solidarity among minority groups (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). Thus, our findings add to the burgeoning research literature on differential effects of contact on social change (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; J. Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010) and suggest that perhaps a novel theoretical approach is needed to (a) explain the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action in general; and (b) to account for outgroup oriented collective action as a separate and distinct phenomena. Having said that, we also underline the conducive effects of intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 2010) toward solidarity building and social change through outgroup oriented collective action. Contact is an everyday reality, therefore it can neither be ignored nor assumed not to happen. Given its positive effects on intergroup relations, we believe it is rather simplistic to assume that it has only negative effects on social change.

CHAPTER 6: INTERGROUP CONTACT, IDENTITY AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

To date, research on collective action and intergroup contact has argued that positive intergroup contact between advantaged and disadvantaged groups has detrimental effects on collective action tendencies among members of the disadvantaged groups (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; J. Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, et al., 2010a; Reicher, 2007; Tropp et al., 2012). However, recent research also evinces that members of a majority group might engage in outgroup oriented collective action (Mallett et al., 2008) and intergroup contact between minorities can actually promote solidarity (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) and collective action on behalf of a weaker minority (Cakal, Hewstone, Mallett, Pintea, & Salat, under review.). Moreover, researchers investigating common ingroup identity make the further point that, dual identity (simultaneous subgroup and superordinate group identification), as opposed to common ingroup identity, simultaneously predicts stronger motivations for social change and willingness to engage in contact with members of the majority group (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Given the positive effects of contact on common ingroup identity and effects of different dimensions of contact on solidarity between groups, a clearer specification of contact effects, both between minorities and between minority and majority, on identity strategies and collective action is needed.

Additionally, researchers are beginning to consider collective action participation as a cause, rather than a consequence, of a number of individual (i.e., positive evaluation of oneself, Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; life-satisfaction and higher self-esteem, Outten, Schmitt, Garcia, & Branscombe, 2009) and group level (i.e., stronger identification with the ingroup, Drury & Reicher, 2005, 2009; perceptions of increased group efficacy, van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2010) outcomes.

This dynamic approach to collective action is relevant to the claim that positive attitudes toward the majority are negatively associated with collective action (Reicher, 2007). Given that in recent accounts of collective action, attribution of blame for the disadvantage is paramount to engaging in collective action, perhaps engaging in collective action or collective action tendencies negatively predict outgroup attitudes.

The present research set out to address these gaps in the current literature on intergroup contact, collective action and social identity. Firstly, we test the effects of different dimensions of intergroup contact (e.g., contact between minorities versus contact between the members of the majority and minority groups) on collective action tendencies. Secondly, we investigate the relationship between different dimension of intergroup contact and two distinct types of social identity (e.g., dual identity versus common ingroup identity). Thirdly, based on recent dynamic approaches to collective action (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012), we test effects of collective action on outgroup attitudes. By doing so, we extend the previous research on contact to simultaneous effects of contact between two minority groups and between majority and minority groups, a relatively under-researched topic. We also build on the differential effects of different forms of social identity on collective action and contribute to the burgeoning research literature on the effects of collective action participation (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012) in a unique three-wave longitudinal study, the first longitudinal study of the impact of contact on collective action.

Intergroup Contact and Collective Action

Cumulative findings of research on intergroup contact (Hewstone & Swart, 2011) suggest that the effects of intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes range from, but are not limited to, reducing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and perceptions of threat (Stephan & Renfro, 2002) to increasing trust (Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, &

Cairns, 2009) and forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2006). While there is little doubt about positive effects of contact on intergroup relations, recent work on collective action proposes that there can also be so-called ‘paradoxical’ effects or “unintended consequences” (Tropp et al., 2011, p.2) of intergroup contact. Across a range of cross-sectional and experimental studies, contact with the majority group has been found to predict, among members of the minority or disadvantaged group, decreased perceptions of relative deprivation (Cakal et al., 2011, Study 1), less support for policies to improve the group’s conditions (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; J. Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, et al., 2010a), and even less solidarity among two minority groups (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012).

One major criticism of this line of research is that intergroup contact and its effects on collective action are too narrowly conceptualized. Pettigrew (2010) argues that the effects of contact on social change are multifarious and intergroup contact might actually play a role in major transformative social change. Firstly, contact between the advantaged and the disadvantaged group might allow the members of the disadvantaged group to see what they do not have, thus aggravating their sense of deprivation. Moreover, intergroup contact can motivate the members of the advantaged group to engage in collective action on behalf of the minority outgroup (Cakal et al., under review., Study 1), or contact between two minority groups might contribute towards forming solidarity and engaging in outgroup oriented collective action (Cakal et al., under review, Study 2.; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012).

Collective Action and Social Change

One of the common definitions of collective action is that individuals engage in collective action on behalf of their group to improve the conditions for their group (Wright, 2009). Earlier, Tajfel and Turner (1979) suggested that in their attempt to

achieve a positive social identity members of a disadvantaged group might engage in collective action to improve their conditions to the extent that group boundaries are perceived as impermeable, the economic, political and social differences between the groups are seen as legitimate, and the social structure is seen as unstable, hence changeable. Two more recent theories, on the other hand, focus on the mobilizing power of identification with the group (van Zomeren et al., 2008), and on group efficacy, perceived injustice and negative affect resulting from perceived injustice as antecedents of collective action (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012).

The social identity model of collective action (hereafter SIMCA) argues that social identity plays a bridging role between group efficacy and perceived injustice in predicting protest mobilization (van Zomeren et al., 2008). To the extent that individuals identify with their ingroup they perceive more injustice being done to their group, have more negative emotional experiences related to this injustice, and believe that their group is able to change conditions for the better.

The dynamic dual pathway model of collective action (DDPM; van Zomeren et al., 2012), on the other hand, emphasizes the dual pathway approach in coping with collective disadvantage. According to the DDPM, individuals go through a two stage appraisal process (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lazarus, 1993). During the first stage, or *primary appraisal*, they first decide whether the collective injustice is personally relevant or not on the basis of how strongly they identify with a particular group. Stronger identification with the group leads to perceived group-based disadvantage as personally relevant. Once the context has been evaluated as personally relevant then the next stage involves blaming an external agent and evaluation of the injustice as fair or not (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). Evaluating collective disadvantage action as unfair then leads to anger which is paramount to aggression aimed at removal of the

injustice and the perpetrator of this injustice (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Lazarus, 1993; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). Van Zomeren et al. (2012) also maintain that, along with emotional experiences resulting from attribution of responsibility to an external agent and evaluating the context of injustice as unfair, individuals evaluate the collective support for protest mobilization within the group. If perceived to be high, such support motivates individuals to engage in direct action to change conditions. Unlike the SIMCA, the DDPM conceives collective action as a dynamic process where collective action can both be consequence and cause of a number of psychological mechanisms including identification with the ingroup, perceptions of injustice and emotional experiences resulting from this injustice, and group efficacy. It is toward this dynamic aspect of DDPM that we now turn.

Collective Action as a Cause and Consequence

Based on an emotion versus problem focused approach (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Lazarus, 1993), cognitive reappraisal of collective disadvantage and coping attempts are central to the DDPM (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). By treating coping attempts as a continuous process, the DDPM allows “feedback loops” by means of which collective action participation, identification with the ingroup, efficacy and emotional experiences are modelled as dynamic processes rather than consequential. This is important for both problem and emotion focused coping. Firstly, participation in collective action or willingness to participate in collective action might predict stronger identification with the ingroup by motivating reappraisal of collective disadvantage and its relevance to the group. Secondly, participation or willingness to participate in collective action might positively influence attribution of blame to external agents as well as reappraisal of collective disadvantage (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012).

Recent research on consequences of collective action participation provides support for the predictions of the DDPM we reviewed above. In a series of experimental and field studies, both actual participation and willingness to participate in collective action predicted group based anger and group efficacy (Van Zomeren et al., 2004). In another study, van Zomeren et al., (2010) found evidence in support of predictive influence of collective action tendencies on self-relevance of injustice, operationalized as ingroup identification.

Collective Action and Prejudice Reduction Approaches to Social Change

The primary point of divergence between prejudice reduction and collective action perspectives on social change is the position of intergroup conflict. The prejudice reduction perspective aims to bring about social change by improving intergroup relations and attitudes toward the outgroup whereas the collective action approach assumes that improving intergroup relations has negative consequences, i.e., decreasing motivations for social change, especially among the disadvantaged. While prejudice reduction is criticized for assuming that improving intergroup relations between the advantaged and disadvantaged group would eventually eradicate inequalities in the social structure (Wright & Baray, 2012), the collective action perspective takes for granted that engaging in collective action will result in a fairer society.

Both perspectives, then, differ in terms of role of intergroup conflict in social change. Spearheaded by intergroup contact, the prejudice reduction perspective sees eradication of conflict as the necessary starting point for social change, whereas for the collective action perspective conflict and the ensuing attempts to change the inequalities are seen as the primary mechanisms working toward social change (Wright & Baray, 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). In this respect, positive outgroup attitudes are seen as a barrier to collective action (Reicher, 2007). The incompatibility of conflict versus

harmony has even led to the argument that the “unintended” consequences of prejudice reduction among the disadvantaged may even be exploited by the advantaged to maintain the apparent inequalities in the system (Dixon et al., in press; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jackman, 1994).

Given that past participation in collective action can have a number of individual and group level outcomes (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011), i.e., participation in collective action fosters identification with the group and increases perception of group efficacy (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2010; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012), it is plausible to hypothesize that collective action might have similar effects on outgroup attitudes. Specifically, by (a) delineating group boundaries; (b) emphasizing the responsibility of the outgroup members for the current inequalities faced by the ingroup; and (c) fomenting negative affect and anger toward the outgroup, collective action tendencies or past participation might negatively predict outgroup attitudes.

Common Ingroup Identity, Dual Identification and Collective Action

Building on social identity and social categorization theories, the common ingroup identity model argues that by inducing members of two distinct groups to re-categorize themselves as members of an overarching superordinate group (Dovidio et al., 2009), intergroup bias between these groups can be reduced. However, reducing bias and conflict between two competing groups may also have unintended negative consequences for social change. Focusing on commonality with the members of the advantaged group and harbouring positive attitudes toward them, might de-motivate members of the disadvantaged group from engaging with the structural inequalities (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; J. Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). This might be due to a ‘cognitive shift’ whereby identification with the superordinate group

might result in group-based injustice no longer being seen as personally relevant (Van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). Alternatively, injustice can no longer be attributed to external agents, namely members of the advantaged group, due to positive attitudes resulting from common group identity or due to internalization of system justifying beliefs (Major & Townsend, 2010).

Additionally, previous work on common ingroup identity model (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999; Gaertner et al., 1993) suggests that positive and cooperative contact improves attitudes toward the outgroup and leads to re-categorization of the ingroup and outgroup members as members of a new superordinate 'ingroup' which includes the former ingroups and outgroups. This appears to have negative effects on collective action tendencies for two reasons. Firstly, collective action is assumed to be motivated by conflict of interests and conflictual intergroup relations between the advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Dixon et al., in press; Reicher, 2007). Secondly, emphasizing a common ingroup identity may result in reduction of subgroup identities and alleviate how minority group members perceive inequalities and the legitimacy of these inequalities, two key predictors of collective action (Dovidio et al., 2009; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Lastly, as a result of pro ingroup bias and positive attitudes toward new group members induced by the new common ingroup identity, members of the disadvantaged group might find themselves reluctant to blame members of the majority group and hence de-motivated to take collective action against them and the system.

Notwithstanding the complexities of relinquishing ethnic, racial or religious identities in naturalistic surroundings (R. Brown & Hewstone, 2005), it has been suggested that, rather than surrendering sub-group identities, preserving between-group differences and recognizing the similarities through a process of dual identity formation

is the key process in improving intergroup relations without undermining social change (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011).

Recent work on dual identity maintains that simultaneous identification with the sub-group and the superordinate group may help to overcome the unintended consequences of common ingroup identity on social change (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). A dual identity representation could help to preserve the predictive role of identity on collective action which might be otherwise lost. Dual identification could also reduce threats to the distinctiveness of the ingroup (Jetten & Spears, 2003) which might result from relinquishing one's ethnic or other ascribed identity. As recent experimental evidence shows, dual identification could contribute toward maintaining positive relations with the members of the majority group and more support for social change among the members of the disadvantaged group (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Thus, we aimed to investigate (a) whether intergroup contact has any paradoxical effects on collective action tendencies via the mediating role of intergroup attitudes; (b) how different types of contact (e.g., contact with the members of the majority group and contact with the members of another minority group) would impact on outgroup attitudes; (c) whether common ingroup or dual identification would predict collective action; and (d) whether collective action would have any consequential influence on any of the variables we mentioned above. We tested these ideas in a complex intergroup situation in northern Cyprus.

Intergroup Relations in Cyprus

Following the establishment of the bi-communal Republic in 1960 and the subsequent inter-communal clashes in 1963 which resulted in the grouping of Turkish Cypriots in the northern Cyprus and Greek Cypriots in southern Cyprus, both communities of the island remained divided until 2003. This division was further

reinforced by Greek Cypriot extremists' attempts to overthrow President Makarios on 15 July 1974 and subsequent military intervention by Turkey on 20 July 1974. More than thirty years of often hostile division eventually resulted in a de-facto 'cease-fire' and creating a buffer zone under UN control between the two communities. This complete isolation, however, came to an abrupt end in April 2003 when travel restrictions were eased and check-points were opened on the so called green-line to allow Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to cross and visit the north and south respectively. During the period of complete isolation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, which lasted from 1974 to 2003, several important changes took place. Firstly, due to the isolation, there was no contact between the two communities. Secondly, Turkish Cypriots established their own political administration under the auspices of Turkey and this political entity failed to gain any international recognition leading to political, economic and social isolation of the Turkish Cypriots from the rest of the world. Thirdly, the Turkish presence in the north of Cyprus has grown, notably through the settlement of large numbers of 'settlers' from the Turkish mainland, unhindered by any international interference. This influx of settlers, and 'immigrants' from Turkey, has created a distinct new group which is different than from Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. For Greek Cypriots, Turkish settlers symbolize the oppressive and brutal invasive force of Turkey and their repatriation is key to any future solution to the Cyprus Problem (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). For Turkish Cypriots, settlers are seen as distinct outgroup. Earlier research suggests that intergroup relations between Turkish Cypriots and settlers and immigrants from Turkey are inherently conflictual and an apparent tension exists between the two groups (Navaro-Yashin, 2006; Papadakis, 2005). These developments led to a complex web of

intergroup relations between a number groups with different value systems and social identities. It is against this backdrop that we undertook the present study.

Study 7

Method

Participants

The data for the study was collected by a public opinion research company from participants residing in northern Cyprus. Initially, a representative sample of 1000 adults was invited to participate in a 3-wave study, with approximately six months between each wave. Participants did not receive any financial rewards for their participation. We analyzed the data only from those who identified themselves as Turkish Cypriots and who reported having Turkish Cypriot citizenship. The final sample comprised 610 adult participants ($n = 255$ males and $n = 355$ females) at Wave 1 ($M_{age} = 34.27$ and $SD = 13.95$); 281 participants ($n=109$ adult males and $n = 172$ adult females) at Wave 2 ($M_{age} = 33.96$ and $SD = 14.24$), and 208 participants ($n = 84$ adult males and $n = 124$ adult females) at Wave 3 ($M_{age} = 35.21$ and $SD = 14.89$). Thus, the total rate of attrition for the entire study was 66.72 %.

Measures

Participants completed a detailed questionnaire on intergroup relations in Cyprus and Greek Cypriots were the target outgroup for the study. They reported the quantity of contact with Greek Cypriots and Turkish immigrants ('settlers'), strength of their identification as Cypriot (Common Ingroup Identity), strength of identification as Turkish Cypriots (dual identification), intergroup attitudes, and their willingness to engage in collective action. Higher values indicate more contact, stronger identification, positive attitudes, and more willingness to engage in collective action.

Contact

For contact with Greek Cypriots, participants reported the amount of contact they have at bi-communal meetings and when they cross to south Cyprus (1 = *never*, 5 = *almost every day*). For contact with Turkish immigrants in the north they reported the amount of contact they have and how pleasant they find the contact in general (quantity: 1 = *never*, 5 = *almost every day*; quality: 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *extremely*).

Common Ingroup Identity

Common ingroup identity was measured by three items adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992: 'In general, I am happy to be a Cypriot', 'I am proud to be a Cypriot', and 'Being a Cypriot is an important part of how I see myself' (1 = *absolutely disagree*; 5 = *absolutely agree*).

Dual Identity

Dual identification as Turkish Cypriot was measured by two items adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992: 'I am proud to be a Turkish Cypriot', and 'Overall, being a Turkish Cypriot has nothing to do with how I see myself' (reversed; 1 = *absolutely disagree*; 5 = *absolutely agree*).

Intergroup Attitudes

Respondents reported their attitudes toward Greek Cypriots on four 5-point semantic differential scales (e.g., 1 = *negative*; 5 = *positive*): negative – positive, cold – warm, hostile – friendly, contempt – respect (Wright et al., 1997).

Collective Action

Participants reported what they would be willing to do to change the conditions of Turkish Cypriots using a collective action thermometer (0 = '*I would do absolutely nothing*'; 10 = I would do anything to improve the conditions for Turkish Cypriots. This measure was adapted from the standard 'feeling thermometer', a widely used measure

of intergroup attitudes, and comprised a range of options which included 2 = '*I would be willing to sign a petition*'; 5= '*I would be willing to take part in a peaceful demonstration*'; 7, '*I would be willing to confront the police*'.

Data Screening and Preliminary Analyses

Prior to the analysis of measurement and structural properties, we tested whether there were any significant differences between those who dropped out of the study and those who stayed in. Research on the effects of attrition argues that attrition may result in a biased sample, lack of generalizability of the findings (Goodman & Blum, 1996), and biased estimates of relationships between variables (Alexander, Barret, Alliger, & Carson, 1986). Prior to any substantial analysis, therefore, it is essential to ensure that there are no significant differences between those who dropped out and those who stayed in the study (Molenberghs & Fitzmaurice, 2009). Goodman and Blum (1996) recommend first assessing whether attrition resulted in non-random sampling, then investigating the effects of any such bias on means, variances and structural relations between the variables in the dataset based on multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). They further argue that if there is any difference between the leavers and the stayers, this might influence means, variances, co-variances and finally structural relations between the variables.

These MANOVA based approaches suggested by Goodman and Blum (1996), however, assume that the observations are independent, data is multivariate normal and covariances are homogenous in both groups (Hair et al., 2010; Johnson & Wichern, 2007; R. G. O'Brien & Kaiser, 1985). Failing to meet these assumptions may result in biased results, reduced sample size, and decreased statistical power and precision (Enders & Bandalos, 2001a; Enders, 2006; J. R. Little & Rubin, 2002; McArdle, 2009). Multiple group comparison in Structural Equation Modelling using Robust Maximum

Likelihood (Enders & Bandalos, 2001a), which adjusts for non-normality, can be implemented to test for possible differences between the ‘leavers’ and the ‘stayers’ even when MANOVA’s assumptions are not met. Constraining all possible parameters in the model to be equal across ‘leavers’ and ‘stayers’ and checking for a statistically significant deterioration of model fit provides a stricter test of possible differences between the groups (McArdle, 2009) compared to MANOVA based approaches.

Following Goodman and Blum (1996), we first tested whether attrition had led to any non-randomness in our sample. We constructed a binary variable coding those who only participated in wave one as 1 and coding the remaining participants as 2. We employed logistic regression and regressed the participation variable on all the variables of interest along with sex and age. The results (Table 6.1) showed that those who left the study identified with the sub-group more ($\beta = .19, p < .05$) and had less contact with Greek Cypriots ($\beta = -.22, p < .05$).

Table 6.1. Results of Logistic Regression (Study 7)

Variables	B	SE
Contact with Greek Cypriots	-.22*	.15
Contact with Turkish Immigrants	-.13	.10
Outgroup Attitudes	.00	.08
Common Ingroup Identity	-.03	.08
Sub-group Identity	.19*	.11
Collective Action	-.09	.04
Sex	-.12	.19
Age	.00	.01
Constant	.38	.66

We then ran a multiple group analysis as suggested by McArdle (2009) in Mplus 5.2 (Muthen & Muthen, 2008a) to assess the effects of these differences on the structural relations between our variables. We constrained all the possible parameters to be equal across both groups in our model. Using data from Time 1 only, we tested our full model where contact with Greek Cypriots and Turkish immigrants are entered as predictors, dual-identity, common ingroup identity and positive group attitudes are entered as mediators, and collective action is the criterion variable. This model fit the data well ($n = 610$): $\chi^2(31) = 44.52, p > .05, \chi^2/df = 1.43, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .027, SRMR = .023$). We then performed a multiple group analysis. Using the Satorra-Bentler corrected Chi Square difference test (Satorra & Bentler, 2001, 2010) to assess differences in model fit, we constrained all the parameters to be equal across ‘leavers’ and ‘stayers’ groups. The constrained model was not statistically different than the unconstrained model in terms of the model fit (Unconstrained model: $\chi^2(72) = 80.97, p > .05, \chi^2/df = 1.12, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .020, SRMR = .035$; Constrained model $\chi^2(87) = 106.76, p < .05, \chi^2/df = 1.22, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .027, SRMR = .052; \Delta \chi^2(15) = 24.69, p = .054$).

Molenberghs and Fitzmaurice (2009) suggest that when missing responses do not conform to any particular pattern and format they can be considered as ‘missing completely at random’ (MCAR; Rubin, 1976). The most significant outcome of considering missing data as MCAR is that all analyses would yield unbiased inferences irrespective of whether the analyses use data only from those who completed or all the available data across all waves (Molenberghs & Fitzmaurice, 2009). Based on the results of multi-group analysis, therefore, we decided to retain all the available data and employed Robust Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIMLR) to estimate our longitudinal structural equation model. FIMLR is known to provide better estimates of

parameters compared to other estimators, and it corrects for possible non-normality in the data (Enders & Bandalos, 2001a, 2001b; Enders & Peugh, 2004; Schafer & Graham, 2002).

Next, we ran a series of reliability tests for each of our constructs at each time point. We report scale reliabilities, means and standard deviations of the variables in our model across three waves in Table 6.2. Descriptive statistics for each scale at each time point showed that our constructs are stable across waves (see Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2011). Having assured that our data is statistically stable across waves, we proceeded to the main analysis.

Results

We first ran three confirmatory factor analyses for each model at each time point (Kline, 2011) in Mplus 5.1 (Muthen & Muthen, 2008a) using Robust Full Information Likelihood (FIMLR) to assess how well our measurement models fit the data at each time point and whether each construct had both within and across construct discriminant validity at each time point (T. A. Brown, 2006) by χ^2 test, χ^2 test/df ratio, RMSEA (root mean square error of approximation), CFI (Comparative Fit Index), and SRMR (the standardized root mean square residual). Excellent model-fit is indicated by a non-significant χ^2 value (Barrett, 2007; Mulaik, 2007); χ^2 /df ratio lower than or equal to 3 for satisfactory fit or below 2 indicating excellent fit, .95 or higher for CFI, .06 or lower for RMSEA, and .08 or lower for SRMR (Bentler, 2007; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Marsh et al., 2004).

Table 6.2. Scale Reliabilities (Cronbach's α), Means and Standard Deviations for Scales across Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3 (Study 7)

		T1(n=610)			T2(n=276)			T3(n=208)		
Scale		Cronbach's α	Mean	SD	Cronbach's α	Mean	SD	Cronbach's α	Mean	SD
Contact with Greek Cypriots		.84 (r = .73***)	2.46	1.35	.84 (r = .73, ***)	1.96	1.18	.71 (r = .55***)	2.01	1.24
Contact with Turkish Immigrants		.68 (r = .52***)	2.30	1.15	.70 (r = .54***)	2.33	1.17	.71 (r = .55***)	2.40	1.19
Outgroup Attitudes		.86 (r = .78***)	2.77	1.33	.81 (r = .68***)	2.76	1.22	.74 (r = .58***)	2.76	1.22
Common Ingroup Identity		.93 (r = .86***)	3.63	1.27	.83 (r = .70***)	3.64	1.26	.90 (r = .83***)	3.56	1.25
Sub-group Identity		.84 (r = .74***)	4.11	.99	.85 (r = .74***)	4.31	.90	.80 (r = .67***)	4.09	1.08
Collective Action	na		3.74	2.32	na	3.39	2.46	na	3.79	2.93

***p<.001

All three models fit the data well; Model 1 at Time 1 ($n = 610$): $\chi^2(31) = 44.52, p > .05$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.43$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .027, SRMR = .023); Model 2 at Time 2 ($n=276$): $\chi^2(31) = 48.41, p < .05$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.56$, CFI = .98, RMSEA = .045, SRMR = .038); Model 3 at Time 3 ($n = 208$): $\chi^2(31) = 31.83, p > .05$, $\chi^2 / df = 1.02$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .011, SRMR = .033). Having obtained satisfactory results for cross-sectional CFA at each time point, we ran a longitudinal CFA and tested for measurement invariance across waves.

Measurement variance is built on the notion that a measuring device should function in the same way across varied conditions, so long as those varied conditions are irrelevant to the attribute being measured (Millsap, 2011; N. Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008). Although there are different aspects of ‘functioning in the same manner’ (N. Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008), i.e., configural invariance, metric invariance, scalar invariance, and residual invariance (A. W. Meade & Bauer, 2007; N. Schmitt & Kuljanin, 2008; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000), invariance of factor loadings across each time point or metric invariance is generally accepted as the most essential requirement for further analysis of latent variables in structural equation modelling based on longitudinal data (McArdle, 2009; Meredith, 1993; Voelkle, Oud, Davidov, & Schmidt, 2012). Establishing measurement invariance is essential for two important reasons. Firstly, results obtained across each time point cannot be compared if the measurement is noninvariant across each time point (Cole & Maxwell, 2003, 2009; Maxwell, Cole, & Mitchell, 2011; Swart et al., 2011). Secondly, measurement invariance shows that the results obtained are not affected by a change in the measurement instrument (Meredith, 1993; Sayer & Cumsille, 2001). Therefore, any analysis of longitudinal data using a structural equation modelling approach which is based on multiple observed items

cannot proceed unless claims of metric invariance across each time are substantiated (McArdle, 2009; Meredith & Horn, 2001; Voelkle et al., 2012).

For longitudinal confirmatory factor analysis and subsequent analyses, we allowed covariance of error terms within the same latent factor as well as covariance of each latent factor to co-vary (Chan, 1998; McArdle, 2009). We compared the model fit values of this model where factor loadings were free to vary with the invariant model where factor loadings of the items are constrained to be equal within latent factors across each time point using the Satorra-Bentler corrected Chi Square difference test (Satorra & Bentler, 2001, 2010) to test significant differences in model fit of the two models (See Table 6.3). The constrained model (factor scores constrained to be equal within each latent factor at each time point) did not have significantly poorer fit compared to the unconstrained model where factor scores were allowed to vary (Unconstrained model $\chi^2(318) = 532.37, p < .05, \chi^2/df = 1.35, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .033, SRMR = .043$; Constrained model : $\chi^2(328) = 540.23, p > .05, \chi^2/df = 1.33, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .024, SRMR = .043$; $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 10.78, p = .374$). This showed that our data has metric invariance across each time point and we can proceed to the analysis of longitudinal structural paths.

Auto-regressive Cross-lagged Analysis

Our approach is not data driven and we have both theoretical and methodological motivations to test cross-lagged relations between constructs (Jaccard & Jacoby, 2010; MacCallum & Austin, 2000). However, we do not rule out the key assumption of autoregressive models, that is each latent variable at T is being predicted by itself at T-1 (Hertzog & Nesselroade, 2003), and we shall deem it necessary to test autoregressive paths first to control for the autoregressive effects (Finkel, 1995). Such models also allow us to test whether within-variable paths across time are stable or not.

Table 6.3. Goodness of fit and model comparisons of autoregressive, autoregressive cross-lagged unidirectional , and autoregressive cross-lagged models (Study 7).

		Model Fit				Model Comparison	Corrected Chi Square Difference ($\Delta\chi^2$)
Model		χ^2 (df)	CFI	RMSEA [90% CI]	SRMR		
M1.	Baseline Auto-regressive	738.04 (419)	.94	.035 [.031,.039]	.078		
M2.	Auto-regressive Constrained	748.77(425)	.94	.035 [.031,.039]	.080	M1 vs. M2	$\Delta\chi^2(6) = 10.67$, $p = .099$
M3.	Unidirectional Forward	697.12(407)	.94	.034 [.030,.038]	.070		
M4.	Unidirectional Forward Constrained	700.24(412)	.94	.033 [.029,.038]	.070	M3 vs. M4	$\Delta\chi^2(5) = 3.53$, $p = .618$
M5.	Unidirectional Reverse	701.90(407)	.94	.034 [.030,.039]	.072		
M6.	Unidirectional Reverse Constrained	712.22(416)	.94	.034 [.030,.038]	.072	M5 vs. M6	$\Delta\chi^2(9) = 10.95$, $p = .278$
M7.	Baseline Auto-regressive Cross-lagged	606.710(365)	.95	.033 [.028,.038]	.051		
M8.	Auto-regressive Cross-lagged Constrained	644.747(395)	.95	.032 [.028,.037]	.056	M7 vs. M8	$\Delta\chi^2(30) = 38.99$, $p = .125$
M9	Auto-regressive Cross-lagged with omitted paths	674.29(417)	.95	.032 [.027,.036]	.069	M8 vs. M9	$\Delta\chi^2(22) = 30.18$, $p = .114$

Following the analysis of autoregressive paths, it is suggested to investigate the cross-lagged paths, where each variable at T is regressed on other variables at T-1, and to test whether these structural relationships are stationary across time points (Cole & Maxwell, 2003; Finkel, 1995). Establishing stability and stationarity then enables the researcher to test full mediation effects (Maxwell et al., 2011). Whereas stability refers to the condition where within-variable paths are constant at each time point, stationarity refers to the condition where structural relationships between variables do not change across each time point. Both assumptions are important in determining the direction of causality, especially when testing mediation (Cole & Maxwell, 2003; Finkel, 1995; MacKinnon, 2008).

Reciprocal Causality

Reciprocal causality occurs when x at Time 1 predicts y at Time 2 and vice versa. Although the social sciences, including psychology, are replete with reciprocal relations between variables (Oud & Delsing, 2008), conceptual conditions for reciprocity are hardly discussed. It has been argued that simultaneous reciprocal relations are only possible when the time frame of the relationship in question is not exact but approximate (Jaccard & Jacoby, 2010). Given that causality ultimately depends on the precedence of the cause over the effect and this requires a time interval (Pearl, 2012), when this time frame is approximate and ‘coarser’ rather than exact then reciprocal relationships are possible. This is due to the possibility that there might be shorter cycles of cause and effect within the measurement period (Jaccard & Jacoby, 2010; McArdle, 2009; Voelkle et al., 2012). This well might be the case for effects of intergroup contact between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots on other variables in the model since contact between the communities is a relatively recent phenomenon dating back to 2003 and even today it is still not experienced daily, a fact which is reflected by low mean values of

contact variable in the model (See Table 6.2). Additionally, exact individual effects of contact, subgroup and superordinate group (common ingroup) identification, positive attitudes and collective action on each other may necessitate a time frame larger than the time frame of the study to take place and to reach a state of stationarity and equilibrium (Cole & Maxwell, 2003, 2009). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect reciprocal relations to exist between variables in our model.

Auto-regressive Paths

We therefore, first, specified an autoregressive model where each variable at T was regressed on itself on T-1 where we allowed the paths from Time 1 to Time 2 and paths from Time 2 to Time 3 to be freely estimated within each construct. This model fit the data well (Model M1 in Table 6.3). Next, we constrained within-construct paths from Time 1 to Time 2 to be equal with within-construct paths from Time 2 to Time 3. The model also had acceptable fit values (Model M2 in Table 6.3). Unstandardized autoregressive paths are given in Table 6.4. Constraining autoregressive paths to be equal across each time point did not result in a significantly poorer fit compared to the model (M1) where paths were freely estimated. Thus, we chose the more parsimonious model. Unstandardized autoregressive paths are given in Table 6.4.

Full Analysis

We tested our hypotheses in a series of autoregressive cross-lagged models in which we included (a) within-construct paths from Time 1 to Time 2, and from Time 2 to Time 3; (b) cross-lagged forward paths; (c) cross-lagged reverse paths; (d) cross-lagged bi-directional paths to test reciprocal relationships between our variables (Cole & Maxwell, 2003; Swart et al., 2011). We controlled for

reverse causality by specifying ‘forward’ paths, from contact variables at Time 1 to our mediators (common ingroup identity, sub-group identity and positive attitudes to outgroup Greek Cypriots) at Time 2, to collective action tendencies at Time 3 (Model M3 in Table 6.3), and ‘reverse’ paths, from collective action at Time 1 to our mediators at Time 2, and from our mediators at Time 2 to contact variables at Time 3 (Model M5).

Table 6.4 Unstandardized Autoregressive Path Coefficients for Model 2 within Path Equality Constrains (Study 7).

Variable	Path		Confidence Interval (99%)	
	Time1-Time 2	Time2-Time 3	Lower Limit	Upper Limit
Contact with Greek Cypriots	.60	.60	.46	.74
Contact with Turkish Immigrants	.66	.66	.25	1.06
Outgroup Attitudes	.68	.68	.55	.79
Common Ingroup Identity	.74	.74	.63	.85
Sub-group Identity	.69	.69	.54	.84
Collective Action	.74	.74	.60	.86

Note: All paths are significant at $p < .001$

As in the baseline autoregressive model, we first allowed all cross-lagged paths to be freely estimated (Model M3 forward paths; Model M5 reverse paths) then we imposed equality constraints on all paths (Models M4 and M6 respectively). In both ‘forward’ and ‘reverse’ path models, the models where the cross-lagged paths were constrained to be equal did not have a significantly poor fit compared to the models where paths were freely estimated.

Having tested for forward and reverse paths and their stationarity, we then specified a ‘bidirectional’ (Swart et al., 2011) model in which we allowed all the cross-lagged paths to be freely estimated (Model M7 in Table 6.3) and compared this model to the model where all cross-lagged paths were constrained to be equal across time points (Model M8). Both models had acceptable model fit (Table 6.3). Moreover, the model where we imposed equality constraints did not result in a significantly poorer fit compared to the model in which the parameters were freely estimated. We therefore retained the more parsimonious model where we constrained the paths from Time 1 to Time 2 and paths from Time 2 to Time 3. We then omitted all non-significant paths (Model M9). Comparing models, the most parsimonious model, in which we imposed equality constraints on autoregressive and cross-lagged paths and omitted the non-significant paths, did not fit the data significantly worse than any of the previous models, so we retained this model.

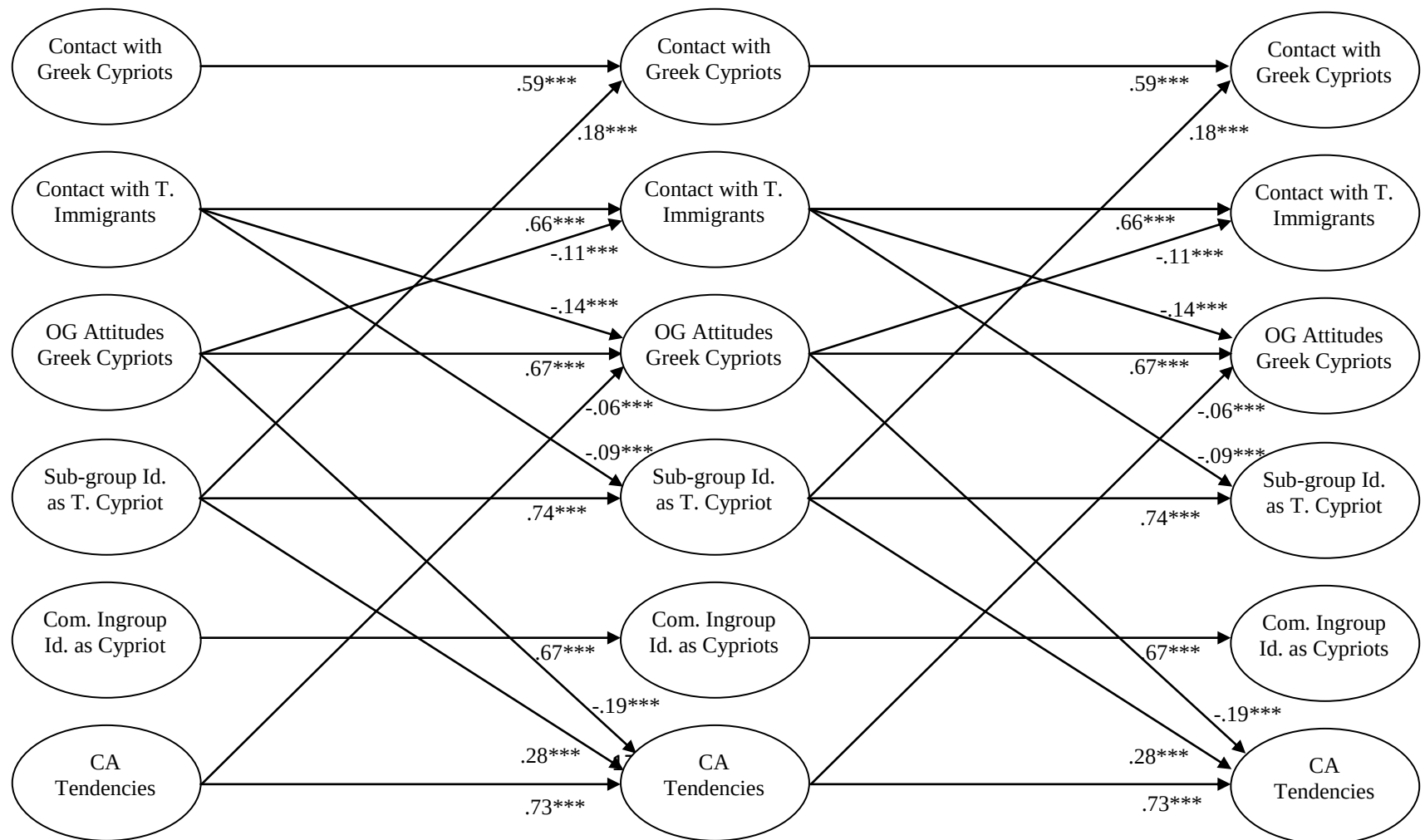
Cross-lagged Forward and Reciprocal Effects

In the most parsimonious model (Model M9 in Table 6.3), we omitted the non-significant paths but retained the autoregressive paths as we wanted the control for the autoregressive effects of each variable at Time 1 on Time +1. This enabled us to unpack cross-lagged effects and identify certain reciprocal relationships, that is when x at Time 1 predicts y at Time 2 and vice versa, between the variables in the model which we discuss below (see Figure 6.1).

As can be seen from cross-lagged arrows both from contact with immigrants variable at T1 and T2 to outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at T2 and T3 respectively and from outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at T1 and T2 to contact with Turkish immigrants at

T2 and T3, contact with Turkish immigrants at Time 1 and at Time 2 had a direct negative forward relationship ($\beta = -.14, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.28, -.01]$) with attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at Time 2 and Time 3 respectively.

Figure 6.1. Auto-regressive cross-lagged model showing the cross lagged relationships between the variables in the longitudinal model Greek Cypriots as the outgroup (Study 7)



However, outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at Time 1 and Time 2 also had a direct negative forward relationship ($\beta = -.11, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.20, -.02]$) with contact with Turkish immigrants at Time 2 and Time 3 respectively. We also found that contact with Turkish immigrants at Time 1 and Time 2 had only a direct negative forward relationship ($\beta = -.09, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.17, -.01]$) with sub-group identification as Turkish Cypriot at Time 2 and Time 3 respectively.

Apart from a reciprocal relationship with contact with Turkish immigrants, outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at Time 1 and Time 2 also had a direct negative forward relationship ($\beta = -.19, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.33, -.03]$) with collective action tendencies at Time 2 and Time 3 respectively. Sub-group identification as Turkish Cypriot had a direct positive forward relationship at Time 1 and Time 2 with contact with Greek Cypriots ($\beta = .18, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.07, .23]$) at Time 2 and Time 3, and with collective action ($b = .28, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.07, .42]$) at Time 2 and Time 3 respectively. The autoregressive cross-lagged model where we omitted the non significant paths explained a reasonable amount of the total variance in our variables at Time 2 and Time 3 (Table 6.5).

Having identified and tested cross-lagged forward and reciprocal relationships between our variables in the model, we then turned our attention to indirect effects. Earlier we hypothesized that intergroup contact with the majority group at Time 1 would have an indirect negative relationship with collective action tendencies at Time 3 via positive intergroup attitudes, common ingroup identity and sub-group identification at Time 3. We also hypothesized that contact with Turkish immigrants who are the minority group in northern Cyprus at Time 1 would negatively predict collective action tendencies via outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots, common ingroup identity and sub-group identification.

Table 6.5 Total Explained Variance of the Variables at Time 2 and Time 3

Variable	% Total Explained Variance (R^2)	
	Time 2	Time 3
Contact with Greek Cypriots	40	61
Contact With Turkish Immigrants	32	31
Outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots	54	65
Common ingroup identity	53	60
Sub-group identification	57	37
Collective Action	50	37

Contrary to our expectations, none of our predictions related to indirect effects received any support. We discuss possible causes of direct and reciprocal relations between our variables, and possible explanations for the absence of indirect effects, in the discussion section below.

Discussion

The present study tested a series of predictions in a complex intergroup situation among adults in northern Cyprus. We hypothesized that intergroup contact with the majority Greek Cypriots would negatively, whereas intergroup contact with the Turkish immigrants, minority group in the north, would positively, predict collective action tendencies at Time 3 via common ingroup identity, subgroup identification and positive group attitudes toward majority Greek Cypriots at Time 2. We also predicted that subgroup identification would positively predict collective action tendencies across each time point over and above common ingroup identity and positive group attitudes toward Greek Cypriots. Finally, we expected intergroup contact with the minority Turkish immigrants would negatively predict outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots across each time point. Our predictions were aimed at (a) addressing the recent debate

on the so-called ‘paradoxical’ effects of intergroup contact on collective action tendencies, (b) providing a longitudinal account of sub-group versus common ingroup identification effects on collective action tendencies, (c) longitudinal investigation of the effect of collective action participation on outgroup attitudes. Although we have been unable to find any support for our first prediction, that intergroup contact negatively predicts collective action, our data supported the remaining hypotheses.

In the following sections, we discuss our null findings regarding the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action. We then elaborate on possible causes of the reciprocal relationship between intergroup contact with the weaker minority and outgroup attitudes toward the majority Greek Cypriots. Next, we comment on the effect of identification with the sub-group on contact with the members of the majority group and collective action tendencies, and the relationship between positive intergroup attitudes toward the majority group and collective action tendencies from the relational perspective of intergroup relations. Finally we elaborate on the limitations of the present study before we conclude with some implications for future research.

Intergroup Contact, Positive Attitudes and Collective Action

We hypothesized that positive intergroup attitudes toward the majority outgroup would mediate the contact-collective action path where intergroup contact with members of the majority group, Greek Cypriots, at Time 1 would negatively predict collective action tendencies at Time 3 via positive attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at Time 2 (Reicher, 2007). This hypothesis was not supported by our data. We did, however, find a negative reciprocal relationship between outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at Time 1 and Time 2 with collective action tendencies at Time 2 and Time 3 respectively. Conversely, willingness to participate in collective action at Time 1 and Time 2 negatively predicted positive intergroup attitudes at Time 2 and Time 3

respectively. This is the first longitudinal evidence to support the negative reciprocal relationship between collective action and outgroup attitudes. Our findings suggest that paradoxical effects of contact on collective action need further substantiation through longitudinal field research. The findings further reveal that consequences of collective action participation are not limited to individual and intra-group processes and may well extend to intergroup situations such as the one presented here.

This partially overlaps with earlier research on intergroup contact and collective action we discussed above. However, our results reveal a more intriguing detail about the contact–collective action link, given that effects of intergroup contact on collective action tendencies are indirect (Cakal et al., under review; Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011) through a reduction of negative affect, and increase in positive affect (i.e., empathy, perspective taking and trust, and learning about the outgroup; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). We believe that it is hardly surprising not to see the ‘paradoxical’ effects of contact at work when there are no mediating processes. This is in line with earlier research which argues that effects of contact on collective action and support for social change are mainly indirect (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; Tropp et al., 2012). We believe this is the case in the present study.

The null finding regarding the relationship between intergroup contact and positive attitudes toward the outgroup might occur for several reasons. Firstly, we measured the quantity of contact Turkish Cypriots had with members of the majority group, Greek Cypriots. The effects of sporadic contact with little opportunity to develop affective bonds over time might have little influence on outgroup attitudes. As stated earlier, the opportunity to develop friendship over time is central to the positive effects of contact (Pettigrew, 1998). Therefore, lacking this essential element, mere contact with the members of the outgroup may not influence outgroup attitudes over a relatively

short period, such as the total time of one year measured across three time points of the study, with a six month gap. Secondly, intergroup contact between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots was re-established as recently as 2003 and it was still not part of daily life when the study was conducted in 2009 which might also help to explain the null findings concerning a link between intergroup contact and positive attitudes.

Last but not least, the relationship between ordinary intergroup contact and positive outgroup attitudes might still not reach an equilibrium where the within wave effects are exactly the same across each time point (Cole & Maxwell, 2003). Given that the effect is still developing, the time lag between each point of measurement may not adequately match or even capture the actual time lag of development (Cole & Maxwell, 2009). Thus, given the relatively short period of intergroup contact between the two groups (after years of isolation), the effects might still be developing. Therefore, future research with more time points over a longer duration is needed to determine the exact course of this relationship.

Dual Identification and Collective Action

The present study is the first *longitudinal* investigation of the effects of social identity on collective action tendencies. Although we did not test other predictors of collective action, such as group efficacy and anger (given the already complex longitudinal design), our findings confirm the central role of social identity in predicting collective action tendencies (van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Comparing two distinct types of identity, we found that dual identification as Turkish Cypriot instead of identifying with the common group as Cypriots predicted collective action tendencies. These findings support recent experimental research on the relationship between dual identification, common ingroup identity and activism. Dual identification simultaneously increases willingness to engage in contact with the

members of the majority group and readiness to engage in collective action toward social change (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011). Our findings suggest a direct positive relationship between dual identification as Turkish Cypriot and greater willingness to engage in collective action and, at the same time, greater desire to engage in more contact with members of the majority group across three time points. To some extent, this contradicts earlier research on the ‘paradoxical’ relationship between contact and collective mobilization among members of a disadvantaged group (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011; J. Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). Intuitively, there might be a short-term negative relationship between positive social contact with the members of the advantaged group and desire to engage in collective action. In the longer term, however, as our findings demonstrate, this may disappear perhaps (a) as a result of dual identification as it influences both contact with the members of the majority group and willingness to change the conditions for the ingroup, or (b) when expectations raised as a result of social contact are not met.

The ‘Relational’ Dimension of Intergroup Attitudes and Intergroup Behaviour

Our findings also provide the first longitudinal support for the relational dimension of intergroup attitudes and intergroup behaviour in plural societies. In line with the recent call for the consideration of intergroup relations with other relevant groups in the same social context in explaining the specific intergroup situation between two groups (Dixon et al., in press), the present study builds on the recent experimental (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012), and cross-sectional (Cakal, 2012; Cakal et al., under review) research on this multi-group perspective. Glasford and Calcagno (2012) show that intergroup contact between majority European Americans and minority African Americans negatively moderates the perceptions of solidarity among African Americans and Hispanic Americans, whereas in their second study Cakal et al. (nd)

report that among ethnic minority Hungarians intergroup contact between Hungarians and Roma, as the weaker minority group, predicted outgroup oriented collective action on behalf of Roma via perspective taking. In our model, intergroup contact with the Turkish settlers predicted negative outgroup attitudes toward the majority Greek Cypriots which suggests that in multi-group situations such as the one present study deals with, it is imperative to take the third group into consideration.

There is scant experimental or cross-sectional, and no longitudinal, evidence on the ‘relational dimension’ of intergroup relations. Our findings suggest that sustained intergroup contact between Turkish Cypriots and Turkish immigrants at Time 1 and Time 2 predicted decreased positive attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at Time 2 and Time 3 respectively. Results also reveal that positive outgroup attitudes toward Greek Cypriots at Time 2 and Time 3 predicted reduced contact with Turkish Immigrants. Notwithstanding the reciprocal nature of this relationship, which we deal in the following section, these results are significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, they provide a more comprehensive and detailed account of intergroup attitudes in multi-group situations. Recent research on the secondary transfer effect of contact (Pettigrew, 2009), suggests that the positive effects of contact with one outgroup generalizes to other groups which are not directly involved in contact situations with the ingroup. Our results further suggest, together with earlier experimental and cross-sectional research, a reverse mechanism where intergroup contact between two relatively disadvantaged groups might negatively predict outgroup attitudes toward the members of the advantaged group. This is particularly important if we consider that emergence of negative attitudes toward the advantaged group is generally seen as the starting point for attempts to change the unequal system (Dixon et al., in press; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Therefore it is reasonable to expect that intergroup contact between members of

the disadvantaged groups might lead them to evaluate members of the advantaged group less positively which might, in turn, facilitate attempts to change the unequal system. Although in the present study our data did not support the mediating role of positive attitudes toward Greek Cypriots on collective action tendencies, this process warrants further attention.

Secondly, taking into consideration the effect of intergroup contact between minorities on collective action tendencies might also help us to understand collective action tendencies in plural societies where collective action is subject to slightly different dynamics than protest mobilization. In historically unequal societies, social change is typically a struggle over a prolonged period of time which necessitates the involvement of all stakeholders in the society (Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Williamson, 2000). Based on the preliminary findings we report, future research might investigate such solidarity building effects of intergroup contact both between the majority and minority groups and between two or more minorities.

CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I first summarize the overall findings from the seven studies reported in the four empirical chapters of the thesis and elaborate upon the theoretical and empirical contributions that this thesis has made to research on intergroup contact and collective action. I then discuss limitations of these seven studies along with suggestions for future research on how to overcome these limitations. In the final part of the chapter, I discuss possible future avenues for integrative research on intergroup contact and collective action.

Key Findings and Contributions of the Thesis

The research reported in this thesis has sought to integrate intergroup contact research with research on collective action. More specifically, the thesis has aimed to understand whether intergroup contact promotes or undermines collective action by focusing on a range of mediating mechanisms such as aspects of social identity, i.e., ingroup, dual and common ingroup identity; cognitive (e.g., relative deprivation, group efficacy, perceived threats, perspective taking, shared grievances) and affective (e.g., collective guilt, and positive outgroup attitudes) processes. Additionally, the thesis also explored the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup oriented collective action as a distinct phenomena from ingroup oriented collective action.

In Chapter 3, the first empirical chapter, I investigated the effect of contact on three established predictors of collective action -- ingroup identification, relative deprivation, and perceived group efficacy -- in a context where the conventional differences between the advantaged and the disadvantaged groups are blurred. Using data from Black South Africans, a politically and numerically advantaged group, and White South Africans, a group with persisting socio-economic advantage over other Africans, I found that intergroup contact and ingroup identification predicted collective

action and policy support among both the advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Among Black South Africans, more contact was associated with less willingness to engage in collective action and to support policies benefitting the ingroup, both directly and via relative deprivation. Among White South Africans, stronger identification with the ingroup was associated with more ingroup collective action, both directly and indirectly, via both relative deprivation and group efficacy as predicted by SIMCA (van Zomeren, et al., 2008). Additionally, in Study 1, intergroup contact moderated the effects of social identity on relative deprivation, and the effect of relative deprivation on collective action, revealing that the effect of intergroup contact on collective action is mainly indirect. The findings presented in Studies 1 and 2 are the first cross-sectional empirical evidence on the possible paradoxical effects of contact on collective action over and above the effects of social identity, relative deprivation, and group efficacy. By establishing the effects of contact on collective action, the studies in Chapter 3 contributed toward a contextualization of collective action accounts. These findings therefore imply that in situations where collective action concerns two groups, based on racial, ethnic, or religious differences, and with a history of conflict, it is imperative to consider the effect of daily social relations between these two groups on collective action tendencies.

Studies 3 and 4 in Chapter 4 tested the effect of intergroup contact on collective action tendencies via the mediating role of perceived threats, an under-researched process in collective action literature. The data for the studies came from the majority Turkish and the minority Kurdish groups which have been involved in a violent conflict for the last twenty-five years in Turkey. The findings lend support to the predictive power of threats on collective action. This influence seems to be independent of the structural position of the group in question, as demonstrated by findings from both

studies. Perceived threats, whether based on present conditions or not, trigger activism. While this might seem a move backward from the complex and detailed accounts of collective action presented earlier, it may help to overcome the limitations imposed by this very same complexity. Individuals may not always feel relatively deprived, especially if they belong to the more powerful and the advantaged group. What is more, even when individuals perceive themselves as relatively deprived they may not always opt for collective action (see recent meta-analysis by Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Bialosiewicz, 2011). Contrary to earlier research (Reicher, 2007), these two studies also suggested that outgroup attitudes might not be related to collective action tendencies. The first contribution of the two studies in Chapter 4 to the contact and collective action literature is to show that in violent and conflictual contexts collective action tendencies can be explained by more basic mechanisms, e.g., perceived threats. The second is to overcome the structural limitations to explain collective action tendencies, thus extending current accounts of collective action to both advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

In Chapter 5, the third empirical chapter, I explored the differential effects of intergroup contact on two distinct types of collective action tendencies, ingroup oriented versus outgroup oriented. Using data from majority Romanians and ethnic minority Hungarians in Romania, I investigated whether intergroup contact promotes or prevents outgroup oriented collective action. While intergroup contact with the less stigmatized minority group Hungarians was associated with outgroup oriented collective action directly and via increased perspective taking and collective guilt, for the weaker and more stigmatized outgroup Roma this association was via perspective taking and collective guilt only. These findings were corroborated by the data from the minority Hungarians too. Intergroup contact with the Roma outgroup was positively

associated with both ingroup and outgroup oriented collective action tendencies. However, in Study 6, I found the same paradoxical effect of intergroup contact on collective action as in the previous studies. Intergroup contact with the majority Romanian outgroup negatively moderated the effects of contact on outgroup oriented collective action. Studies 5 and 6, therefore, provided further evidence concerning the complex nature of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action. More specifically, the findings contributed to the literature by suggesting that absolute conceptual clarity is needed to differentiate between different types of contact (e.g. contact with the majority versus minority) and between different types of collective action (e.g., ingroup oriented versus outgroup oriented) to specify this relationship. Additionally, by incorporating measures on two different groups, Hungarians and Roma in Study 5 and Romanians and Roma in Study 6, the studies in this chapter contributed toward a more relational understanding of intergroup relations in multi-group situations.

Study 7 in Chapter 6 tested the effect of two different types of contact, contact with the majority Greek Cypriots and contact with the minority Turkish immigrants in northern Cyprus, on collective action tendencies among Turkish Cypriots. Specifically, Study 7 investigated whether: intergroup contact reduces collective action tendencies by improving outgroup attitudes toward the majority and contributing towards a common ingroup identity; collective action predicts outgroup attitudes; and contact between two minorities influences attitudes toward the outgroup majority in a unique 3-wave longitudinal study of collective action predictors and mediators. Using an autoregressive cross-lagged model, the data partially supported the earlier findings on so-called negative effects of contact. Although Study 7 found no longitudinal association between contact and collective action tendencies, the findings evinced that a negative reciprocal relationship might exist between outgroup attitudes and collective action.

These results seem to be partially at odds with those of the cross-sectional studies reported in Chapter 4, where there was no association between outgroup attitudes and collective action. It is, however, tenable to attribute this discrepancy to the use of different measures for outgroup attitudes and collective action and the differences in methodology, e.g. cross-sectional versus longitudinal. Firstly, Study 7 showed that the relationship between contact and collective action is much more complex than it may seem and the so-called negative effects reported by cross-sectional studies may not endure in the long term. However, the findings also suggest that positive outgroup attitudes and collective action have a robust, and reciprocal, relationship. In this respect, the findings contributed to the existing research on collective action by (a) providing the first longitudinal evidence in support of the dynamic nature of collective action, and (b) successfully demonstrating the reciprocal nature of the relationship between collective action and outgroup attitudes. Secondly, the findings reported in this chapter provided unique evidence on the relational nature of intergroup relations in multi-ethnic contexts by providing the first longitudinal evidence on the effect of intergroup contact with a third group on the intergroup relations between two groups.

Limitations of the Present Research

The Cross-Sectional Nature of the Data

The cross-sectional nature of the first six studies in the thesis was a major impediment in terms of inferring causality, as it has been for other methodologically similar studies. Given the largely cross-sectional data reported herein, I acknowledge that the causal flow of my models, from intergroup contact and social identity to group efficacy, relative deprivation, perceived threats, perspective taking, shared grievances and collective guilt, then to collective action tendencies, should be interpreted with caution. However, following recent theoretical work on causal relationships and

structural equation modelling (Bollen & Pearl, 2012; Mulaik, 2009), I am confident about making a distinction between simple associations or correlations and causal paths obtained through structural equation modelling. It has been suggested that in correlational data a causal relationship between variables cannot be claimed, as temporal precedence of the predictor variable over the criterion variable cannot be established, and it is difficult to isolate the covariance between the two variables from the effect of external variables (Kline, 2011; Mulaik, 2009). However, one can make a stronger assumption about causality when the causal relationship is dictated by theory and supported by earlier experimental research (Pearl, 2012). Taking into consideration that I have managed to replicate most previous research on almost all of my variables, and provided alternative models to test reciprocal influence between my independent, mediating and criterion variables, I emphasize that findings presented in this thesis are both theoretically plausible and consistent with past research.

Measures

A second limitation of the studies presented in this thesis relates to the measures used in the studies. Firstly, in all studies I reported in the thesis, I only focused one dimension of contact. As discussed earlier, previous research has identified several other dimensions including quantity and quality of direct contact. While quantity simply refers to how frequent contact is quality is more about whether contact between the parties is based on friendlier, cooperative, mutually respectful and pleasant terms. In the present thesis, the focus is on quantity of contact with the outgroup members.

In addition to the quality and quantity of direct face to face contact, contact can also be extended, vicarious, or imagined. Extended contact refers to situations in which individuals know that one or more of their close friends, relatives, or a member of their ingroup have positive intergroup contact with members of the outgroup (Wright et al.,

1997). In vicarious contact situations, individuals observe another ingroup member or other ingroup members having positive contact with a member or members of an outgroup. Unlike extended contact, however, the observer or observers do not necessarily know the ingroup members personally (Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011; R. N. Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Vonofakou, & Christ, 2007). Yet in an imagined contact situation individuals mentally simulate positive contact with the outgroup members (Crisp & Turner, 2009). It is plausible that both quality and all these alternative forms of contact are also related to collective action tendencies among members of advantaged and disadvantaged groups. However, research reported in this thesis was conducted across four countries and in five different languages. Therefore, I focused on a single dimension of direct contact to overcome issues of standardization and to provide a more rigorous account of the relation between contact and collective action

Secondly, although in all studies I report on the actual conflict between real-life ethnic, religious and racial groups, and this must be considered an advantage, in some of the studies due to methodological (e.g., complex models) and contextual (e.g., the nature of conflict) factors, I was unable to use more precise measures. In Studies 1 and 2, for instance, some of my measures could have been improved. I used only two items for relative deprivation, social identity, and for support for policies in Study 2. Still, considering the effect sizes in general, and the fact that we were able to replicate most of the findings of earlier research on collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008), I do not think these limited measures have had major consequences in terms of threats to the validity of the results. Additionally, I could have measured how much individuals would identify with a common South African identity, which could have provided a

more direct measure of the effects of contact on the formation of a common ingroup identity.

Thirdly, in Studies 3 and 4, two communities from which samples are drawn have been involved in an intractable conflict. Therefore, I was unable to use items measuring the severity of threats (e.g., ‘I am concerned about my personal and physical safety’) to better capture the level of threats. I think it is not tenable to use such items for ethical reasons, especially when both sides are involved in a violent conflict. Even with current measures research assistants who helped me to recruit participants were accused of ‘provoking animosity between Turks and Kurds’ by a few participants. I could also have measured the level of negative affect regarding the structural positions of the groups or perceptions of group efficacy. Moreover, past research (Goldstone & Tilly, 2001) maintains that threats might have negligible effects in motivating people unless they believe that their group has the capacity to act upon those threats. Therefore, more research is needed to test the combined effects of perceived threats and other predictors of collective action (i.e., perceived efficacy, anger, and relative deprivation).

The same limitation applies to Study 7. Although the study is longitudinal in nature, which is a major methodological advance in this area, I did not measure other possible mediators of contact on collective action tendencies, nor did I use classic predictors of collective action (i.e., group efficacy, or relative deprivation related affect) as possible mediators or moderators due to already complex nature of the model. Earlier experimental (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) and cross-sectional (Cakal, Hewstone, et al., 2011) research suggests that contact with the advantaged group might moderate the relationship between relative deprivation and collective action tendencies as well as the relationship between group efficacy and collective action. Future research should replicate these studies using longitudinal data.

Finally, my dependent variable, collective action, in Study 7 was measured by a single item indicator.. Although using multi-item measures in psychological research is considered the best practice (T. A. Brown, 2006; Floyd & Widaman, 1995), recent work comparing the predictive validity of multi-indicator measures versus single indicator measures maintains that recent advances in structural equation modeling now allow structural parameters and measurement error of single items to be estimated, thus eventually improving the overall predictive validity of single item measures and their performance in structural equation models (Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2009, 2007; Mulaik & Millsap, 2000). I believe, therefore, that using a single indicator to measure collective action does not constitute a major threat to the validity of the findings reported in Study 7.

Lastly, as with similar research on collective action (Tausch et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008), I relied on collective action intentions, rather than actual participation in collective action, which is a common limitation of research in this field. I am careful, therefore, not to extrapolate from the findings and make strong claims. On the other hand, I believe that measures of intention can be successfully used to approximate actual participation in collective action, as empirical data suggests (De Weerd & Klandermans, 1999).

Self-report measures

As with other similar research, using data from self-report measures is one of the key limitations of the present research. Survey data based on self reports might be biased due to social desirability effects, respondents' attempts to appear coherent, or simply common-method in measurement (Cohrs, Kämpfe-Hargrave, & Riemann, 2012). On the other hand, it is difficult to see how this limitation can be overcome. One recent suggestion is the use of informant based or rater-based measures (Kuster, Orth,

& Meier, 2012). Although this strategy can be successfully implemented to validate self-reports and therefore help to overcome the problems we discuss above (Hewstone, Judd, & Sharp, 2011), it is, however, prone to logistical problems, especially in longitudinal studies, as it is understandably difficult to collect such data from observers and to observe participants over a long period of time.

Sample Related Limitations

Another limitation which applies to Studies 1, 2, 5, and 6 is that the data comes from student samples. It must be recognized that student samples may not always reflect the conditions that prevail in wider society for a number of contextual and psychological reasons, as noted by Smith and Leach (2004). In Studies 1 and 2, for example, it must be kept in mind that in the spirit of equality and justice, and consistent with anti-discriminatory policies, South African universities have placed a great deal of emphasis on individual merits and academic skills in an attempt to erase the legacy of Apartheid. The extent of desegregation of almost all formerly vastly white universities since Nelson Mandela came to power has also been impressive. This may influence our results in two ways. For those who come from what was traditionally and still is the socio-structurally disadvantaged group, namely Blacks, this might amplify perceptions of equality and therefore decrease perceived levels of deprivation (Soudien, 2010). Conversely, under these conditions, the formerly dominant group might have negative feelings about the changes that are underway. Moreover, research in other areas of psychology suggests that, because young people at this age are mainly concerned with interpersonal relations and building up a unique personal identity, constructs like relative deprivation or group efficacy, as well as social identity and collective action, which are inherently intergroup processes (Smith et al., 2012) may assume little importance for them.

Moreover, existing evidence also suggests that student samples are more homogeneous compared to adult samples, and student data might yield findings biased in terms of the size and direction of effects (Peterson, 2002). However, I believe that in the present case these student samples are similar to the wider population of interest in terms of ethnicity (e.g., Romanian versus Hungarian); and they share the same multicultural context and have themselves displayed evidence of activism and collective action (see Cernat, 2012, for the role played by students in clashes between the communities in Romania).

In Studies 3 and 4, however, sample-related limitation is slightly different from the other studies in which I used student samples. Because of the difficulty of conducting such sensitive research, I used data from two non-representative samples recruited through house visits. The fact that participants took part on a voluntary basis might suggest that they are both more mobilized and more politicized (Simon & Ruhs, 2008). This might mean that some of the relationships between my constructs may be inflated due to higher levels of such political awareness. On the other hand, if both samples consisted entirely of highly mobilized respondents, there would be little variation in key variables, and hence I would be unlikely to detect, as I have, numerous significant associations between variables. All in all, the necessary compromise made over sampling is considered reasonable in order to obtain unique data from this rarely-studied but long-running conflict.

Methodological Limitations Related to Longitudinal Designs

The first possible limitation of Study 7, I believe, is the approximate rather than exact time-lags between each data collection point. Recent methodological research on longitudinal design maintains that when the time lags between waves are not equidistant it is difficult to establish stationarity (Cole & Maxwell, 2003; McArdle, 2009; Voelkle

et al., 2012). This difference may demonstrate itself in biased and different effect sizes within and between variables across each time point. Although I controlled for both within and between stationarity across time points by imposing equality constraints and checking for model fit, such approximate time lag might still have biased some of the results (i.e., null finding regarding mediation effects of positive group attitudes). It is also possible that some of the reciprocal relations we discovered might be due to this ‘coarse’ time lag which allows alternative and shorter cycles of causality to operate between variables during the lag (Jaccard & Jacoby, 2010). Future research should, then, seek to replicate the findings of the present research with exact time lags between data collection points.

Another possible limitation is the number of data collection points. Although studies using three wave longitudinal data are clearly superior to studies based on cross-sectional data or two wave longitudinal data, they are not without their weaknesses. In situations where the causal cycle between the variables in the model is yet to reach a point of equilibrium, and therefore data do not display a linear trend, three waves may not adequately capture the causal cycle (Cole & Maxwell, 2009; McArdle, 2009; Voelkle et al., 2012). I believe this might be the case in Study 7. Time and logistic resources permitting, similar research could exploit four or more waves to capture these processes by means of alternative modelling strategies. But, of course, longitudinal data is rare enough in a thesis, given the deadline for submission, without demanding that it be from four or more waves. One possible modelling approach could be to use variations of latent trajectory models (Oud & Singer, 2007; Oud, 2010), or to employ alternative modelling solutions where time is modelled as continuous rather than discrete and is therefore sensitive to quadratic relations between the variables (Voelkle et al., 2012).

Implications for Future Integrative Research on Intergroup Contact and Collective Action

Firstly, the research reported in this thesis must be supplemented by future longitudinal and experimental studies. More specifically, future studies should seek to replicate the findings reported in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. The findings of the two studies in Chapter 3 should be replicated by longitudinal designs which look at the relation between contact and relative deprivation to test whether contact will still negatively predict relative deprivation among low status groups, and whether this relationship will change over time since, if there is little change in the actual conditions, low status group members might feel more relatively deprived. It will also be interesting for future research to test whether this negative relation will continue to hold in contexts similar to the present study, in which the historically disadvantaged group is improving its position, or whether the same relationship will become stronger among the members of the historically advantaged group as their group continues to lose ground.

I also believe that more research should investigate the moderating role of contact on other predictors of collective action such as group efficacy, negative appraisal of the perceived injustice, or, more importantly, politicized ingroup identity as it is considered a stronger predictor of collective action. Such research should use experimental and longitudinal designs. This should be done preferably in contexts such as plural societies in which more than one disadvantaged group exists (i.e., when a more powerful and a higher status minority group acts on behalf of another weaker and lower status minority).

For the findings reported in Chapter 4, first and foremost, future research should seek to test perceived threats and other predictors of collective action in the same model for more informed conclusions about the role of perceived threats. Another implication

of the findings of Chapter 4 concerns the effects of contact on collective action tendencies. Rather than direct effects, the results emphasize that contact mostly has indirect effects on collective action tendencies. This means that such an indirect effect might well be triggered through other mediators as well. In Chapter 5, for instance, we tested the predictive role of intergroup contact on outgroup oriented collective action via collective guilt and perspective taking, focusing on positive contact and intergroup emotions. However, not all encounters with the outgroup are positive (Dijker, 1987) and future research should focus on negative effects of contact (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010) on both ingroup and outgroup oriented collective action. Do, for instance, negative intergroup encounters with the other minority group prevent outgroup oriented collective action while motivating mobilization on behalf of the ingroup? In a similar vein, does negative contact with the majority group motivate members of the minority groups to perceive mutual solidarity and rebel?

Recent research also suggests that normative and non-normative collective action are subject to distinct mechanisms and emotions (Tausch et al., 2011). Do similar mechanisms to the ones we investigated apply to non-normative collective action tendencies in intractable conflicts? Additionally, how do individual cost-benefit analyses influence people's willingness to engage in collective action to benefit a disadvantaged outgroup? One possible avenue to explore these issues might be through experimental research in which costs and benefits underlying different collective action tendencies could be manipulated.

Finally, research on the consequences of participating in collective action argues that engaging in collective action might have positive effects at individual and collective levels (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). Would, then, outgroup oriented collective action be related to more pro-social

behaviour or reduced experience of collective guilt among the majority group members? Would those who participate in outgroup oriented collective action identify more with a common minority ingroup identity?

Future research should also seek to replicate the results presented in Chapters 3 and 5 with random samples of adult respondents, which would better reflect the socio-structural and political conditions in South Africa and Romania, respectively. It would also be interesting to investigate such issues in other contexts in which socio-structural conditions are changing, and in which groups are formed on the basis of social or ideological factors, or where the conflict is less violent, and the disadvantaged groups are already benefitting from a range of equality measures.

Conclusion

In an attempt to integrate research on contact and collective action, this thesis has demonstrated that intergroup contact and collective action have a complex relationship. The models I have tested in seven studies replicated and extended past research on contact and collective action. The findings suggest that research on collective action would greatly benefit from an integration of intergroup contact with the recent integrative research on collective action.

In Chapter 3, across two studies, I have confirmed that contact and social identity predict collective action and policy support in complex ways. My findings also provided strong evidence in support of the moderating role of contact among both low status groups on predictors of collective action and support for ingroup oriented policies.

I have also provided the first social psychological evidence of perceived threats as predictors of collective action, and have done so in a unique study of the Turkish-Kurdish conflict. I have shown that threats predict collective action tendencies among

both the advantaged and the disadvantaged, thus extending both societal and psychological accounts of collective action. Additionally, I have successfully demonstrated that contact can be related to collective action in more than one way (i.e., by reducing perceptions of threats). I still believe, though, that much work remains to be done to achieve a better understanding of the factors which mobilize and demobilize individuals.

In Chapter 5, we replicated earlier research on intergroup contact, intergroup emotions and collective action across three models and two studies and further demonstrated that individuals might be willing to engage in collective action to benefit disadvantaged outgroups. For the members of the advantaged group, current positive social ties with the wronged group and emotional experiences about the wrongdoings of one's ingroup play an important role in willingness to engage in outgroup oriented collective action. For the members of the minority group, however, intergroup contact as well as perspective taking appears to be crucial.

Last but not least, the research reported in Chapter 6 significantly extended the previous research on intergroup contact and collective action in various directions. Firstly, results revealed a robust reciprocal negative relationship between outgroup attitudes and collective action, but not between contact and collective action. The reciprocal nature of the relationship suggests that collective action might lead to negative outgroup attitudes or vice versa, but this relationship may not always extend to intergroup contact. Secondly, in complex intergroup settings where a multiplicity of groups exists, it is important to take into consideration the role that other relevant groups may play on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action. The findings of this thesis suggest that contact between minorities can influence outgroup attitudes toward the majority. Finally, the results presented provide the first

longitudinal support for the positive effects of sub-group identification on intergroup contact and social change.

In sum, the thesis extends the collective action literature in three main ways, by (a) testing additional mechanisms, especially mediating between intergroup contact and collective action; (b) overcoming the current structural limitations and focusing on advantaged groups as well as disadvantaged groups; and (c) contextualizing collective action as a socially embedded phenomenon and as a product of social relations between members of multiple groups. Taken together, these advances have important implications for research on social change, but also show that the integration of two heretofore separate research traditions – intergroup contact and collective action – can help to make some contribution towards a fairer and more just world

REFERENCES

- Aberson, C. L., & Gaffney, A. M. (2008). An integrated threat model of explicit and implicit attitudes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39, 808–830.
doi:10.1002/ejsp
- Aberson, C. L., & Haag, S. C. (2007). Contact, perspective taking, and anxiety as predictors of stereotype endorsement, explicit attitudes, and implicit attitudes. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 10, 179–201.
doi:10.1177/1368430207074726
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50, 179–211.
- Ajzen, I. (2005). *Attitudes, personality, and behavior* (2nd ed.). Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press / McGraw-Hill.
- Alba, R. (2005). Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 20–49. doi:10.1080/0141987042000280003
- Alexander, R. A., Barret, G. V., Alliger, G. ., & Carson, K. P. (1986). Towards a general model of non-random sampling and the impact on population correlation: Generalization of Berkson's Fallacy and restriction of range. *British Journal of Mathematical and Statistical Psychology*, 39, 90–115. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8317.1986.tb00849.x
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and philosophy and other essays*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

- Anderson, J. C., & Gerbing, D. W. (1988). Structural equation modelling in practice: A review and recommended two-step approach. *Psychological Bulletin*, 103, 411–423. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.103.3.411.
- Andrews, K. T., & Biggs, M. (2006). The dynamics of protest diffusion: Movement organizations, social networks, and news media in the 1960 Sit-Ins. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 752–777. doi:10.1177/000312240607100503
- Arsenault, R. (2006). *Freedom riders: 1961 and the struggle for racial justice (Pivotal Moments in American History)*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Baldassarri, D. (2009). Collective action. In P. Hedström & P. Bearman (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of analytical sociology* (pp. 391–418). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *The American Psychologist*, 37, 122–147.
- Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9, 75–78.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 1173–82.
- Barrett, P. (2007). Structural equation modeling: Adjudging model fit. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 42, 815–824. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2006.09.018
- Batson, C. D., & Ahmad, N. Y. (2009). Using empathy to improve intergroup attitudes and relations. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 3, 141–177. doi:10.1111/j.1751-2409.2009.01013.x
- Batson, C. D., Chang, J., Orr, R., & Rowland, J. (2002). Empathy, attitudes, and action: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group motivate one to help the group?

- Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 1656–1666.
doi:10.1177/014616702237647
- Batson, C. D., Polycarpou, M. P., Harmon-Jones, E., Imhoff, H. J., Mitchener, E. C., Bednar, L. L., Klein, T. R., et al. (1997). Empathy and attitudes: can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group improve feelings toward the group? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 105–18.
- Becker, J. C., Tausch, N., Spears, R., & Christ, O. (2011). Committed dis(s)idents: participation in radical collective action fosters disidentification with the broader in-group but enhances political identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37, 1104–16. doi:10.1177/0146167211407076
- Becker, J. C., Tausch, N., & Wagner, U. (2011). Emotional consequences of collective action participation: differentiating self-directed and outgroup-directed emotions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37, 1587–98.
doi:10.1177/0146167211414145
- Bentler, P. (2007). On tests and indices for evaluating structural models. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 42, 825–829. doi:10.1016/j.paid.2006.09.024
- Bergkvist, L., & Rossiter, J. (2009). Tailor-made single-item measures of doubly concrete constructs. *International Journal of Advertising*, 28, 607–621.
doi:10.2501/S0265048709200783
- Bergkvist, L., & Rossiter, J. R. (2007). The predictive validity of multiple-item versus single-item measures of the same constructs. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 44, 175–184. doi:10.1509/jmkr.44.2.175
- Bettencourt, B. A., Brewer, M. B., Croak, M. R., & Miller, N. (1992). Cooperation and the reduction of intergroup bias: The role of reward structure and social

- orientation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 28, 301–319.
doi:10.1016/0022-1031(92)90048-O
- Blanz, M., Mummendey, A., Mielke, R., & Klink, A. (1998). Responding to negative social identity: A taxonomy of identity management strategies. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 28, 697–729. doi:10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199809/10)28:5<697::AID-EJSP889>3.0.CO;2-#
- Blumer, H. (1958). Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *Pacific Sociological Review*, 1, 3–7.
- Bobo, L. D. (1999). Prejudice as group position: Microfoundations of a sociological approach to racism and race relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55, 445–472.
doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00127
- Bollen, K. A., & Pearl, J. (2012). Eight myths about causality and structural equation models. In S. Morgan (Ed.), *Handbook of causal analysis for social research*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Branscombe, N. R., & Doosje, B. (2004). International perspectives on the experience of collective guilt. In N. R. Branscombe & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Collective guilt: International perspectives* (pp. 3–15). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Branscombe, N. R., Doosje, B., & McGarty, C. (2003). Antecedents and consequences of collective guilt. In Diane M. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups* (pp. 49–66). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Branscombe, N. R., Slugoski, B., & Kappen, D. M. (2004). The measurement of collective guilt: What it is and what it is not. In N. R. Branscombe & B. Doosje

- (Eds.), *Collective guilt: International perspectives* (pp. 16–34). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Brewer, M. B. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55, 429–444. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00127
- Brewer, M. B. (2008). Deprovincialization: social identity complexity and out-group acceptance. In U. Wagner, L. R. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Emerging research directions for improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew* (pp. 160–176). Oxford, England.
- Brewer, M. B., & Miller, N. (1988). Contact and cooperation: when do they work? In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), *Eliminating racism: Means and controversies* (pp. 315–326). New York, NY: Plenum.
- Brislin, R. W. (1970). Back-Translation for cross-cultural research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 1(3), 185–216. doi:10.1177/135910457000100301
- Brown, R., & Hewstone, M. (2005). An integrative theory of intergroup contact. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 37, pp. 255–342). San Diego, CA: Academic Press. doi:10.1016/S0065-2601(05)37005-5
- Brown, R., Vivian, J., & Hewstone, M. (1999). Changing attitudes through intergroup contact : The effects of group membership salience. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29, 741–764.
- Brown, T. A. (2006). *Confirmatory factor analysis for applied research*. New York, NY: Guilford.
- Brubaker, R., Feischmidt, M., Fox, J., & Grancea, L. (2006). *Nationalist politics and everyday ethnicity in a transylvanian town*. Princeton, UJ: Princeton University Press.

- Cable, S., Walsh, E. J., & Warland, R. H. (1988). Differential paths to political activism: Comparisons of four mobilization processes after the Three Mile Island accident. *Social Forces*, 66, 951–969.
- Cakal, H. (2012). Intergroup relations in northern Cyprus: Turkish Cypriot perspectives. *Department of Psychology, Working Paper No: 2012-1, University of Oxford. Oxford, England.*
- Cakal, H., Hewstone, M., Mallett, R. K., Pinteá, S., & Salat, L. (n.d.). Outgroup oriented collective action: A test of mediating mechanisms. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*.
- Cakal, H., Hewstone, M., Schwar, G., & Heath, A. (2011). An investigation of the social identity model of collective action and the “sedative” effect of intergroup contact among Black and White students in South Africa. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50, 606–627. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02075.x
- Cakal, H., Pinteá, S., Hewstone, M., Heath, A., & Rusu, A. (2011). Multilevel study of out-group trust and perspective taking as mediators of intergroup contact, ingroup identification and collective action. *Paper presented at the 34th Annual Scientific Meeting of International Society of Political Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey.*
- Campbell, D. (1965). Ethnocentric and other altruistic motives. In D. Levine (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (pp. 283–311). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Card, D., Mas, A., & Moretti, E. (2010). Inequality at work: The effect of peer salaries on job satisfaction. Cambridge, MA. Retrieved from <http://elsa.berkeley.edu/~saez/card-mas-moretti-saezApril11ucpay.pdf>
- Carson, C. (1981). *In struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Cehajic, S., & Brown, R. (2010). Silencing the past: Effects of intergroup contact on acknowledgment of in-group responsibility. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 1, 190–196. doi:10.1177/1948550609359088
- Cernat, V. (2012). Ethnic conflict and reconciliation in post-communist Romania. In O. Simić, Z. Volčič, & C. R. Philpot (Eds.), *Peace psychology in the Balkans: Mapping the pathways to peace* (pp. 17–35). Boston, MA: Springer US. doi:10.1007/978-1-4614-1948-8
- Chan, D. (1998). The conceptualization and analysis of change over time: An integrative approach incorporating longitudinal mean and covariance structures analysis (LMACS) and multiple indicator latent growth modeling (MLGM). *Organizational Research Methods*, 1, 421–483. doi:10.1177/109442819814004
- Chavous, T. M. (2005). An intergroup contact-theory framework for evaluating racial climate on predominantly white college campuses. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 36, 239–57. doi:10.1007/s10464-005-8623-1
- Christ, O., Hewstone, M., Tausch, N., Wagner, U., Voci, A., Hughes, J., & Cairns, E. (2010). Direct contact as a moderator of extended contact effects: Cross-Sectional and longitudinal impact on outgroup attitudes, behavioral intentions, and attitude certainty. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. doi:10.1177/0146167210386969
- Cohrs, J. C., Kämpfe-Hargrave, N., & Riemann, R. (2012). Individual differences in ideological attitudes and prejudice: Evidence from peer-report data. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 103, 342–61. doi:10.1037/a0028706
- Cole, D. A., & Maxwell, S. E. (2003). Testing mediational models with longitudinal data: questions and tips in the use of structural equation modeling. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 112, 558–77. doi:10.1037/0021-843X.112.4.558

- Cole, D. A., & Maxwell, S. E. (2009). Statistical methods for risk-outcome research: being sensitive to longitudinal structure. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 5, 71–96. doi:10.1146/annurev-clinpsy-060508-130357
- Corenblum, B., & Stephan, W. G. (2001). White fears and native apprehensions: An integrated threat theory approach to intergroup attitudes. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des Sciences du comportement*, 33, 251–268. doi:10.1037/h0087147
- Cottrell, C., & Neuberg, S. L. (2005). Different emotional reactions to different groups: A sociofunctional threat-based approach to “prejudice”. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 770–89. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.88.5.770
- Crisp, R. J., Husnu, S., Meleady, R., Stathi, S., & Turner, R. N. (2010). From imagery to intention: A dual route model of imagined contact effects. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 21(1), 188–236. doi:10.1080/10463283.2010.543312
- Crisp, R. J., & Turner, R. (2009). Can imagined interactions promote positive perceptions? Reducing prejudice through simulated social contact. *American Psychologist*, 231–240. doi:10.1037/a0014718.
- Cunningham, G. B. (2005). The importance of a common in-group identity in ethnically diverse groups. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 9, 251–260. doi:10.1037/1089-2699.9.4.251
- Davis, M. (2004). Empathy: Negotiating the border between self and other. In L. Z. Tiedens & C. W. Leach (Eds.), *The social life of emotions* (pp. 19–42). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- De la Sablonniere, R., Tougas, F., & Lortie-Lussier, M. (2009). Dramatic social change in Russia and Mongolia: Connecting relative deprivation to social identity. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40, 327–348. doi:10.1177/0022022108330986

- De la Sablonnière, R., Tougas, F., & Perenlei, O. (2010). Beyond social and temporal comparisons: The role of temporal inter-group comparisons in the context of dramatic social change in Mongolia. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 150*, 98–115.
- De Waal, F. B. M. (2008). Putting the altruism back into altruism: the evolution of empathy. *Annual Review of Psychology, 59*, 279–300.
doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.59.103006.093625
- De Weerd, M., & Klandermans, B. (1999). Group identification and political protest: Farmers' protest in the Netherlands, 29, 1073–1095. doi:DOI:
10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199912)29:8<1073::AID-EJSP986>3.0.CO;2-K
- Diani, M., & McAdam, D. (2003). *Social movements and networks: Relational approaches to collective action. Networks*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/0199251789.001.0001
- Dijker, A. J. M. (1987). Emotional reactions to ethnic minorities. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 17*, 305–325. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2420170306
- Dixon, J. C., & Rosenbaum, M. S. (2004). Nice to know you? Testing contact, cultural, and group threat theories of anti-Black and anti-Hispanic stereotypes. *Social Science Quarterly, 85*, 257–280. doi:10.1111/j.0038-4941.2004.08502003.x/full
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., Tredoux, C. G., Tropp, L. R., Clack, B., Eaton, L., & Quayle, M. (2010a). Challenging the stubborn core of opposition to equality: Racial contact and policy attitudes. *Political Psychology, 31*, 831–855.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00792.x
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., Tredoux, C., Tropp, L. R., & Eaton, L. (2010b). A paradox of integration? Interracial contact, prejudice reduction, and perceptions of racial discrimination. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*, 401–416.

- Dixon, J., Levine, M., Reicher, S., & Durrheim, K. (2012). Beyond prejudice: Are negative evaluations the problem and is getting us to like one another more the solution? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 1–42.
- Dixon, J., Tropp, L. R., Durrheim, K., & Tredoux, C. (2010). “Let them eat harmony”: Prejudice-reduction strategies and attitudes of historically disadvantaged groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 19, 76–80.
doi:10.1177/0963721410363366
- Doosje, B., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (1998). Guilty by association: When one’s group has a negative history. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 872–886. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.75.4.872
- Doosje, B., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (2004). Consequences of national ingroup identification for responses to immoral historical events. In N. R. Branscombe & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Collective guilt: International perspectives* (pp. 95–111). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1999). Reducing intergroup bias: Combating intergroup biases. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 8, 101–105.
doi:10.1111/1467-8721.00024
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2003). Intergroup Contact: The Past, Present, and the Future. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 6, 5–21.
doi:10.1177/1368430203006001009
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Saguy, T. (2009). Commonality and the complexity of “we”: Social attitudes and social change. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 13, 3–20. doi:10.1177/1088868308326751

- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (1999). The intergroup dynamics of collective empowerment: substantiating the social identity model of crowd behavior. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 2, 381–402. doi:10.1177/1368430299024005
- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2005). Explaining enduring empowerment: a comparative study of collective action and psychological outcomes. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 35, 35–58. doi:10.1002/ejsp.231
- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2009). Collective psychological empowerment as a model of social change: Researching crowds and power. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 707–725. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01622.x
- Duan, C., & Hill, C. E. (1996). The current state of empathy research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 43, 261–274. doi:10.1037//0022-0167.43.3.261
- Duckitt, J., & Mphuthing, T. (1998). Group identification and intergroup attitudes: a longitudinal analysis in South Africa. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 80–5. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.74.1.80
- Durrheim, K., Dixon, J., Tredoux, C., Eaton, L., Quayle, M., & Clack, B. (2011). Predicting support for racial transformation policies: Intergroup threat, racial prejudice, sense of group entitlement and strength of identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, 23–41. doi:10.1002/ejsp.723
- Efron, B., & Tibshirani, R. J. (1993). *An introduction to the bootstrap*. New York, NY: Chapman & Hall.
- Einwohner, R., & Maher, T. V. (2011). Threat assessment and collective action emergence: Death-camp and ghetto resistance during the holocaust. *Mobilization*, 16, 127–146.

- Ellemers, N., & Bos, A. (1998). Individual and group level responses to threat experienced by Dutch shopkeepers in East-Amsterdam. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28, 1987–2006. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.1998.tb01357.x.
- Ellison, C. G., & Powers, D. A. (1994). The contact hypothesis and racial attitudes among Black Americans. *Social Science Quarterly*, 75, 385–400.
- Enders, C. K. (2006). A primer on the use of modern missing-data methods in psychosomatic medicine research. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 68, 427–36. doi:10.1097/01.psy.0000221275.75056.d8
- Enders, C. K., & Bandalos, D. (2001a). A primer on maximum likelihood algorithms available for use with missing data. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 8, 430–457. doi:10.1207/S15328007SEM0803_5
- Enders, C. K., & Bandalos, D. (2001b). The relative performance of full information maximum likelihood estimation for missing data in structural equation models. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 8, 430–457. doi:10.1207/S15328007SEM0803_5
- Enders, C. K., & Peugh, J. L. (2004). Using an EM Covariance Matrix to estimate structural equation models with missing data : Choosing an adjusted sample size to improve the accuracy of inferences. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 11, 1–19. doi:10.1207/S15328007SEM1101_1
- Ensari, N., Christian, J., Kuriyama, D. M., & Miller, N. (2012). The personalization model revisited: An experimental investigation of the role of five personalization-based strategies on prejudice reduction. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 15, 503–522. doi:10.1177/1368430211434576
- Esses, V. M., Dovidio, J. F., Jackson, L. M., & Armstrong, T. L. (2001). The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice,

- and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 389–412. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00220
- Finkel, S. E. (1995). *Causal analysis with panel data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Finlay, K., & Stephan, W. G. (2000). Improving intergroup relations : The effects of empathy on racial attitudes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 30, 1720–1737.
- Floyd, F. J., & Widaman, K. F. (1995). Factor analysis in the development and refinement of clinical assessment instruments. *Psychological Assessment*, 7, 286–299. doi:10.1037//1040-3590.7.3.286
- Gaertner, S. L., Bachman, B. A., Dovidio, J. F., & Banker, B. S. (2001). Corporate mergers and stepfamily marriages: Identity, harmony, and commitment. In M. A. Hogg & D. Terry (Eds.), (pp. 265–282). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 4, 1–26. doi:10.1080/14792779343000004
- Gamson, W. A. (1975). *Strategy of social protest*. Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press.
- Gladstein, G. A. (1983). Understanding empathy: Integrating counseling, developmental, and social psychology perspectives. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 30, 467–482. doi:10.1037//0022-0167.30.4.467
- Glasford, D. E., & Calcagno, J. (2012). The conflict of harmony: Intergroup contact, commonality and political solidarity between minority groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48, 323–328. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2011.10.001
- Glasford, D. E., & Dovidio, J. F. (2011). E pluribus unum: Dual identity and minority group members' motivation to engage in contact, as well as social change. *Journal*

- of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47, 1021–1024.
doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2011.03.021
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications of gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56, 109–118. doi:10.1037//0003-066X.56.2.109
- Goldstone, J. A., & Tilly, C. (2001). Threat (and opportunity): Popular action and state response in the dynamics of contentious action. In R. Aminzade, J. A. Goldstone, D. McAdam, E. J. Perry, W. H. Sewell, S. Tarrow, & C. Tilly (Eds.), *Silence and voice in the study of contentious politics* (pp. 179–194). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gonzalez, R., & Brown, R. (2003). Generalization of positive attitude as a function of subgroup and superordinate group identifications in intergroup contact. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 195–214. doi:10.1002/ejsp.140
- Gonzalez, R., & Brown, R. (2006). Dual identities and intergroup contact: Group status and size moderate the generalization of positive attitude change. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 42, 753–767. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2005.11.008.
- Goodman, J. S., & Blum, T. C. (1996). Assessing the non-random sampling effects of subject attrition in longitudinal research. *Journal of Management*, 22, 627–652. doi:10.1177/014920639602200405
- Gould, R. V. (2003). Why do networks matter? Rationalist and structuralist interpretations. In M. Diani & D. McAdam (Eds.), *Social movements and networks: Relational approaches to collective action* (pp. 233–257). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Granovetter, M. (1978). Threshold models of collective behavior. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83, 1420–1443.

- Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91, 481–510.
doi:doi:10.1086/228311
- Grant, P. R., & Brown, R. (1995). From ethnocentrism to collective protest: Responses to relative deprivation and threats to social identity. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 58, 195–212. doi:10.2307/2787042
- Gray, J. A. (1987). *Psychology of fear and stress*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunter, M. M. (2000). The continuing Kurdish problem in Turkey after Ocalan's capture. *Third World Quarterly*, 21, 849–870. doi:10.1080/713701074
- Hair, J. F., Black, W., Babin, B., & Anderson, R. E. (2010). *Multivariate data analysis* (7th ed., pp. 116–117). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Hardin, R. (1982). *Collective action*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press for Resources for the Future.
- Harth, N. S., Kessler, T., & Leach, C. W. (2008). Advantaged group's emotional reactions to intergroup inequality: The dynamics of pride, guilt, and sympathy. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 115–29.
doi:10.1177/0146167207309193
- Harwood, J., Hewstone, M., Paolini, S., & Voci, A. (2005). Grandparent-grandchild contact and attitudes toward older adults: Moderator and mediator effects. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 393–406.
doi:10.1177/0146167204271577
- Haslam, S. A., Oakes, P. J., Turner, J. C., & McGarty, C. (1996). Social identity, self-categorization, and the perceived homogeneity of ingroups and outgroups: The interaction between social motivation and cognition. In R. Sorrentino & E. Higgins

- (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: The interpersonal context* (pp. 182–222). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Haslam, S. A., & Reicher, S. (2006). Stressing the group: Social identity and the unfolding dynamics of responses to stress. *The Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*, 1037–52. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.91.5.1037
- Hayes, A. F. (2009). Beyond Baron and Kenny: Statistical mediation analysis in the new millennium. *Communication Monographs, 76*, 408–420. doi:10.1080/03637750903310360
- Hertzog, C., & Nesselroade, J. R. (2003). Assessing psychological change in adulthood: An overview of methodological issues. *Psychology and Aging, 18*, 639–57. doi:10.1037/0882-7974.18.4.639
- Hewstone, M., & Brown, R. (1986). Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the “Contact Hypothesis”. In M. Hewstone & R. Brown (Eds.), *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters* (pp. 1–44). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Hewstone, M., Cairns, E., McLernon, F., Niens, U., & Noor, M. (2004). Intergroup forgiveness and guilt in Northern Ireland: Social psychological dimensions of “The Troubles”. In N. R. Branscombe & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Collective guilt: International perspectives* (pp. 193–215). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Hewstone, M., Cairns, E., Voci, A., Hamberger, J., & Niens, U. (2006). Intergroup contact, forgiveness, and experience of “The Troubles” in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues, 62*, 99–120. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2006.00441.x
- Hewstone, M., Judd, C. M., & Sharp, M. (2011). Do observer ratings validate self-reports of intergroup contact?: A round-robin analysis. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 47*, 599–609. doi:doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.12.014

- Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup bias. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 575–604. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135109
- Hewstone, M., & Swart, H. (2011). Fifty-odd years of inter-group contact: From hypothesis to integrated theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50, 374–86. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02047.x
- Howard, P. N., & Hussain, M. M. (2011). The role of digital media. *Journal of Democracy*, 22, 35–48. doi:10.1353/jod.2011.0041
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indices in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 6, 1–55. doi:10.1080/10705519909540118
- Iyer, A., & Leach, C. W. (2009). Helping disadvantaged out-groups challenge unjust inequality: The role of group-based emotions. In S. Stürmer & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The psychology of prosocial behavior: Group processes, intergroup relations, and helping* (pp. 337–353). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Wiley.
- Iyer, A., Leach, C. W., & Crosby, F. J. (2003). White guilt and racial compensation: The benefits and limits of self-focus. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 117–29. doi:10.1177/0146167202238377
- Iyer, A., & Ryan, M. K. (2009). Why do men and women challenge gender discrimination in the workplace? The role of group status and in-group identification in predicting pathways to collective action. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 791–814.
- Jaccard, J., & Jacoby, J. (2010). *Theory construction and model-building skills*. New York, NY: The Guildford Press.
- Jaccard, J., & Wan, C. K. (1996). *Lisrel approaches to interaction effects in multiple regression*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

- Jackman, M. R. (1994). *The velvet glove: Paternalism and conflict in gender, class, and race relations*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Jetten, J., & Spears, R. (2003). The divisive potential of differences and similarities: The role of intergroup distinctiveness in intergroup differentiation. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 14, 203–241. doi:10.1080/104632803400000063
- Johnson, R. A., & Wichern, D. W. (2007). *Applied multivariate statistical analysis* (6th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Jongerden, J. (2007). *The settlement issue in Turkey and the Kurds: An analysis of spatial policies, modernity and war*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Jongerden, J., & Akkaya, A. H. (2011). Born from the Left: the making of the PKK. In M. Casier & J. Jongerden (Eds.), *Nationalisms and politics in Turkey: Political Islam, Kemalism and the Kurdish issue* (pp. 123–142). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kamov, G. (2006). *EU's role in conflict resolution: The case of the Eastern enlargement and neighbourhood policy areas*. Nice: Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales.
- Kawakami, K., & Dion, K. L. (1995). Social identity and affect as determinants of collective action: Toward an integration of relative deprivation and social identity Theories. *Theory and Psychology*, 5, 551–577. doi:10.1177/0959354395054005
- Kelly, C., & Breinlinger, S. (1996). *The social psychology of collective action: Identity, injustice, and gender*. London, UK: Taylor and Francis.
- Keltner, D., & Gross, J. J. (1999). Functional accounts of emotions. *Cognition and Emotion*, 13, 467–481. doi:10.1080/026999399379140
- Keltner, D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Anderson, C. (2003). Power, approach, and inhibition. *Psychological Review*, 110, 265–284. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.110.2.265

- Kenworthy, J. B., & Jones, J. R. (2009). The roles of group importance and anxiety in predicting depersonalized ingroup trust. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 12, 227–239. doi:10.1177/1368430208101058
- Ker-Lindsay, J. (2011). *The Cyprus problem: What everyone needs to know*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Khawaja, M. (1993). Repression and popular collective action: Evidence from the West Bank. *Sociological Forum*, 8, 47–71. doi:10.1007/BF01112330
- Khawaja, M. (1995). The dynamics of local collective action in the West Bank: A test of rival explanations. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 44, 147–179. doi:10.1086/452204
- Kinder, D. R., & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 40, 414–431. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.40.3.414
- Kirisci, K., & Winrow, G. W. (1997). *The Kurdish question and Turkey: An example of a trans-state ethnic conflict*. London, UK: Frank Cass.
- Klandermans, B. (1984). Mobilization and participation: Social-psychological expansions of resource mobilization theory. *American Sociological Review*, 49, 583–600. doi:10.2307/2095417
- Klandermans, B. (1997). *The social psychology of protest*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Klandermans, B., Van der Toorn, J., & Van Stekelenburg, J. (2008). Embeddedness and identity: How immigrants turn grievances into action. *American Sociological Review*, 73, 992–1012. doi:10.1177/000312240807300606
- Klandermans, B., Werner, M., & Van Doorn, M. (2008). Redeeming Apartheid's legacy: collective guilt, political ideology, and compensation. *Political Psychology*, 29, 332–349. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2008.00633.x

- Kline, R. B. (2011). *Principles and practice of structural equation modelling* (3rd ed.). Guildford, England: The Guildford Press.
- Kuster, F., Orth, U., & Meier, L. L. (2012). Rumination mediates the prospective effect of low self-esteem on depression: a five-wave longitudinal study. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 747–59. doi:10.1177/0146167212437250
- Lalonde, R. N., & Cameron, J. E. (1994). Behavioral responses to discrimination: A focus on action. In P. Zanna & J. . Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario symposium, Volume 7* (pp. 257–288). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1991). *Emotion and adaptation*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1993). Coping theory and research: past, present, and future. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 55, 234–47.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York, NY: Springer.
- Leach, C. W., Iyer, A., & Pedersen, A. (2007). Angry opposition to government redress: When the structurally advantaged perceive themselves as relatively deprived. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, 191–204. doi:10.1348/014466606X99360
- Levine, R. A., & Campbell, D. T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism: Theories of conflict, ethnic attitudes, and group behavior*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Lewis, P., Vasagar, J., Williams, R., & Taylor, M. (2010, November 10). Student protest over fees turns violent. *The Guardian*. London. Retrieved from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2010/nov/10/student-protest-fees-violent>
- Liss, M., Crawford, M., & Popp, D. (2004). Predictors and correlates of collective action. *Sex Roles*, 50, 771–779. doi:10.1023/B:SERS.0000029096.90835.3f

- Little, J. R., & Rubin, D. (2002). *Statistical analysis with missing data* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Little, T. D., Cunningham, W. a., Shahar, G., & Widaman, K. F. (2002). To parcel or not to parcel: Exploring the question, weighing the merits. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 9, 151–173. doi:10.1207/S15328007SEM0902_1
- Ludanyi, A. (2007). The Bolyai University and minority elite recruitment: 1944-1959. *Hungarian Studies*, 21, 161–180. doi:10.15566/HStud.
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302–318. doi:10.1177/0146167292183006
- Lundgren, A. (2007). *The unwelcome neighbour: Turkey's Kurdish policy*. London: I.B.Tauris.
- MacCallum, R. C., & Austin, J. T. (2000). Applications of structural equation modeling in psychological research. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 51, 201–26. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.51.1.201
- Mackie, D. M., Maitner, A. T., & Smith, E. R. (2009). Intergroup emotions theory. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 285–308). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Mackie, D. M., & Smith, E. R. (2002). Beyond prejudice: Moving from positive and negative evaluations to differentiated reactions to social groups. In Diane M. Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups* (pp. 1–12). New York NY: Psychology Press.
- MacKinnon, D. P. (2008). *Introduction to statistical mediation analysis*. New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Maher, T. V. (2010). Threat, resistance, and collective action: The cases of Sobibor, Treblinka, and Auschwitz. *American Sociological Review*, 75, 252–272.
doi:10.1177/0003122410365305
- Major, B. (1994). From social inequality to personal entitlement. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 26, pp. 293–356). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Major, B., Kaiser, C. R., O'Brien, L. T., & McCoy, S. K. (2007). Perceived discrimination as worldview threat or worldview confirmation: Implications for self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 1068–1086.
doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.6.1068
- Major, B., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2010). Coping with bias. In J. F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 410–425). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mallett, R. K., Huntsinger, J. R., Sinclair, S., & Swim, J. K. (2008). Seeing through their eyes: When majority group members take collective action on behalf of an outgroup. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 11, 451–470.
doi:10.1177/1368430208095400
- Marcus, A. (2007). *The PKK and the Kurdish fight for independence*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Marcus, G., Neuman, W. R., & MacKuen, M. (2000). *Affective intelligence and political judgment*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Marsh, H. W., Hau, K.-T., & Wen, Z. (2004). In search of golden rules: Comment on hypothesis- testing approaches to setting cutoff values for fit indexes and dangers in overgeneralizing Hu and Bentler's (1999) findings. *Structural Equation Modeling*, 11, 320–341. doi:10.1207/s15328007sem1103_2

- Maxwell, S. E., Cole, D. A., & Mitchell, M. A. (2011). Multivariate behavioral bias in cross-sectional analyses of longitudinal mediation : Partial and complete mediation under an autoregressive model. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 46, 816–841. doi:10.1080/00273171.2011.606716
- Mazziotta, A., Mummendey, A., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Vicarious intergroup contact effects: Applying social-cognitive theory to intergroup contact research. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14(2), 255–274. doi:10.1177/1368430210390533
- McAdam, D. (1996). Conceptual origins, current problems, future directions. In D. McAdam, J. D. McCarthy, & M. N. Zald (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on social movements* (pp. 23–40). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Dynamics of contention. Social Movement Studies* (Vol. 2). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McArdle, J. J. (2009). Latent variable modeling of differences and changes with longitudinal data. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 577–605. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163612
- McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 1212. doi:10.1086/226464
- McDowall, D. (2007). *A modern history of the Kurds*. London: I.B.Tauris.
- McKenzie-Mohr, D., McLoughlin, J. G., & Dyal, J. A. (1992). Perceived threat and control as moderators of peace activism: Implications for mobilizing the public in the pursuit of disarmament. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 2, 269–280. doi:10.1002/casp.2450020405

- Meade, A., & Kroustalis, C. (2005). Problems of item parceling with CFA: Tests of measurement invariance. *20th Annual Conference of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Los Angeles, CA.*
- Meade, A. W., & Bauer, D. J. (2007). Power and precision in confirmatory factor analytic tests of measurement invariance. *Structural Equation Modeling, 14*, 611–635. doi:10.1080/10705510701575461
- Meredith, W. (1993). Measurement invariance, factor analysis and factorial invariance. *Psychometrika, 58*, 525–543. doi:10.1007/BF02294825
- Meredith, W., & Horn, J. L. (2001). The role of factorial invariance in measuring growth and change. In L. M. Collins & A. G. Sayer (Eds.), *New methods for the analysis of change* (pp. 201–240). Washington DC.
- Miller, J. M., & Krosnick, J. A. (2004). Threat as a motivator of political activism: A field experiment. *Political Psychology, 25*, 507–523. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00384.x
- Miller, N. (2002). Personalization and the promise of contact theory. *Journal of Social Issues, 58*, 387–410. doi:10.1111/1540-4560.00267
- Mills, C. W. (1959). *Sociological imagination*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Millsap, R. (2011). *Statistical approaches to measurement invariance*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Molenberghs, G., & Fitzmaurice, G. (2009). Incomplete data: Introduction and overview. In G. Fitzmaurice, M. Davidian, G. Verbeke, & G. Molenberghs (Eds.), *Longitudinal Data Analysis* (pp. 395–408). Boca Raton, FL: Chapman & Hall/CRC.

- Mulaik, S. A. (2007). There is a place for approximate fit in structural equation modelling. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 42, 883–891.
doi:10.1016/j.paid.2006.10.024
- Mulaik, S. A. (2009). *Linear causal modelling with structural equations*. Boca Raton, FL: Chapman & Hall/CRC.
- Mulaik, S. A., & Millsap, R. E. (2000). Doing the four-step right. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 6, 36–73.
doi:10.1207/S15328007SEM0701_02
- 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, 229–45.
doi:10.1037/0022-3514.76.2.229
- Mummendey, A., Klink, A., Mielke, R., Wenzel, M., & Blanz, M. (1999). Socio-structural characteristics of intergroup relations and identity management strategies: Results from a field study in East Germany. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29, 259–285. doi:10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199903/05)29:2/3<259::AID-EJSP927>3.0.CO;2-F
- Mummendey, A., & Wenzel, M. (1999). Social discrimination and tolerance in intergroup relations: Reactions to intergroup difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 158–174. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0302
- Muthen, L. K., & Muthen, B. O. (2008a). Mplus software package. Los Angeles, CA: Muthen & Muthen.
- Muthen, L. K., & Muthen, B. O. (2008b). *Mplus user's guide* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Muthen & Muthen.

- Navaro-Yashin, Y. (2006). De-ethnicizing the ethnography of Cyprus: Political and social conflict between Turkish Cypriots and settlers from Turkey. In Y. Papadakis, N. Peristianis, & G. Welz (Eds.), *Divided Cyprus: Modernity, history, and an island in conflict* (pp. 84–99). Bloomington, IN.
- Neocosmos, M. (2010). *From “foreign natives” to “native foreigners”: Explaining xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA. Retrieved from http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/Neocosmos_From_Foreign_Native_to-2.pdf
- Nier, J. A., Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Banker, B. S., Ward, C. M., & Rust, M. C. (2001). Changing interracial evaluations and behavior: The effects of a common group identity. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 4, 299–316.
doi:10.1177/1368430201004004001
- O’Brien, L. T., Garcia, D., Crandall, C. S., & Kordys, J. (2010). White Americans’ opposition to affirmative action: Group interest and the harm to beneficiaries objection. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 49, 895–903.
doi:10.1348/014466610X518062
- O’Brien, R. G., & Kaiser, M. K. (1985). MANOVA method for analyzing repeated measures designs: An extensive primer. *Psychological Bulletin*, 97, 316–33.
doi:10.1037/0033-2909.97.2.316
- O’Mara, E. M., Jackson, L. E., Batson, C. D., & Gaertner, L. (2011). Will moral outrage stand up? Distinguishing among emotional reactions to a moral violation. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, 173–179. doi:10.1002/ejsp.754
- Oberschall, A. (1973). *Social conflict and social movements*. Englewoods Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Okamoto, D. G. (2010). Organizing across Ethnic Boundaries in the Post-Civil Rights Era: Asian American Panethnic Coalitions. In N. Van Dyke & H. McCammon

- (Eds.), *Strategic Alliances: Coalition Building and Social Movements* (1st ed., pp. 143–69). Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.
- Okamoto, D. G., & Ebert, K. (2010). Beyond the ballot: Immigrant collective action in gateways and new destinations in the United States. *Social Problems*, 57, 529–558. doi:10.1525/sp.2010.57.4.529.
- Olivier, L. J. (1992). Political conflict in South Africa: A resource mobilisation approach. In S. Bekker (Ed.), *Capturing the event: Conflict trends in the Natal region, 1986 -1992* (pp. 1–14). Durban: Indicator SA.
- Olson, M. (1971). *The logic of collective action: Public goods and the theory of groups* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Olzak, S. (1992). *The dynamics of ethnic competition and conflict*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Osborne, D., Davies, P. G., & Duran, A. (2008). The integrated threat theory and politics: Explaining attitudes toward political parties. In B. P. Reimann (Ed.), *Personality and Social Psychology Research* (pp. 61–74). New York, NY: Nova Biomedical.
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Oud, J. H. L. (2010). Second-order stochastic differential equation model as an alternative for the ALT and CALT models. *AStA Advances in Statistical Analysis*, 94, 203–215. doi:10.1007/s10182-010-0131-4
- Oud, J. H. L., & Delsing, M. J. M. H. (2008). Continuous Time Modeling of Panel Data by means of SEM. In K. van Montfort, A. Satorra, & J. H. L. Oud (Eds.), *Longitudinal research with latent variables* (pp. 201–244). Heidelberg: Springer.

- Oud, J. H. L., & Singer, H. (2007). Continuous time modeling of panel data: SEM versus filter techniques. *Statistica Neerlandica*, 62, 4–28. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9574.2007.00376.x
- Outten, H. R., Schmitt, M. T., Garcia, D. M., & Branscombe, N. R. (2009). Coping options: Missing links between minority group identification and psychological well-being. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 58, 146–170. doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00386.x
- Paolini, S., Harwood, J., & Rubin, M. (2010). Negative intergroup contact makes group memberships salient: Explaining why intergroup conflict endures. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36, 1723–38. doi:10.1177/0146167210388667
- Papadakis, Y. (2005). *Echoes from the dead zone: Across the Cyprus divide*. New York, NY: Tauris.
- Paterson, O. (1995, November). The paradox of integration. *The New Republic*, 1–8.
- Pearl, J. (2012). The causal foundations of structural equation modeling. In R. H. Hoyle (Ed.), *Handbook of structural equation modeling* (pp. 68–91). New York, NY: The Guildford Press.
- Peterson, R. A. (2002). On the use of college students in social science research: Insights from a second-order meta-analysis. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28, 450–561. doi:10.1086/323732
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1967). Social evaluation theory. In D. Levine (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation* (pp. 241–311). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1991). Toward unity and bold theory: Popperian suggestions for two persistent problems of social psychology. In W.G. Stephan, C. Stephan, & T. F.

- Pettigrew (Eds.), *The future of social psychology* (pp. 13–27). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Generalized intergroup contact effects on prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 173–185. doi:10.1177/0146167297232006
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49, 65–85. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65
- Pettigrew, T. F. (2008). Future directions for intergroup contact theory and research. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32, 187–199. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.12.002
- Pettigrew, T. F. (2009). Secondary transfer effect of contact. *Social Psychology*, 40, 55–65. doi:10.1027/1864-9335.40.2.55
- Pettigrew, T. F. (2010). Commentary: South African contributions to the study of intergroup relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66, 417–430. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01653.x
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751–83. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38, 922–934. doi:10.1002/ejsp
- Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35, 271–280. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.03.001
- Phinney, J. S., Ferguson, D. L., & Tate, J. D. (1997). Intergroup attitudes among ethnic minority adolescents: A causal model. *Child Development*, 68, 955–969.

- Pillay, N. S., & Collings, S. J. (2004). Racism on a South African campus: A survey of students' experiences and attitudes. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 32, 607–618. doi:10.2224/sbp.2004.32.7.607
- Poore, A. G., Gagne, F., Barlow, K. M., Lydon, J. E., Taylor, D. M., & Wright, S. C. (2002). Contact and the personal/group discrimination discrepancy in an Inuit community. *The Journal of psychology*, 136, 371–82. doi:10.1080/00223980209604164
- Postmes, T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2002). Influence of long-term racial environmental composition on subjective well-being in African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 735–751. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.83.3.735
- Powell, A. a, Branscombe, N. R., & Schmitt, M. T. (2005). Inequality as ingroup privilege or outgroup disadvantage: The impact of group focus on collective guilt and interracial attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology bulletin*, 31, 508–21. doi:10.1177/0146167204271713
- Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2008). Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behavior Research Methods*, 40, 879–891. doi:10.3758/BRM.40.3.879
- Preacher, K. J., & Kelley, K. (2011). Effect size measures for mediation models: Quantitative strategies for communicating indirect effects. *Psychological Methods*, 16, 93–115. doi:10.1037/a0022658
- Preoteasa, A. M., & Tarnovschi, D. (2011). *Roma situation in Romania 2011: Between migration and inclusion*.
- Quillian, L. (1996). Group threat and regional change in attitudes toward African-Americans. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 102, 816–860. doi:10.1086/230998

- Reicher, S. (1986). Contact, action and racialization: Some British evidence. In M. Hewstone & R. Brown (Eds.), *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters* (pp. 152–168). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Reicher, S. (2007). Rethinking the paradigm of prejudice. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 37, 820–834.
- Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10, 336–53. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_4
- Rubin, D. B. (1976). Inference and Missing Data. *Biometrika*, 63, 581–592. doi:10.2307/2335739
- Runciman, W. G. (1966). *Relative deprivation and social justice*. London, UK: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Rutchick, A. M., & Eccleston, C. P. (2010). Ironic effects of invoking common ingroup identity. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 32, 109–117. doi:10.1080/01973531003738353
- Sachdev, I., & Bourhis, R. Y. (1987). Status differentials and intergroup behavior. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 21, 1–24. doi:10.1002/ejsp.2420170304.
- Saguy, T., Tausch, N., Dovidio, J. F., & Pratto, F. (2009). The irony of harmony. *Psychological Science*, 20, 114–121. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02261.x.
- Saito, L. T. (1998). *Race and politics: Asian Americans, latinos, and whites in a Los Angeles suburb*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Satorra, A., & Bentler, P. M. (2001). A scaled difference chi-square test statistic for moment structure analysis. *Psychometrika*, 66, 507–514. doi:10.1007/BF02296192
- Satorra, A., & Bentler, P. M. (2010). Ensuring positiveness of the scaled difference chi-square test statistic. *Psychometrika*, 75, 243–248. doi:10.1007/s11336-009-9135-y.

- Sayer, A. G., & Cumsille, P. E. (2001). Second-order latent growth models. In L. M. Collins & A. G. Sayer (Eds.), *New Methods for The Analysis of Change* (pp. 179–200). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Schafer, J. L., & Graham, J. W. (2002). Missing data: Our view of the state of the art. *Psychological Methods*, 7, 147–177. doi:10.1037//1082-989X.7.2.147
- Scheepers, D., & Ellemers, N. (2005). When the pressure is up: The assessment of social identity threat in low and high status groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41(2), 192–200. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2004.06.002
- Scherer, K. R. (2004). Feelings integrate the central representation of appraisal-driven response organization in emotion. In A. S. R. Manstead, N. H. Frijda, & A. H. Fischer (Eds.), *Feelings and emotions: The Amsterdam Symposium* (pp. 136–157). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Scherer, K. R. (2009). Emotions are emergent processes: They require a dynamic computational architecture. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, 364, 3459–74. doi:10.1098/rstb.2009.0141
- Scherer, K. R., Schorr, A., & Johnstone, T. (2001). *Appraisal processes in emotion*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Schermelleh-Engel, K. (2003). Evaluating the fit of structural equation models: Tests of significance and descriptive goodness-of-fit measures. *Methods of Psychological Research Online*, 8, 23–74.
- Schmitt, M., Branscombe, N. R., & Brehm, J. W. (2004). Gender inequality and the intensity of men's collective guilt. In N. R. Branscombe & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Collective guilt: International perspectives* (pp. 75–92). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Schmitt, N., & Kuljanin, G. (2008). Measurement invariance: Review of practice and implications. *Human Resource Management Review*, 18, 210–222.
doi:10.1016/j.hrmr.2008.03.003
- Schöpflin, G. (1988). Transylvania: Hungarians under Romanian rule. In S. Borsody (Ed.), *The Hungarians: A divided nation* (pp. 119–158). New Haven, CT: Yale Center for International and Area Studies.
- Schuman, H., Steeh, C., Bobo, L., & Krysa, M. (1997). *Racial attitudes in America: Trends and interpretations* (2nd ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schwar, G., Cakal, H., & Hewstone, M. (2011). Supporting us supporting you: When the disadvantaged group supports the collective action by the outgroup. *Paper presented at the 34th Annual Scientific Meeting of International Society of Political Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey.*
- Sears, D. O., & Henry, P. J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85, 259–275. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.85.2.259
- Sears, D. O., & Henry, P. J. (2005). Over thirty years later: A contemporary look at symbolic racism and its critics. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 37, pp. 95–150). San Diego, CA.
- Sherif, M. (1966). *Group conflict and cooperation: Their social psychology*. London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1961). *The Robbers Cave experiment: Intergroup conflict and cooperation*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Book Exchange.
- Silver, N. C., & Dunlap, W. P. (1987). Averaging correlation coefficients: Should Fisher's z transformation be used? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 72, 146.

- Simon, B., & Hamilton, D. L. (1994). Self-stereotyping and social context: The effects of relative in-group size and in-group status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 699–711. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.66.4.699
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319–331. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.56.4.319
- Simon, B., & Ruhs, D. (2008). Identity and politicization among Turkish migrants in Germany: The role of dual identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 1354–66. doi:10.1037/a0012630
- Sinclair-Webb, E. (2010). *Protesting as a terrorist offense: The arbitrary use of terrorism laws to prosecute and incarcerate demonstrators in Turkey*. New York, NY.
- Slabbert, A. (2001). Cross-cultural racism in South Africa – dead or alive? *Social Behavior and Personality*, 29, 125–132. doi:10.2224/sbp.2001.29.2.125
- Smelser, N. (1962). *Theory of collective behavior*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Smith, H. J., Cronin, T., & Kessler, T. (2008). Anger, fear, or sadness: Faculty members' emotional reactions to collective pay disadvantage. *Political Psychology*, 29, 221–246. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2008.00624.x
- Smith, H. J., Pettigrew, T. F., Pippin, G. M., & Bialosiewicz, S. (2012). Relative deprivation: A theoretical and meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 16, 203–232. doi:10.1177/1088868311430825
- Soudien, C. (2010). The reconstitution of privilege: Integration in former white schools in South Africa. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66, 352–366. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01649.x
- Stephan, Walter G., Boniecki, K. A., Ybarra, O., Bettencourt, A., Ervin, K. S., Jackson, L. A., McNatt, P. S., et al. (2002). The role of threats in the racial attitudes of

- Blacks and Whites. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 1242–1254.
doi:10.1177/01461672022812009
- Stephan, Walter G., Diaz-Loving, R., & Duran, A. (2000). Integrated threat theory and intercultural attitudes: Mexico and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31, 240–249. doi:10.1177/0022022100031002006
- Stephan, Walter G., & Finlay, K. (1999). The role of empathy in improving intergroup relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55, 729–743. doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00144
- Stephan, Walter G., & Renfro, C. L. (2002). The role of threat in intergroup relations. In Diane M Mackie & E. R. Smith (Eds.), *From prejudice to intergroup emotions: Differentiated reactions to social groups* (pp. 265–283). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Stephan, Walter G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In S. Oskamp (Ed.), *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (1st ed., pp. 23–45). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Stephan, Walter G., Ybarra, O., Martinez, C. M., Schwarzwald, J., & Tur-Kaspa, M. (1998). Prejudice toward Immigrants to Spain and Israel: An Integrated Threat Theory Analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(4), 559–576.
doi:10.1177/0022022198294004
- Stephan, Walter G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, K. R. (2009). Intergroup threat theory. In Todd D Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice stereotyping and discrimination* (pp. 43–59). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Stouffer, S. A., Suchman, E. A., DeVinney, L. C., Star, S. A., & Williams, R. M. (1949). *The American soldier: Vol. 1. Adjustment during army life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Stürmer, S., & Simon, B. (2004). Collective action: Towards a dual-pathway model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 15, 59–99.
doi:10.1080/10463280340000117
- Subašić, E., Reynolds, K. J., & Turner, J. C. (2008). The political solidarity model of social change: Dynamics of self-categorization in intergroup power relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 12, 330–52.
doi:10.1177/1088868308323223
- Subašić, E., Schmitt, M. T., & Reynolds, K. J. (2011). Are we all in this together? Co-victimization, inclusive social identity and collective action in solidarity with the disadvantaged. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50, 707–25.
doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02073.x
- Swart, H., Hewstone, M., Christ, O., & Voci, A. (2010). The impact of crossgroup friendships in South Africa: Affective mediators and multigroup comparisons. *Journal of Social Issues*, 66, 309–333. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2010.01647.x
- Swart, H., Hewstone, M., Christ, O., & Voci, A. (2011). Affective mediators of intergroup contact: a three-wave longitudinal study in South Africa. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101, 1221–38. doi:10.1037/a0024450
- Tajfel, H. (1978a). Social categorization, social identity and social comparison. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 61–76). London, UK: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1978b). Interindividual behaviour and intergroup behaviour. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 27–60). London, UK: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, Henri. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Tajfel, Henri, & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In S. W. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (Vol. 33, pp. 33–47). Monterey CA: Brookes Cole.
- Tam, T., Hewstone, M., Kenworthy, J., & Cairns, E. (2009). Intergroup trust in Northern Ireland. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35, 45–59.
doi:10.1177/0146167208325004
- Tausch, N., Becker, J. C., Spears, R., Christ, O., Saab, R., Singh, P., & Siddiqui, R. N. (2011). Explaining radical group behavior: Developing emotion and efficacy routes to normative and non-normative collective action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101, 129–48. doi:10.1037/a0022728
- Tausch, N., Kenworthy, J., Cairns, E., & Christ, O. (2007). Cross-Community contact , perceived status differences , and intergroup attitudes in Northern Ireland : The mediating roles of individual-level versus group-level threats and the moderating role of social identification. *Political Psychology*, 28(10.1111/j.1467-9221.2007.00551.x), 53–68.
- Taylor, M. C. (1998). How White attitudes vary with the racial composition of local populations: Numbers count. *American Sociological Review*, 63, 512–535.
doi:10.2307/2657265
- Taylor, V., Kimport, K., Van Dyke, N., & Andersen, E. A. (2009). Culture and mobilization: Tactical repertoires, same-sex weddings, and the impact on gay activism. *American Sociological Review*, 74, 865–890.
doi:10.1177/000312240907400602
- Taylor, V., & Whittier, N. (1992). Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization. In A. D. Morris & C. M. Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 104–129). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Tezcür, G. M. (2009). Kurdish nationalism and identity in Turkey: A conceptual reinterpretation. *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10, 2–17.
- Tropp, L. R., Hawi, D. R., Van Laar, C., & Levin, S. (2012). Cross-ethnic friendships, perceived discrimination, and their effects on ethnic activism over time: A longitudinal investigation of three ethnic minority groups. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51, 257–272. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02050.x
- Tropp, L. R., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2005a). Differential relationships between intergroup contact and affective and cognitive dimensions of prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1145–58. doi:10.1177/0146167205274854
- Tropp, L. R., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2005b). Relationships between intergroup contact and prejudice among minority and majority status groups. *Psychological Science*, 16, 951–7. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2005.01643.x
- Turner, J. C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity: Context commitment content* (pp. 6–34). Blackwell.
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Turner, J. C., & Reynolds, K. J. (2010). The story of social identity. In T. Postmes & N. R. Branscombe (Eds.), *Rediscovering social identity* (pp. 13–32). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Turner, J. C., Reynolds, K. J., Haslam, S. A., & Veenstra, K. (2006). Reconceptualizing personality: Producing individuality through defining the personal self. In J. Jetten & T. Postmes (Eds.), *Individuality and the group: Advances in social identity* (pp. 1–36). London, UK: SAGE.

- Turner, R., Crisp, R. J., & Lambert, E. (2007). Imagining intergroup contact can improve intergroup attitudes. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 10, 427–441. doi:10.1177/1368430207081533
- Turner, R. N., Hewstone, M., Voci, A., Vonofakou, C., & Christ, O. (2007). Reducing prejudice via direct and extended cross-group friendship. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18, 212–255. doi:10.1080/10463280701680297
- Tyler, T. R. (2006). Psychological perspectives on legitimacy and legitimation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 57, 375–400. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.57.102904.190038
- Van Dyke, N. (2003). Crossing movement boundaries: Factors that facilitate coalition protest by American college students , 1930 – 1990. *Social Problems*, 50, 226–250. doi:10.1525/sp.2003.50.2.226
- Van Zomeren, M., & Iyer, A. (2009). Introduction to the social and psychological dynamics of collective action. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 645–660. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01618.x
- Van Zomeren, M., & Klandermans, B. (2011). Towards innovation in theory and research on collective action and social change. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50, 573–4. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02078.x
- Van Zomeren, M., Leach, C. W., & Spears, R. (2010). Does group efficacy increase group identification? Resolving their paradoxical relationship. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46, 1055–1060. doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2010.05.006
- Van Zomeren, M., Leach, C. W., & Spears, R. (2012). Protesters as “Passionate Economists”: A dynamic dual pathway model of approach coping with collective disadvantage. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 16, 180–199. doi:10.1177/1088868311430835

- Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134, 504–35. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504
- Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2012). On conviction's collective consequences: Integrating moral conviction with the social identity model of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51, 52–71. doi:DOI:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02000.x
- Van Zomeren, M., & Spears, R. (2009). Metaphors of protest: A classification of motivations for collective action. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 661–679. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01619.x
- Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 649–64. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649
- Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., & Leach, C. W. (2008). Exploring psychological mechanisms of collective action: Does relevance of group identity influence how people cope with collective disadvantage? *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47, 353–72. doi:10.1348/014466607X231091
- Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., & Leach, C. W. (2010). Experimental evidence for a dual pathway model analysis of coping with the climate crisis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30, 339–346. doi:10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.02.006
- Vandenberg, R. J., & Lance, C. E. (2000). A review and synthesis of the measurement invariance literature: Suggestions, practices, and recommendations for

- organizational research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 3, 4–70.
doi:10.1177/109442810031002
- Verkuyten, M., Thijs, J., & Bekhuis, H. (2010). Intergroup contact and ingroup reappraisal: Examining the deprovincialization thesis. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 73, 398–416. doi:10.1177/0190272510389015
- Vescio, T. K., Sechrist, G. B., & Paolucci, M. P. (2003). Perspective taking and prejudice reduction: the mediational role of empathy arousal and situational attributions. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 455–472.
doi:10.1002/ejsp.163
- Villellas, A. (2011). Turkey and the Kurdish question: Reflecting on peacebuilding. *Quaderns de Construccio de Pau*, 22, 1–18.
- Voci, A., & Hewstone, M. (2003). Intergroup contact and prejudice toward immigrants in Italy: The mediational role of anxiety and the moderational role of group salience. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 37–54.
doi:10.1177/1368430203006001011
- Voelkle, M. C., Oud, J. H. L., Davidov, E., & Schmidt, P. (2012). An SEM approach to continuous time modeling of panel data: Relating authoritarianism and anomia. *Psychological Methods*, 17, 176–92. doi:10.1037/a0027543
- Vonofakou, C., Hewstone, M., & Voci, A. (2007). Contact with out-group friends as a predictor of meta-attitudinal strength and accessibility of attitudes toward gay men. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 804–20. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.92.5.804
- Wagner, U., Tropp, L. R., Finchilescu, G., & Tredoux, C. (2008). Editor's introduction. In U. Wagner, L. R. Tropp, G. Finchilescu, & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Improving*

- intergroup Relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Wilder, D. A., Simon, A. F., & Faith, M. (1996). Enhancing the impact of counterstereotypic information: Dispositional attributions for deviance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 276–287. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.71.2.276
- Williams, J., & MacKinnon, D. P. (2008). Resampling and distribution of the product methods for testing indirect effects in complex models. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 15, 23–51. doi:10.1080/10705510701758166
- Williamson, O. E. (2000). The new institutional economics: Taking stock, looking ahead. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 38, 595–613. doi:10.1257/jel.38.3.595
- Wilson, T. C. (1996). Cohort and prejudice: Whites' attitudes toward Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, and Asians. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60, 253. doi:10.1086/297750
- Wright, S. C. (1997). Ambiguity, social influence, and collective action: Generating collective protest in response to tokenism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 1277–1290. doi:10.1177/01461672972312005
- Wright, S. C. (2001). Strategic collective action: Social psychology and social change. In R. Brown & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Intergroup processes: Blackwell handbook of social psychology* (pp. 409–430). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Wright, S. C. (2009). The next generation of collective action research. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65, 859–879. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01628.x
- Wright, S. C. (2010). Collective action and social change. In J. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V. M. Esses (Eds.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 577–595). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Wright, S. C., Aron, A., McLaughlin-Volpe, T., & Ropp, S. A. (1997). The extended contact effect: Knowledge of cross-group friendships and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 73–90. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.73.1.73
- Wright, S. C., & Baray, G. (2012). Models of social change in social psychology: Collective action or prejudice reduction, conflict or harmony? In J. Dixon & M. Levine (Eds.), *Beyond prejudice: Extending the social psychology of conflict, inequality and social change* (pp. 225–247). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, S. C., Brody, S. M., & Aron, A. (2005). Intergroup contact: Still our best hope for improving intergroup relations. In C. S. Crandall & M. Schaller (Eds.), *Social psychology of prejudice: Historical and contemporary issues* (pp. 119–146). Lawrence, KS: Lewinian Press.
- Wright, S. C., & Lubensky, M. (2009). The struggle for social equality: Collective action vs. prejudice reduction. In S. Demoulin, J. P. Leyens, & J. Dovidio (Eds.), *Intergroup misunderstandings: Impact of divergent social realities* (pp. 291–310). New York, NY: Psychology Press.
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990a). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 994–1003. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.58.6.994
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990b). The relationship of perceptions and emotions to behavior in the face of collective inequality. *Social Justice Research*, 4, 229–250. doi:10.1007/BF01048399

Yeğen, M. (2011). The Kurdish question in Turkey: Denial to recognition. *Nationalisms and politics in Turkey: Political Islam, Kemalism and the Kurdish issue* (pp. 67–84). New York, NY: Routledge.

Zarate, M., Garcia, B., Garza, A. A., & Hitlan, R. T. (2004). Cultural threat and perceived realistic group conflict as dual predictors of prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 40, 99–105. doi:10.1016/S0022-1031(03)00067-