Intergroup Contact and Solidarity-based Collective Action Intentions: The Role of Affective and Identity-based Processes

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by

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DECLARATION

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Abstract

Immigration flows have been a continuous cause of group tensions between citizens of the host country and immigrant groups. While some people protest against letting more refugees or immigrants into their country, others join solidarity actions aimed to improve immigrants' disadvantaged situation in society. This thesis examined possible psychological correlates of solidarity-based collective action intentions. Integrating insights from contact and collective action research, I investigated the associations of both positive and negative intergroup contact with solidarity-based collective action intentions among members of majority groups. Furthermore, the role of affective and identity-based processes as psychological processes explaining these associations was tested. In two cross-sectional samples from Greece (Study 1, N = 132 Greek adults) and Turkey (Study 2, N = 525 Turkish adults), positive and negative contact were associated with (respectively, more and less) solidarity-based collective action, yet these associations were particularly pronounced for positive contact. A three-wave longitudinal study conducted in the UK (Study 3, N = 603 British adults) further confirmed the associations of positive contact, but not of negative contact, with solidarity-based collective action over time. Extending the research scope, I also investigated the associations of contact and efficacy beliefs with both online and offline solidarity-based collective action intentions in two different settings, the UK (Study 4, N = 342) and Thailand (Study 5, N = 305). Positive contact and efficacy beliefs were related with both online and offline collective action in both contexts while the relationships with negative contact were less pronounced in the UK but not in Thailand. Across the five studies, outgroup identification, outgroup empathy, and group-based anger appeared as most consistent mediators. This work contributes to the literature by demonstrating the

pronounced role of positive contact on predicting solidarity-based collective action intentions and identifying some of the affective and identity-based processes for this relationship.

Chapter 1. General Introduction

Overview

Chapter 1 provides a broad overview of the literature on collective action and intergroup contact theory, and discusses the role of intergroup contact in relation to solidarity-based collective action. The first section presents the definition and highlights the importance of studying solidarity-based collective action. Next, I discuss the most prominent approaches in collective action research, followed by a comprehensive literature review of intergroup contact theory and its relation with collective action research. Finally, the possible mobilizing and de-mobilizing effects of positive and negative contact on solidarity-based collective action intentions, as well as the potential affective and identity-based processes are discussed.

Historical Perspective on Collective Action

All around the world, societies are characterised by social inequality and discrimination against various groups. A number of people are raising their voices against this unjust situation through participating in collective action movements hoping to improve the situation of disadvantaged groups. The existence of collective action is not something recent in the history of humanity. Indeed, history is riddled with examples of collective action movements. To give a few examples of protest movements or collective actions: in 508 BC, the Athenians collectively acted against the Spartans to save their democracy; in 73-71 BC, former slave gladiator Spartacus led an uprising against the Romans by freeing slaves; in the 16th century, the Protestant Reformation movement in Europe reacted against the corruption in the church; In 1789 in Paris, people protested against the suppression of the monarchy by storming of the Bastille prison, which ignited the French Revolution; in 1930, there was the Salt March of Gandhi and his followers after the British colonists banned buying and selling salt for Indian people; in 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. gave his famous "I have a dream" speech following the equal rights march in Washington D.C.; In 1963, a Buddhist monk burned himself as a protest against the mistreatment of Buddhists in South Vietnam. More recently in 2011, we witnessed the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York to protest against global social and economic inequality. From the past to today, collective action seems a focal part of social movements raising their voices against social inequality.

Usually, the members of disadvantaged groups are the ones fighting collectively against their disadvantaged situation (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). However, advantaged group members can also partake in collective action for the sake of others. This is called solidarity-based collective action. Solidarity-based

collective action is any type of action, which can be normative or non-normative and could be offline or online, performed with the aim to improve the disadvantaged situation of others (Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, 2015). Some examples of solidarity-based collective action are signing a petition, writing letters to the target organizations, joining marches and rallies, sit-downs and picket lines etc. Solidarity-based collective action can be a critical tool to improve social equality. For instance, in his autobiography, Nelson Mandela (1994) mentioned the importance of the many White allies who walked with him during the liberation movement. Without the help and support from the White allies, the fight against racial inequality might have been less successful. Also in the US, many White people support the Black Lives Matter movement, increasing the popularity of the movement. Similarly, heterosexual allies' support for LGBT rights made a key contribution to achieving more equal treatment and rights. These examples show that solidarity-based collective action by those who are not directly affected by the disadvantaged situation has great potential to successfully increase social equality. Despite the importance of the topic for research on social issues, there is a lack of research on the psychological predictors and processes underpinning solidarity-based collective action. In this dissertation, I propose that contact with disadvantaged others can play a key role in predicting solidarity-based collective action. Therefore, this thesis provides an in-depth examination of the associations between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action. In this thesis, I specifically focus on the role of contact with immigrants and refugees.

I will first briefly review the research on the psychological key predictors of collective action, and then discuss psychological theorizing on solidarity-based collective action. Next, I will introduce the intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954;

Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and discuss the role of intergroup contact in predicting solidarity-based collective action.

Three Main Motivators of Collective Action: Group-Based Anger, Group Efficacy Beliefs and Identity

Before discussing solidarity-based collective action and its possible association with intergroup contact, it is important to review the major psychological approaches in collective action literature (Klandermans, 1997; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006, 2007; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Researchers from different research traditions have identified three key motivators of collective action, which have been integrated by the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA, van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; see also van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). These variables are group-based anger, group efficacy beliefs, and group identification. A meta-analysis showed that affective injustice (including group-based anger, r = .35), group efficacy beliefs (r = .34), and group identity (r = .38), had medium-sized effects on collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Group-based anger refers to the emotional experience connected to perceptions of relative group deprivation and injustice. Subjective feelings of relative deprivation are the result of comparing oneself or your own group with others or other groups of higher status. This comparison makes people think that there is an unjust situation towards themselves or their group, which is accompanied by the feeling of anger, resentment, and frustration (Runciman, 1966; Walker & Smith, 2002). Runciman (1966) suggested that perceived relative deprivation leads to collective action if people experience an unjust treatment at the group level, with group-based anger as a particularly strong emotional motivator to collectively

organise and react against the perceived unjust situation (see also Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002). Indeed, a meta-analytic review demonstrates that especially the emotional experience of relative deprivations at the group level (i.e., group-based anger) encourages collective protest, while interpersonal relative deprivation can lead to individual outcomes, such as depression (Smith & Ortiz, 2002; see also Abrams & Grant, 2012). Previous studies also show that group-based anger is an important predictor of solidarity-based collective action among the advantaged (Leach et al., 2002; Saab et al., 2015; Selvanathan, Techakesari, Tropp, & Barlow, 2017; van Zomeren et al., 2004).

Feelings of group-based anger are not the only factor that motivates people to join collective action. Another key motivator for collective action is group efficacy beliefs which are defined as the belief that people can deal with group level problems with collective effort (Bandura, 1997). Two types of efficacy beliefs can be distinguished: self and group efficacy beliefs. Even though self-efficacy beliefs, beliefs that individual effort can make a difference, can also promote collective action (Klandermans, 1984, 1997), this personal effort might not be effective in achieving the desired group level changes, because of the lack of support from other group members (Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; Olson, 1968).

According to Olson (1968) individuals make a cost-benefit analysis like "economists" before joining a collective action and if others do not join in collective action, this could block their intentions to protest or they may prefer to be a "free rider" (see van Zomeren et al., 2012). Therefore, efficacy beliefs should be examined as a group's belief that whether they can accomplish a positive change through collective effort. Many studies confirm that group efficacy beliefs are a key predictor

of collective action (e.g., Hornsey et al., 2006; Mummendey et al., 1999; Tausch & Becker, 2013; van Zomeren et al., 2008, 2012).

The last factor that has been introduced as an important predictor of collective action is group identity. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people strive for positive social identities, which give them a sense of belonging and contribute to higher self-esteem This can be achieved more easily by belonging to and identifying with a high rather than low-status group. However, some people identify with low-status groups (e.g., born as a disadvantaged group member, for example, Blacks in the USA in the 1960s) and social identity theory also offers explanations about why people identify with low-status groups. When people see that social mobility to a higher status group is not possible (e.g., via hard work or talent), they might start perceiving the system that puts them in the disadvantaged position as illegitimate. As such, they will identify themselves more with their low-status group but are also likely to be motivated to engage in collective action to challenge inequalities (Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel, 1974).

Stemming from the social identity perspective (Turner & Reynolds, 2001), several studies investigating members of disadvantaged groups, showed that a stronger identification with one's ingroup is associated with more collective action intentions for the ingroup (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Kelly, 1993; Kelly, & Breinlinger, 1995; Mummendey et al., 1999; Reicher, 1984; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Simon et al., 1998; see van Zomeren et al., 2008 for a meta-analysis). However, while most research focused on identification and collective action from one's own group perspective, it is also possible that members of advantaged groups have a shared identification with disadvantaged outgroups, which can lead to collective action in solidarity with the disadvantaged groups.

Indeed, Subasic, Reynolds, and Turner (2008) suggested that under certain circumstances the advantaged majority group members can challenge the authority to improve the situation of disadvantaged minorities. These authors proposed the solidarity model of social change. According to this model, when it comes to political solidarity, we need to examine self-categorization processes (Turner, 1982, 1985) and the situation of three key targets namely; the majority, the minority, and the authority. First, as self-categorization theory suggested, people can identify themselves as a member of several social groups, which defines how to relate to others (Turner, 1982; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and they can also think of themselves as a member of a superordinate group. For example, during the Second World War non-Jewish Bulgarians' opposed the deportation of Bulgarian Jews because they saw Jews in their country as members of a superordinate group, the group of Bulgarians. They considered deporting Jews as against their ingroup morals because it would be deporting one of their own (Reicher, Cassidy, Wolpert, Hopkins, & Levine, 2006). In this case, the advantaged majority group had a shared identity with the disadvantaged minority group and acted in solidarity with the disadvantaged.

Secondly, Subasic et al. (2008) suggested that there is a competition between two possible situations of shared identification, either identification with the disadvantaged minority or identification with the authority. They stated that political solidarity is possible when members of the majority have a stronger shared identity with the minority and a weaker shared identity with the authority. If majority members have a stronger shared identity with both the authority and the disadvantaged minority group, they would feel sympathy towards minority but would not act against authority. There is also the possibility that the advantaged

majority does not identify with the minority group but identifies with the authority. In this case, the majority will not challenge the authority but will be hostile towards the minority. In sum, the role of authority plays a key role in the model of Subasic et al. (2008). The authority may also promote hostility towards minority for political gains, such as in order to get votes by blaming immigrants for unemployment and increasing crime rates. This would harm the possibility of building a shared identification between advantaged majority and disadvantaged minority group members. In this thesis, I will specifically focus on how intergroup contact relates to identification with a disadvantaged group, as a key process for solidarity-based collective action.

As mentioned before, plenty of research has examined the motivators of joining collective action for one's own group. Yet, there is a lack of research on the predictors of solidarity-based collective action for others. Although some of the predictors of collective action for one's own group and in solidarity with disadvantaged others may be identical, also other factors likely play a role in predicting solidarity-based collective action, such as past experiences of intergroup contact with disadvantaged group members, which is the focus of the present work.

Intergroup Contact Theory

Is contact between groups good or bad for intergroup relations? Some early writings published in the first half of the 20th century (e.g., Baker, 1934, see Vezzali & Stathi, 2017) suggested that contact between different groups only leads to negative outcomes because contact increases intergroup tensions and thus worsens intergroup relations. Others, however, suggested that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice under specific circumstances, thereby laying the foundations for Gordon Allport's (1954) classic contact hypothesis. More specifically Williams (1947)

proposed that intergroup contact works best in reducing prejudice under certain conditions such as sharing similar goals and status, and by having high-quality contact, such as in the form of cross-group friendships. A few years later, field experiments with desegregated housing projects in the USA supported Williams' ideas by showing that interracial contact between Whites and Blacks led to reduced prejudice and more positive attitudes towards members of the other group (Deutsch & Collins, 1951; Works, 1961). Also Sherif's (1958) famous field experiment with school children showed that contact was able to reduce intergroup enmity when groups had to cooperate to achieve a shared goal. Furthermore, according to Oliner and Oliner's (1988) interview study, non-Jews who saved Jews during World War 2 had typically more Jews as close friends during their childhood. In sum, the majority of early studies offered an optimistic perspective on the potential for contact to creating positive intergroup relations.

Inspired by Williams' early writings and by anecdotal stories from his students, Allport (1954) proposed the first formal formulation of the intergroup contact hypothesis in his highly influential work, *The Nature of Prejudice.* Allport stated that intergroup contact can generally reduce prejudice when the contact situation meets four conditions. More specifically, these four conditions are 1) having equal status between groups, 2) the groups need to cooperate and 3) have common goals, and 4) the contact situation needs to be supported by some form of authority, law, or custom. With his ideas on intergroup contact, Allport ignited a research line on what has become one of the most studied phenomena in social psychology. Researchers have tested intergroup contact's role on reducing prejudice in varieties of different intergroup settings (see Dovidio, Love, Schellhaas, & Hewstone, 2017; Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Hodson & Hewstone, 2013; Pettigrew &

Tropp, 2011; Vezzali & Stathi, 2017). A meta-analysis of 515 studies by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) concluded that intergroup contact is typically related to decreased levels of prejudice (r = -.215). Furthermore, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) also concluded that the presence of Allport's four optimal conditions facilitate the reduction of prejudice but these conditions are not essential to achieve reductions in prejudice. Even without these conditions intergroup contact is still associated with reduced prejudice.

In addition to the multiple cross-sectional studies (e.g., Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew, 1997; Sigelman & Welch, 1993), the role of contact on reduced prejudice has been supported by experimental (Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Paluck & Green, 2009) and longitudinal evidence (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Dhont, van Hiel, De Bolle, & Roets, 2012; Swart, Hewstone, Christ, & Voci, 2011). Importantly, the relationship between contact and outgroup attitudes is bidirectional, that is, contact reduces prejudice but prejudice also reduces contact (Binder et al., 2009). Furthermore, studies have shown that the association between contact and reduced prejudice is typically stronger among majority status group members compared to minority group members (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

Interestingly, contact's influence of reducing prejudice can also generalise to reduced prejudice towards outgroups not involved in the contact situation, called the secondary transfer effect of contact (Pettigrew, 2009; Tausch et al., 2010), and can also decrease generalized preferences for inequality and group-based dominance (i.e., decreased Social Dominance Orientation, Dhont, van Hiel, & Hewstone, 2014). Pettigrew (2009) further demonstrated that secondary transfer effects are stronger for secondary (non-contacted) outgroups that are similar to the contacted outgroup, such as Muslims in Germany to Muslims in general.

Researchers also examined how contact reduces prejudice and investigated several mediating processes. A meta-analysis showed that reduced anxiety and increased empathy had mediating effects, while knowledge about the outgroup was found to be a less strong mediator (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). By increasing outgroup empathy and reducing intergroup anxiety, positive intergroup contact is considered to generate strong affective ties with members of the outgroup which, in turn, reduce prejudice (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Pettigrew, 1997; Swart et al., 2011).

The contact literature is vast and it is simply impossible to dedicate this thesis to cover every study and research branch about intergroup contact. To give the reader an idea of the importance of this research line; Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis has now been cited more than 5,900 times (Google Scholar). Intergroup contact research is a quickly advancing field in many aspects: in theory, methodology, and application (Hodson & Hewstone, 2013). Recent developments and findings in intergroup contact research integrated different research areas together, so we can have a better understanding of the complex social world (Vezzali & Stathi, 2017). For example, some researchers examined the interplay between intergroup contact and individual difference variables (e.g., personality and ideologies) (Dhont, Roets, & van Hiel, 2011; Dhont & van Hiel, 2009, 2011; Turner, Dhont, Hewstone, Prestwich, & Vonofakou, 2014; see Hodson, 2011; Hodson, Turner, & Choma, 2017 for reviews), yet others integrated research on acculturation processes with intergroup contact theory (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; González & Brown, 2017).

Another development in intergroup contact research is the role of indirect contact. Researchers suggested that contact is not limited to face-to-face interactions

and showed that indirect types of contact such as extended contact, the knowledge that other ingroup members have outgroup friends, can improve outgroup attitudes (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997; see also Dovidio, Eller, & Hewstone, 2011 for a review and see Zhou, Page-Gould, Aron, Moyer, & Hewstone, 2018 for a meta-analysis). When living in segregated societies or regions, people may have more indirect opportunities for contact compared to direct contact opportunities. A study in Northern Ireland showed that direct and extended contact between Catholics and Protestants was associated with improved outgroup attitudes and higher perceptions of outgroup variability (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci, 2004). As a recent advancement, researchers suggested that even observing positive intergroup interactions, *vicarious contact,* can improve outgroup attitudes (Mazziotta, Mummendey, & Wright, 2011; Vezzali, Hewstone, Capozza, Giovannini, & Wolfer, 2014). Vezzali and colleagues (2014) suggested that ad-hoc stories, watching videos, reading books can be used in vicarious contact interventions. For example, Cameron, Rutland, Brown, and Douch (2006) tested interventions in which children read stories about friendships between refugee children and English characters. They found that reading books about these examples of cross-group friendships improved outgroup attitudes.

Also another indirect version of contact, namely imagined contact which is the mental simulation of a social interaction with outgroup members, has been shown to lead to reduced prejudice and improved outgroup attitudes (Crisp & Turner, 2012; Stathi, Cameron, Hartley, & Bradfort, 2014). A meta-analysis showed that imagining a positive interaction with an outgroup member can improve outgroup attitudes and reduce prejudice. The effect of imagined contact was found to be

stronger on behaviour intentions compared to outgroup attitudes and was more effective among children compared to adults (Miles & Crisp, 2014).

A combination of both frequent and high-quality intergroup contact, as expressed for instance in cross-group friendships, is now generally considered the most effective way to reduce prejudice (e.g., Davies et al., 2011; Dhont, et al., 2012; Pettigrew, 1997). In their meta-analytic review, Davies and colleges (2011) suggested that cross-group friendship is a powerful form of intergroup contact and especially if the friendship is characterised by spending a lot of time together where contact partners disclose personal information to each other (i.e., high levels of self-disclosure).

The positive-negative contact asymmetry. Whereas the majority of past contact research exclusively focused on the predictions of positive contact, there is now increased attention to the possible detrimental predictions of negative contact (Aberson & Gaffney, 2009; Barlow et al., 2012; Dhont & van Hiel, 2009). In their seminal paper, Barlow and colleagues (2012) warned about overlooking the predictions of negative contact because the restricted focus on positive contact may have caused a biased understanding of intergroup contact (see also Graf & Paolini, 2017; Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010). Indeed, Barlow et al. (2012) pointed to the large amount of evidence from a variety of research domains showing that negative experiences and stimuli have a stronger impact compared to positive experiences and stimuli, (as observed in the literature on interpersonal relationships, child development, stereotypes, information processing, memory, and well-being (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer & Vohs, 2001; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Mullen & Johnson, 1990; Robinson-Riegler & Winton, 1996; Rowe, Jacobson, & van den

Oord, 1999). Hence, these authors argued that negative contact may increase prejudice more strongly than that positive contact decreases prejudice.

In line with their expectations, Barlow and colleagues (2012) showed across several studies from different intergroup contexts, that negative contact had stronger and more consistent associations with increased prejudice compared to positive contact's associations with decreased prejudice. Another study with participants from five European countries (Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Poland, and Slovakia), focusing on contact with individuals from neighbouring countries, demonstrated that positive contact is more frequent than negative contact but negative contact is more "effective" in shaping outgroup attitudes (Graf, Paolini, & Rubin, 2014). Yet, in the latter study, the researchers highlighted that the harmful effects of negative contact may be reduced by the higher frequency of positive contact. Paolini et al. (2014) demonstrated with one correlational and three experimental studies in three different contexts, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, and Arizona's border area, that past extensive positive contact experiences can inhibit negative contact's harmful effects in the present. This buffer effect of positive contact against negative contact was found through different types of contact, such as face-to-face, television mediated, and imagined contact.

The asymmetrical associations of positive and negative contact have not been observed across all studies. For instance, studies conducted in structured and monitored settings such as classrooms where school children had plenty of contact opportunities, no contact asymmetry was found. Positive and negative contact had equally strong associations with ethnic prejudice (Bekhuis, Ruiter, & Coenders, 2013; Stark, Flache, & Veenstra, 2013).

Even though the majority of the studies about the valence asymmetry between positive and negative intergroup contact focused on prejudice, some recent research investigated this valence asymmetry for the associations between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action. Previous research found that both positive and negative contact were, positively and negatively, associated with solidarity-based collective action intentions (Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). Yet, longitudinally, only positive contact and not negative contact was related significantly to collective action intentions (Reimer et al., 2017). Extending this recent body of work, this thesis examines the potential positive associations of positive contact, and negative associations of negative contact with solidarity-based collective action intentions.

Integration of Intergroup Contact Theory and Collective Action Research

Collective action research has focused mainly on collective action intentions of disadvantaged group members (e.g. Klandermans, 1984; Runciman, 1966; van Zomeren et al., 2012). Even though some studies examined the solidarity-based collective action participation from the eye of advantaged group members, the role of intergroup contact has not been given much attention (Leach et al., 2006; Saab et al., 2015). It is important to integrate the insights from previous collective action research, especially from SIMCA, and intergroup contact theorising (van Zomeren et al., 2008). SIMCA suggests that perceived injustice, group efficacy and identification are key predictors of collective action. One study examined these three SIMCA variables in relations to solidarity-based collective action and found that all three variables predicted solidarity-based action. However, SIMCA model did not completely work in the solidarity context (van Zomeren et al., 2011). Hence, there is a need to examine alternative models with SIMCA variables especially to understand

solidarity-based collective action participation intentions. Also, SIMCA did not discuss the potential role of contact in predicting collective action. Therefore, this thesis offers a valuable effort of integrating SIMCA variables with intergroup contact research.

It is possible for positive contact to be positively associated with both higher anger about the injustices towards outgroups and higher identification with them. The opposite pattern is also possible for negative contact, with negative contact being associated with reduced anger with the injustices and outgroup identification. It is important to combine collective action and contact research lines together because by this way, we can have a more holistic view of the role of contact on predicting solidarity-based collective action and investigate whether outgroup identification and group-based anger explain this relationship.

Despite the well-established prejudice-reducing role of contact, some scholars have criticized this research line for its restricted focus on prejudice reduction and outgroup liking, while expressing scepticism that promoting positive intergroup contact contributes to the reduction of societal intergroup inequality and social injustice (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005; Jackman & Crane, 1986; Saguy, Tropp, & Hawi, 2013; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Indeed, several scholars have argued that for members of disadvantaged groups, contact with members of dominant groups may reduce disadvantaged group members' perceptions of structural inequalities and their motivation to join collective action against group inequalities (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012; Dixon et al., 2010a; Reicher, 2007; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). Dixon and colleagues (2012; see also Reicher, 2007) also argued that historically, suppressed group members had to fight against their oppressor to improve their situation because equal

rights were not given by the suppressor as a gift, and advantaged groups are usually not motivated to give up their privileges.

Consistent with these ideas, the results of several recent laboratory and survey studies suggest that intergroup contact may deflect disadvantaged group members' attention from ongoing social inequality, reducing their motivation to engage in collective action that could improve their situation (e.g., Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2007; Dixon et al., 2010a; Saguy & Chernyak-Hai, 2012; Saguy et al., 2009; Tropp, Hawi, van Laar, & Levin, 2012; Tausch, Saguy, & Bryson, 2015; Wright & Lubensky, 2009, see Saguy & Dovidio, 2013 for a review). For example, a study from South Africa showed that Black South Africans who had more contact with White South Africans expressed less support for race-targeted policies, although it is important to note that the effect size was small and Blacks still supported race-targeted policies more than Whites (Dixon et al., 2007). Another study showed that more positive contact with Jews among Israeli Arabs was connected to reduced support for egalitarian social change (Saguy et al., 2009). Also in a study conducted by Wright and Lubensky (2009), the findings suggested that that more contact with Whites among Blacks and Latinos in the USA was related to more positive attitudes towards Whites but less support for collective action to deal with group inequalities. Furthermore, a longitudinal study in the USA showed that having more White friends predicted both lower levels of perceived discrimination and support for ethnic activism among Black and Latino Americans, but not among Asian Americans (Tropp et al., 2012). Taken these findings together, several scholars concluded that although intergroup contact may help to achieve intergroup harmony by reducing prejudice, the instigation of 'harmonious' relations freezes the

societal injustice between groups and slows down efforts toward societal change (Dixon et al., 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009).

Mobilizing Role of Intergroup Contact on Collective Action

Recent studies suggested that positive contact does not necessarily reduce collective action motivations but that its effect depends on contextual factors and the features of the specific intergroup situation. Becker, Wright, Lubensky, and Zhou (2013) for instance investigated the so-called 'sedative effect' of intergroup contact on support for social change among disadvantaged group members in different communication settings. They found that when the contacted advantaged group members saw their advantageous position as legitimate or when they did not express their opinions about the unjust situation, positive contact reduced collective action intentions among the disadvantaged. However, when advantaged group members openly acknowledged the unjust situation of the disadvantaged group members, positive contact did not harm disadvantaged group members' collective action intentions. This study thus indicates that what advantaged group members say or not say may determine the role of positive contact on collective action participation.

Pettigrew and Hewstone (2017) suggested that intergroup contact can also heighten collective action among the disadvantaged through increased feelings of relative group deprivation. A recent study in Turkey, for instance, showed that imagined contact among disadvantaged group members made ethnic group differences more salient, resulting in a mobilizing effect on collective action intentions. More specifically, Kurds' imagined positive contact with an unknown Turk increased their perceptions of discrimination against the ingroup and ingroup identification, which in turn increased their collective action tendencies (Bagci, Stathi, & Piyale, 2018, Study 1). Research using data from the European Social

Survey (including 22 countries) and a national survey from Switzerland showed that minority members are more likely to support anti-discrimination laws and immigrants' rights at the societal level in social contexts where there is positive intergroup contact (Kauff, Green, Schmid, & Christ, 2016).

Positive intergroup contact may also relate to support for the social change in other ways. Pettigrew and Tropp (2011; see also Wagner & Hewstone, 2012) argued that, among members of advantaged groups, positive intergroup contact can motivate them to support the disadvantaged group by organizing solidarity-based collective actions, or joining as allies in actions of the disadvantaged. Indeed, historically, suppressed group members are not alone with their fight against group level inequalities, but are often supported by members of the advantaged group (e.g., Whites in the Black Lives Matter movement, the refugees welcome movements in Europe, and heterosexual individuals in LGBT rallies). MacInnis and Hodson (2018) further argued that especially cross-group friendships involving the acknowledgement the existence of group inequalities are likely to motivate both advantaged and disadvantaged group members to join collective action to improve intergroup relations. Cross-group friendships, for advantaged group members, can promote more positive attitudes towards the disadvantaged group members and more negative attitudes towards the unjust position of the ingroup. This negativity could promote solidarity-based collective action. From the disadvantaged group members' perspective, cross-group friendships could promote positive attitudes towards advantaged group through generalization but also increase negative attitudes towards the advantaged group because of their explicit recognition of inequalities, and this negativity could mobilize disadvantaged group members to join collective action.

Based on cross-sectional survey data from White South-Africans, Dixon et al. (2010b) for instance showed that intergroup contact is associated with less resistance against intergroup policies of change, such as affirmative action, educational quotas, and laws that protect Black farm labourers. Until recently, this possibility has often been overlooked by collective action models of social change (e.g. Becker & Tausch, 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2008; Wright & Tropp, 2002), because of their focus on how disadvantaged groups can improve their societal position themselves. The importance of members of advantaged groups standing up for the rights of disadvantaged groups can hardly be exaggerated. Indeed, precisely because of their disadvantaged position, disadvantaged groups and particularly "voiceless" groups such as refugees or immigrants living in poor conditions may lack the means and numbers to take influential actions to improve their societal position all by themselves. Support from a fair number of advantaged group members seems imperative for successful change. Positive intergroup contact can increase support for solidarity-based collective action among members of advantaged groups, as contact likely fuels many of the affective and identity-based processes that have been linked to collective action.

For example, Reimer and colleagues (2017) demonstrated that among heterosexual individuals positive contact with lesbians, gays, or bisexuals showed, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, a positive association with LGB activism. Similarly, positive contact with Black Americans was linked to more willingness to support the Black Lives Matter movement and join racial justice activism among White participants (Selvanathan et al., 2017). The role of negative contact seem less clear. In the studies of Reimer et al. (2017) negative contact was cross-sectionally associated with less LGB activism, yet no significant longitudinal associations were

found, and also Selvanathan et al. (2017) found no significant association between negative contact and willingness to engage in collective action for racial justice.

To the best of my knowledge, so far no published study has tested the simultaneous associations of positive and negative contact with support for collective action in solidarity with immigrants or refugees, and only the Reimer et al. study (2017) has investigated the longitudinal associations between contact and solidarity-based collective action. Furthermore, little is known about the psychological processes underpinning these associations. Therefore, extending this nascent body of work, this thesis investigates in four cross-sectional samples and one longitudinal sample from four different countries the associations between positive and negative contact and support for solidarity-based collective action. Selecting the most established psychological process variables from contact and collective action literature, I also test the role of affective processes including outgroup empathy, group-based anger, perceived outgroup threat, and intergroup anxiety, as well as the role of identity-based outgroup ties with immigrants or refugees

Affective and Identity-based Processes between Contact and Collective Action

Contact research has identified a variety of psychological processes explaining how positive contact reduces prejudice (e.g., Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Hodson, Hewstone & Swart, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Although specific mediating processes may vary depending on the intergroup context and target outgroup, three key affective processes have received support across different contexts and target outgroups. More specifically, positive contact effectively increases outgroup empathy, and reduces intergroup anxiety and perceptions of outgroup threat, which in turn, improves outgroup attitudes (Hayward, Tropp, Hornsey, & Barlow, 2017; Hodson et al., 2013, Stephan, 2014; Swart et al.,

2011). Although less extensively studied as positive contact, recent work shows the opposite patterns of associations for negative contact (Hayward et al., 2017).

The mediating role of empathy is inspired by research on the empathy-altruism hypothesis (Batson, 2011; Batson, Early, & Salvarani, 1997) showing that inducing empathy with stigmatized outgroup members, such as a woman with AIDS or a homeless person, can improve attitudes and altruistic tendencies towards the whole outgroup (Batson et al., 1997). Incorporating this idea into contact research, several studies investigated the possible mediating role of outgroup empathy in the association between intergroup contact and outgroup prejudice. Based on meta-analytic (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and longitudinal evidence (Swart et al., 2011), it is now well-established that positive contact with members of a disadvantaged group creates an opportunity to take their perspective and empathize with their problems and concerns, which improves attitudes towards the outgroup (Brown & Hewstone, 2005).

The role of outgroup empathy are, however, not limited to improved outgroup attitudes. Empathy is also likely to play an important role in the association between contact and solidarity-based collective action given that increased perspective taking and empathy facilitate pro-social behaviours towards outgroups (e.g., Abrams, van de Vyver, Peletier, & Cameron, 2015; Eisenberg, Eggum, & Di Giunta, 2010) and can increase intentions to participate in collective action to support minority or disadvantaged groups (Fingerhut, 2011; Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2017).

Researchers also examined the mediating roles of intergroup threat and anxiety for the contact-prejudice relationship. The work of Stephan and Stephan (1985) showed that people may experience anxiety when interacting with outgroup

members and this anxiety can lead to various behavioural, cognitive, and emotional negative outcomes, such as avoidance of intergroup interaction, information processing biases (e.g., seeking information that confirms stereotypes about outgroup members), and augmented negative emotional reactions (e.g., fear, hate, disgust). Moreover, increased threat and anxiety levels can increase opposition to policy measures that are meant improve the situation of disadvantaged group members (Dixon et al., 2010b; Renfro, Duran, Stephan, Clason, & 2006), and reduces the willingness to help them (Costello & Hodson, 2011). However, research has also repeatedly showed that intergroup contact can reduce intergroup threat and anxiety (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Paolini et al., 2004; Pettigrew, 1998; Voci & Hewstone, 2003), and therefore it is possible that for advantaged group members, positive intergroup contact is associated with increased intentions to participate in solidarity-based collective action through lower perceived threat and intergroup anxiety. Interestingly, Çakal, Hewstone, Güler, and Heath (2016) showed that among members of disadvantaged groups, perceived threat was linked to higher collective action tendencies to improve the disadvantaged status of one's own group, but to date, no studies have investigated the associations for solidarity-based collective action tendencies.

In addition to three affective mediators that have typically been the focus of contact research, this thesis also focuses on the role of group-based anger, which, as discussed earlier, has been identified as a key driver of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2012). Because intergroup contact can make members of advantaged groups aware of their own privileged position and the structurally unjust situation of disadvantaged groups, feelings of group-based anger

may emerge. Although group-based anger has been studied more frequently among members of disadvantaged groups (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2012), group-based anger can also increase advantaged group members' willingness to change social intergroup inequality and to engage in political action in solidarity with the disadvantaged group (Leach et al., 2002; Mallett et al., 2008; Montada & Schneider, 1989; Saab et al., 2015). For instance, a study conducted in Australia showed that among non-Aboriginals, the stronger the feelings of anger about their ingroup advantage, the more they were motivated to act to improve Aborigines' condition by writing letters, giving money and joining street action (Leach et al., 2006). Cross-sectional work conducted by, Selvanathan et al. (2017) also found supporting evidence for the mediating role of both empathy and group-based anger in the association between White Americans' positive contact experiences with Black Americans and their willingness to engage in collective action for racial justice. Negative contact, on the other hand, showed negative associations with empathy and group-based anger.

Finally, both contact and collective action research have shown that not only affective processes, but also identity-based processes are critical for our understanding of intergroup phenomena related prejudice reduction and social change motivations (Reimer et al., 2017; van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011). Indeed, for members of advantaged groups, positive contact is likely to facilitate the formation of a shared identity with disadvantaged group members (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Houlette, 2013), which thus strengthens the identity connections with them. This idea finds its origins in the Common Ingroup Identity model (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), proposing that categories between groups are fluid and positive

contact can promote a shift of re-categorization to a more inclusive group (e.g., national or regional identity), which in turn promotes more positive outgroup attitudes.

This thesis focuses on outgroup identification, defined as a type of shared identification referring to the inclusion of one's own identity with others' group identity. Researchers suggested that by building positive relationships with outgroup members (Davies et al., 2011; Page-Gould et al., 2008), individuals can include others' experiences and identities in their self (Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002). Such identity-based connections of solidarity with the disadvantaged group likely inspire advantaged group members to join solidarity groups to act against inequality or unjust situations (Subasic et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2011). Outgroup identification can thus be considered as a mediating variable for the associations between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action.

In support of this idea, Reimer et al. (2017) showed that positive contact was associated with heterosexuals' identification with the LGBT movement which, in turn, was associated with solidarity-based collective action intentions. Negative contact was negatively associated with outgroup identification and solidarity-based collective action tendencies in a cross-sectional study but had no significant relationship with solidarity-based collective action over time. More research is needed to investigate contact's beneficial role on both identification with a more inclusive group and solidarity-based collective action potential.

The Importance of Solidarity-Based Collective Action with Immigrants and Refugees

The study of immigrants' welfare is an important one because immigrant and refugee groups are typically one of the most discriminated groups in most societies

and victims of hate crime (e.g., Home Office, 2018). Due to political, natural, and economic reasons, there is an immigration influx in many places on earth. For example, due to the war, conflicts, and existence of radical fanatics, over five million people left their homes from Syria and moved to neighbouring countries, mainly Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan (UNHCR, 2017). Yet also Europe has been receiving numerous immigrants from African and Middle Eastern countries. In 2015, over one million refugees arrived in Europe through sea routes and in the same year 3.735 refugees were reported to be dead or missing (Clayton & Holland, 2015). Given the impact of immigration on society and the precarious living conditions of many immigrants and refugees, this thesis provides a detailed examination of the importance of intergroup contact for collective action intentions in solidarity with immigrants and refugees.

It is important to acknowledge that the terms ‘immigrant’ and ‘refugee’ are different and there are different legal implications for these groups even though these two terms are sometimes used interchangeably in the media. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, refugees are defined as “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” (Segupta, 2015). The term immigrant, on the other hand, refers to a person who comes to live permanently in a foreign country. While legally refugees can apply for political asylum and cannot be sent back to their homelands, immigrants who do not have legal documents can be deported. As I explained previously, several reports show that both immigrants and refugees face discrimination in the countries they move to. Therefore, it is possible for citizens of the host country to express

solidarity with both refugees (e.g. Syrian refugees in Turkey) and immigrants (immigrants in the UK).

Fighting against inequalities is not limited to efforts of those who experience inequalities. Advantaged group members can also join in collective action on behalf of the disadvantaged others. It is important to study the predictors of solidarity-based collective action because to increase social equality between groups, forming alliances with the advantaged group members is crucial. First of all, advantaged group members are often in the numerical majority or at least are well represented in the general population in a country. Thus more support from more people likely benefits the disadvantaged minorities. Also, it is more likely for the advantaged group members to hold strategic positions in the governance of political systems such as parliament members. Support from these individuals could greatly benefit to act against the inequalities that the disadvantaged group members experience.

There is a growing interest in the motivators of solidarity-based collective action. Recent research has investigated this topic in a number of different intergroup context, for instance by focusing on non-Aboriginal Australians' support for political action for Aborigines (Leach et al., 2006), British citizens' support for Palestinians, Hong Kong citizens' intentions to join tribute to the 1989 Tiananmen massacre to show solidarity with mainland Chinese (Saab et al., 2015), non-Muslim Dutch citizens' intentions to challenge inequality towards Dutch Muslims (van Zomeren et al., 2011), heterosexual students' support for LGBT activism (Reimer et al., 2017), and White Americans' support for the Black Lives Matter movement (Selvanathan et al., 2017). Yet, psychological factors behind to support for solidarity with immigrants and refugees activism has not been examined in detail.

Research Aims and Overview of Empirical Studies

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the roles of positive and negative contact in predicting advantaged group members' solidarity-based collective action intentions to reduce social inequality. While some researchers argued that positive contact disrupts collective action intentions among the disadvantaged, others suggested that positive contact can promote solidarity-based collective action among advantaged group members. This thesis focuses on the latter idea and therefore the prediction is that positive contact is associated with solidarity-based collective action intentions. Importantly, the thesis also investigates the possible negative impact of negative contact and predicts that negative contact is associated with solidarity-based collective action intentions.

A second focal aim of this thesis is to explore the roles of affective and identity-based mediating processes. One of the prominent novel contribution of this thesis is examining potential mediation roles of outgroup identification, empathy, group-based anger, perceived threat and intergroup anxiety simultaneously. Previous research on contact and solidarity-based collective action only tested a few mediating processes leaving it unclear which mediators are the most important ones (e.g. Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). This thesis includes five studies (four cross-sectional and one longitudinal) from Western and non-Western contexts to test these ideas.

Testing the same model in different contexts is important to discuss generalizability of the findings in different settings. It is important to test these hypotheses in the refugee and immigrant contexts because in general these groups experience prejudice. The refugee and immigration crisis are important parts of the political life in many countries in the last decade. For instance, while many people

have travelled from their home countries to Greece, Turkey, and Thailand for a safer and better life, the immigration issue was one of the important elements of the Brexit referendum in the UK.

Chapter 2 examines the simultaneous associations of positive and negative intergroup contact with solidarity-based collective action in two different cross-sectional samples from Greece and Turkey. Stemming from intergroup contact research the possible mediating roles of three variables are examined: outgroup empathy, intergroup anxiety, and perceived outgroup threat. Moreover, I also investigate the possible mediating role of two variables from collective action research: group-based anger and outgroup identification.

Another novel contribution of this thesis is examining longitudinal associations between contact variables, mediating processes and solidarity-based collective actions intentions. According to my knowledge, previous research did not investigate any longitudinal mediators. Chapter 3 tests the roles of positive and negative contact on solidarity-based collective action in a longitudinal sample from the UK with three-time points. This study aims to address the limitations of cross-sectional studies, by providing insight into the associations between the variables over time and examining the possible bi-directional paths. Moreover, as a benefit of three wave data collection, possible longitudinal mediating roles of outgroup empathy, anxiety, threat, group-based anger and outgroup identification are also tested.

In sum, integrating insights from past research, the aim of Chapters 2 and 3 is to provide a comprehensive test of the role of the key affective and identity-based processes linked to solidarity-based collective action and particularly in the association with intergroup contact. Whereas the bulk of past research has typically

focused on testing a limited number of variables at the same time, the aim is thus to pit the several concepts against each other in the prediction of solidarity-based collective action intention.

Chapter 4 extends the research scope with two aims. First, the roles of positive and negative contact are investigated in relation to different types of collective action, by considering both online and offline collective action. Chapter 4 thus examines whether similar relations occur for offline and online collective action. Secondly, I investigate the role of group efficacy beliefs, a belief that collective effort can help to achieve a collective goal, in predicting both types of collective action. This design also allows testing the associations between positive and negative contact and collective action when controlling for group efficacy beliefs. Furthermore, I test the possible mediating roles of group-based anger, outgroup empathy and outgroup identification. Chapter 4 investigates these associations with two studies conducted in two different intergroup contexts, focusing on solidarity with Muslims in the UK and solidarity with Burmese immigrants in Thailand.

The final chapter, Chapter 5, summarizes the findings and elaborate on the theoretical and empirical contributions of the studies specifically with respect to the need to consider multiple psychological processes in the study of intergroup contact. I also discuss the role of positive and negative contact in predicting collective action in light of the recent debates in the intergroup contact literature on the positive-negative asymmetry and the implications of contact for social change. Before concluding, the limitations of the studies and future research ideas are discussed.

Chapter 2. Intergroup Contact and Solidarity-Based Collective Action. The Role of Affective and Identity-Based Processes

The Present Research

This chapter includes two cross-sectional studies (Study 1 and 2) in samples of advantaged groups to investigate the simultaneous associations of positive and negative contact with willingness to engage in collective action in solidarity with refugees or immigrants. I expect positive contact to increase and negative contact to decrease solidarity-based collective action intentions. Furthermore, I test the role of four affective (i.e., empathy, group-based anger, threat, and anxiety) variables, and identification with the outgroup in explaining the association between contact and solidarity-based collective action (see Figure 1). As explained in Chapter 1, these mediating processes are selected from the intergroup contact and collective action literatures in order to examine how intergroup contact is related to solidarity-based collective action. The mediating variables, outgroup empathy, threat and anxiety are selected from intergroup research as these are identified as key processes for the associations of contact with reduced prejudice (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Swart et al., 2011; Islam & Hewstone, 1993). The possible mediating role of group-based anger and outgroup identification are coming mainly from the collective action literature. Specially, group-based anger and identification are two of the three key predictors (also group efficacy beliefs) of collective action according to Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA, van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Importantly, these associations are tested in countries where immigration has been having a major impact on social and political events. More specifically, Studies 1 and 2 are conducted on a Greek island and in Turkey, respectively, at a time both countries were facing an enormous inflow of Syrian refugees. Despite the disparities

between these different countries and contextual settings, I examine the generality of these hypotheses to determine whether the relations between the variables were similar across different contexts.

While some of the refugees use Turkey and Greece as gateway countries to reach more wealthy European countries, many of them have ended up living in Turkey and Greece since 2011. One may question whether nationals in Greece and Turkey can be considered as advantaged group members compared the immigrants and refugees in those countries because both of the countries have been dealing with financial and social problems in the last decade. Usually, intergroup relations research consider advantaged group members as wealthy country nationals who are located in Western Europe and the US. In general, nationals from Greece and Turkey are in a more advantaged position compared to immigrants and refugees who live in disadvantaged conditions due to loss of their houses, jobs, and wealth.

Refugees usually do not speak the language of the host country which also puts them in a disadvantaged position to integrate into society. In conclusion, Greece and Turkey nationals are in more advantaged position compared to refugees and immigrants who are in a disadvantaged position in the social hierarchy. With two studies conducted in financially and politically relatively less stable countries, Greece and Turkey, I examine whether contact predicts solidarity-based collective action intentions similarly. I expect contact to predict solidarity-based collective action similarly as it does in Western countries (e.g. Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017).

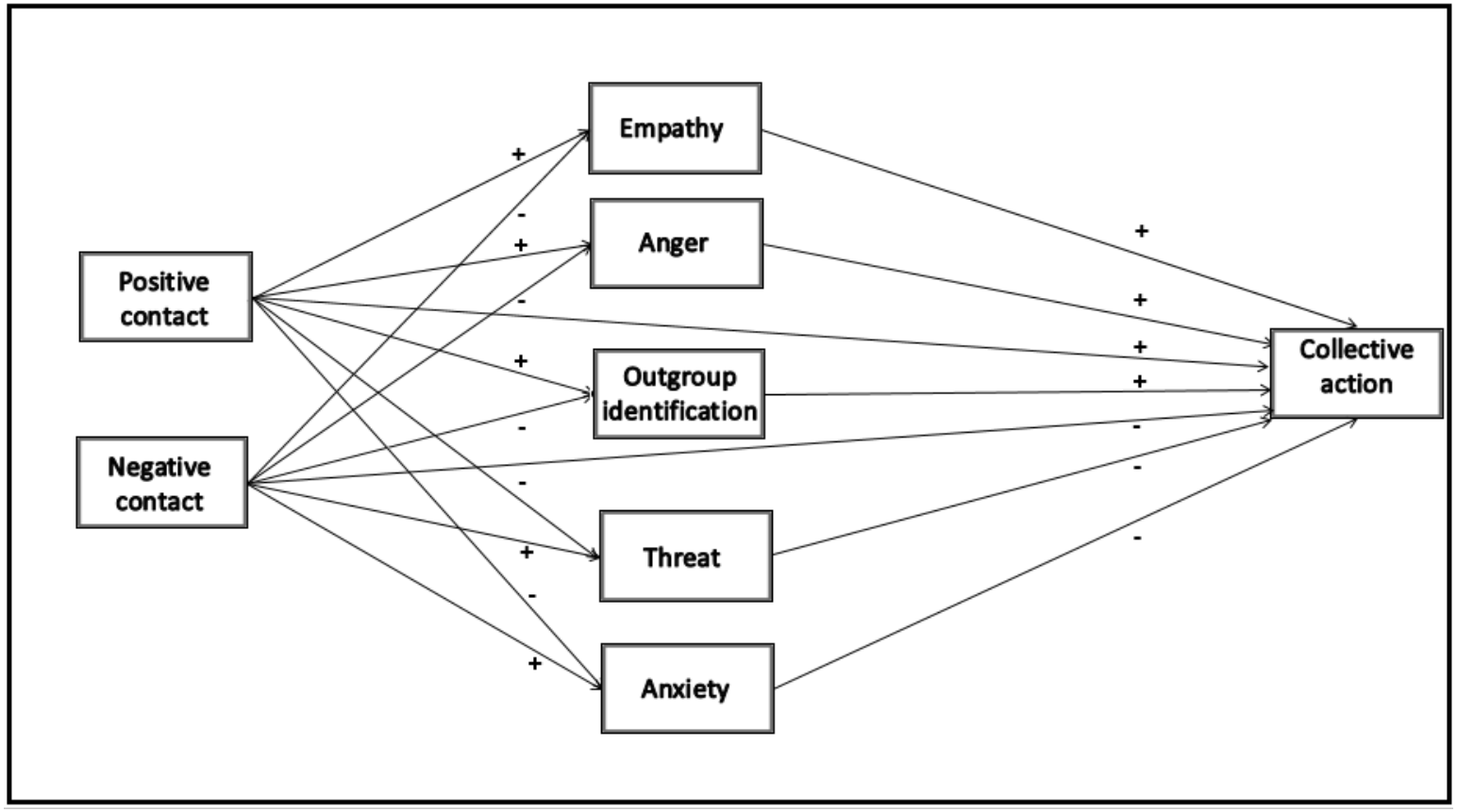

Figure 1. In this model, positive and negative contact were directly, and indirectly through empathy, group-based anger, outgroup identification, outgroup threat and anxiety associated with solidarity-based collective action. Predicted positive associations are shown with (+) and negative associations are shown with (-).

Study 1

Study 1 was conducted on a Greek island, Chios among Greek citizens with no immigrant background. At the time of the study, Chios has received 30,000-60,000 sea arrivals between January and September 2015 (United Nations Refugee Agency [UNHCR], 2015). This created a dramatic change in terms of population on the island which had 26,000 local citizens. In this context with a cross-sectional study, I aimed to investigate roles of positive and negative contact in predicting solidarity-based collective action intentions. Overall the goal was to examine the roles of both positive and negative contact in a different context where citizens of the country have been struggling with financial problems. Moreover, I examined potential mediating roles of outgroup identification, empathy, group-based anger, perceived threat and intergroup anxiety. These associations were tested with Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) with observed scores.

Method

Participants. One hundred and thirty-five respondents were recruited during the summer of 2015 in the middle of the refugee crisis by an undergraduate student. They were approached in public areas (cafes, public squares, training centres) and asked to complete a questionnaire about young people's attitudes and beliefs towards migrants in their country on paper in Greek. Two non-Greek participants and one participant who did not respond to most of the questions were excluded from the sample, leaving 132 participants in the sample (83 women, 47 men, and 2 did not indicate their gender, M_{age}= 24.48, SD_{age} = 4.40). Completion of the survey took approximately 15 minutes.

Measures. A bilingual Greek student translated all the items from English to Greek. A bilingual academic carefully checked the translations and verified the

meaning of the items by translating them back to English. Positive and negative contact was measured with 7 point scales (1, not so often; 7, very often; Dhont & van Hiel, 2009). Positive contact was measured with 4 items. Example items were, "How often do you have pleasant contact with immigrants? 'How often do you have positive experiences with immigrants until now?" (α = .86). Negative contact was measured with 4 items. Example items were, "How often do you have unpleasant contact with immigrants?", "How often have you had negative experiences with immigrants until now?" (α = .78).

To measure group-based anger, empathy, threat, outgroup identification, and solidarity-based collective action intentions, respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with a number of statements, using a 7 point scales ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree). Outgroup identification was measured with three items adapted from Leach et al. (2008) "I feel a bond with immigrants", "I feel solidarity with immigrants" and "I feel committed to immigrants" (α = .90).

Group-based anger was measured with two items (Brown, Gonzalez, Zagefka, Manzi, & Čehajić, 2008). "Thinking of how some Greek people deal with immigrants makes me angry" and "Thinking of the past and the problems regarding the treatment of immigrants in Greece makes me angry" (α = .82).

The measure of outgroup empathy was adapted from Pedersen, Beven, Walker, and Griffiths (2004) and was measured with two items. "I empathize with the situation of the immigrant community" and "I can easily imagine how members of the immigrant community must feel" (α = .75).

Threat was measured with two items which adapted from Stephan et al., (2002). A shorter version of this measure was reliable (e.g., Dhont & van Hiel,

2011). “Immigrants are posing a threat to the economic and political system of Greece” and “the presence of immigrants is problematic for the Greek cultural norms and values” (α = .83).

Intergroup anxiety was measured with 4 items (adapted from Stephan et al., 2002; see also Dhont et al., 2011). (e.g., “Suppose you met an immigrant in the near future ... How would you feel? anxious, unsure, worried, and at ease”). Participants were asked to choose the relevant number for them using a 7 point scale (1, not at all to 7, very much so; α = .77).

Solidarity-based collective action intentions was measured with three items “I would like to do something in support of the immigrant community in Greece”, “I would participate in a demonstration for the rights of immigrants in Greece” and “I would sign a petition supporting the immigrant community in Greece” (α = .87), adapted from the ingroup solidarity facet of the ingroup identification scale developed by Leach et al. (2008).

Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations between all variables. Positive contact was positively and significantly related to solidarity-based collective action while negative contact was negatively and significantly linked to collective action. As expected, outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger were significantly and positively correlated with collective action while threat was negatively correlated. Intergroup anxiety was not significantly correlated with collective action. Positive and negative contact did not show a significant correlation (r = -.027, p = .760). Tests to see if the data met the

assumption of collinearity indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern (for all predictors and mediators the Tolerance values > .30 and VIF values < 3.00)[1]

[1] Positive contact, Tolerance = .71, VIF = 1.42; Negative contact, Tolerance = .77, VIF = 1.30; Empathy, Tolerance = .69, VIF = 1.45; Group-based anger, Tolerance = .58, VIF = 1.73; Outgroup identification, Tolerance = .49, VIF = 2.03; Perceived threat, Tolerance = .75, VIF = 1.40; Intergroup anxiety, Tolerance = .87, VIF = 1.50.

Table 1

Study 1: Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables.

	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Positive contact	3.01 (1.40)	-						
2. Negative contact	2.36 (1.31)	-.03	-					
3. Outgroup identification	4.04 (1.31)	.47***	-.19*	-				
4. Group- based anger	5.24 (1.47)	.30***	-.22*	.60***	-			
5. Empathy	4.54 (1.55)	.27**	-.15	.49***	.50***	-		
6. Threat	3.70 (1.57)	-.30***	.40***	-.32***	-.25**	-.20*	-	
7. Anxiety	3.10 (1.49)	-.22*	.21*	-.20*	-.08	-.03	.11	-
8. Collective action	4.41 (1.61)	.48***	-.19*	.68***	.60***	.54***	-.38***	-.14

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

I tested the hypothesized model (Figure 2) using Structural Equation Modelling with observed scores in Mplus version 6 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017). All paths from positive and negative contact to the five mediating processes and solidarity-based collective action and from the mediators to solidarity-based collective action were included. The model was fully saturated.

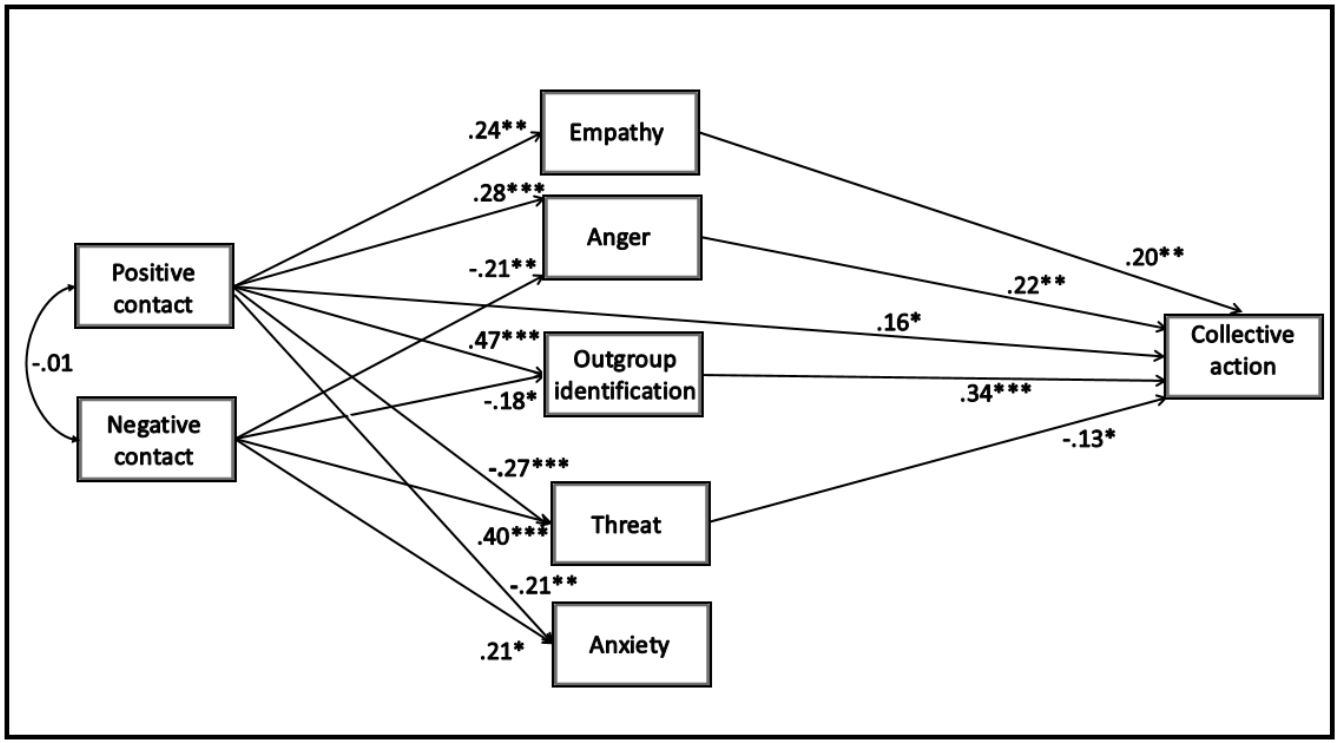

Figure 2. Results (standardized coefficients) of Study 1 showing the associations of positive and negative contact with affective and identity-based processes and solidarity-based collective action intentions.

Note: Non-significant paths are not shown. $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

In line with my expectations, positive contact was positively significantly associated with outgroup identification (β = .47, [.33, .60]), outgroup empathy (β = .24, [.08, .40]) and group-based anger (β = .28, [.12, .43]), and negatively significantly associated with threat (β = -.27, [-.42, -.13]) and outgroup anxiety (β = -.21, [-.37, -.05]) (see Figure 2). Negative contact was significantly negatively related to group-based anger (β = -.21, [-.37, -.05]) and outgroup identification (β = -.18, [-.33, -.04]), and positively associated with threat (β = .40, [.26, .54]) and intergroup anxiety (β = .21, [.05, .37]), but was not significantly related to empathy (β = -.15, [-.31, .02]).

Outgroup identification (β = .336 [.183, .489]), group-based anger (β = .223 [.081, .365]), empathy (β = .196 [.064, .327]), and threat (β = -134 [-.261, -.007]), in turn, significantly predicted solidarity-based collective action. However, anxiety did not significantly predict solidarity-based collective action in this model (β = .002 [-.114, .119]). Furthermore, positive contact also showed a significant direct positive association with collective action (β = .159, [.030, .288]), while the direct path from negative contact to collective action was not significant (β = -.006, [-.131, .120]).

Effect decomposition analyses (see Table 2) revealed that a significant portion of the association of positive and negative contact with solidarity-based collective action was explained by the mediating variables, with total indirect effects of β = .461, SE = .067, [.329, .593]) and β = -.197, SE = .074, [-.343, -.051], for positive and negative contact, respectively. The model explained 59% of variance in collective action, 25% in outgroup identification, 8% in outgroup empathy, 12% in group-based anger, 24% in perceived threat, and 9% in intergroup anxiety.

Discussion

This study showed that positive and negative contact were significantly correlated, positively and negatively, with solidarity-based collective action. More specifically, more positive contact was significantly indirectly associated with higher collective action intentions, through higher outgroup identification, group-based anger, and empathy. More negative contact showed specific indirect associations with lower collective action intentions via lower outgroup identification and group-based anger. In sum, these findings provide evidence for the differential associations of positive and negative contact with solidarity-based collective action and the simultaneous role of both affective and identity-based processes accounting for these associations.

Even though compared to negative contact, positive contact was correlated more strongly with collective action intentions, total effects of positive and negative contact were both significantly associated with collective action intentions. However, negative contact's direct association with collective action intentions was not significant when identity and affective mediators were included in the model. On the other hand, positive contact's direct association with collective action intentions was still significant after taking the mediators into account. These findings signal that I did not find evidence for contact asymmetry in which negative contact had a stronger role than positive contact (see Barlow et al., 2012). Other recent research also did not find contact asymmetry in contact and solidarity-based collective action context (Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). This study provided further evidence for questioning contact asymmetry in contact and solidarity-based collective action intentions context.

There are two main limitations of this study. First, the sample size of this study was rather small. Also, it was restricted to the views from inhabitants of a Greek island. Secondly, even though the intentions of the survey was about capturing participants' attitudes towards the refugees, the survey items referred to immigrants in the country. Although the island was receiving great numbers of refugees on a daily basis, it is not clear from the current data if the participants understood general immigrants in their country, or sea arrivals with asylum seeking, or refuge intentions. Immigrants and refugees are clearly different groups in legal terms. Therefore, the results of this study cannot be generalized to contact and solidarity with refugees. To address these two limitations, Study 2 tested the same model with a larger sample size in a different context. Study 2 examined the same research questions with Syrian refugees as the target group in Turkey.

Table 2

Study 1: Standardized total, direct, and indirect effects of positive and negative contact on solidarity-based collective action.

	Positive contact			Negative contact		
	β *(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs	β *(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs
Total effect	.461 (.067)	< .001	.329, .593	-.197 (.074)	.008	-.343, -.051
Direct effect	.159 (.066)	.015	.030, .288	-.006 (.064)	.929	-.131, .120
Indirect effect	.301 (.055)	< .001	.193, .410	-.191 (.058)	.001	-.305, -.077
Via Outgroup identification	.157(.043)	< .001	.072, .241	-.062 (.029)	.031	-.119, -.006
Via anger	.062 (.027)	.019	.010, .114	-.047 (.024)	.046	-.094, -.001
Via empathy	.047 (.022)	.037	.003, .091	-.029 (.019)	.131	-.066, .009
Via threat	.037 (.020)	.071	-.003, .076	-.053 (.028)	.055	-.125, .001
Via anxiety	-.001 (.013)	.966	-.025, .288	.001 (.012)	.966	-.024, .025

Study 2

The aim of study 2 is to test the hypothesised model with a larger sample and a different context, namely from Turkey. Turkey has welcomed around 2.76 million Syrian refugees (approximately 3.5% of Turkey's population in 2016), (United Nations Refugee Agency [UNHCR], 2017). More than 90% of the refugees live outside of the camps and therefore, it is highly likely for local citizens to interact with the refugee population in urban and rural areas both in pleasant an unpleasant ways. Similarly to Study 1, I examined the roles of positive and negative contact in predicting solidarity-based collective action intentions with a cross-sectional study in a non-Western country. It is important to investigate if the findings of previous research can be generalized in a different context like Turkey. Moreover, I investigated the mediating roles of outgroup identification, empathy, group-based anger, perceived threat and intergroup anxiety.

Method

Participants. Respondents were invited to complete either an online questionnaire or a paper-pen survey in Turkish about their views and attitudes regarding recent political events and Syrian refugees. The researcher translated all the items from English to Turkish. Translations were checked by two bilingual researchers and back-translated to English to evaluate whether the translation was accurate.

For the online survey, the researcher created a Facebook event page for the study, and invited individuals to join the study through individual messages and advertisements in Turkish social media groups on Facebook with snowball sampling method. For the paper-pen questionnaire, individuals in public places in two Turkish cities (i.e., Samsun and Rize) were invited to join the study by the researcher. All

participants were informed about their participation was voluntary, they could leave the study whenever they want, and their responses would be kept safely and anonymously. There was a prize draw of 200 TRY (approximately 50£). To sustain anonymity, participants were asked to provide their emails on a separate paper then the survey form to join the prize draw. For the online study, an external link was created for participants to put their emails, and it was not possible to match participants' email with their responses to the survey. After the data collection, the prize was given as promised.

Six hundred and five individuals started either the online or the paper-and-pencil questionnaire but 80 participants provided insufficient data for the current study, leaving a final sample of 525 respondents (252 men, 247 women, *M*age= 34.56 and *SD*age = 13.28; 412 online, 113 through paper-and-pencil)[2]. Majority of the participants were based in Istanbul (29.4%), Rize (12.3%), Ankara (8.9%), and Samsun (8.9%). Data collection took approximately one month between June and August 2016. Completion of the survey took approximately between 15-20 minutes.

Measures. Positive (α = .92) and negative (α = .82) contact were measured with three items each from the same scales used in Study 1, with the only difference that we specifically referred to 'Syrian immigrants' rather than 'immigrants'. It is important to acknowledge that Syrian immigrants are considered as refugees by legal terms.

Group-based anger was measured using four items asking participants to state to what extent they felt angry, resentful, furious, and displeased about the negative treatment and disadvantaged situation of Syrian immigrants on a 7-point scale (1, not

[2] There was no statistically significant difference of data collection method (online vs per-pen survey) on the mediator and dependent variable variables, $F(5, 508) = 1.172$, $p = .32$; Wilks' $\Lambda = .986$.

at all; 7, very much so, α = .82; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; van Zomeren et al., 2004).

The measures of outgroup identification (α = .92), empathy (α = .90), threat (α = .85), and intergroup anxiety (α = .96) were very similar to the one used in Study 1, but with that difference that we specifically referred to 'Syrian immigrants' and only used three instead of four items for anxiety.

Solidarity-based collective action intentions were measured with three items on a 7-point scale (1 = very unlikely; 7 = very likely) asking respondents about their possible intentions to engage in the following activities in the near future, "Participate in demonstrations showing support for Syrian immigrants", "Join a group of activists defending the rights of Syrian immigrants", and "Donating food, money, clothes to Syrian immigrants" (α = .87).

Results and Discussion

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations between all variables are shown in Table 3. Positive contact was positively, and negative contact was negatively correlated with solidarity-based collective action. Outgroup identification, group-based anger and empathy were positively correlated, while anxiety and threat were negatively correlated with solidarity-based collective action. The pattern of correlations was thus similar as in Study 1, with the exception that intergroup anxiety correlated significantly with solidarity-based collective action in Study 2 but not in Study 1. As in Study 1, positive and negative contact were not significantly related to each other. Testing the assumption of collinearity indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern.[3]

[3] Positive contact, Tolerance = .69, VIF = 1.46; Negative contact, Tolerance = .81, VIF = 1.24; Empathy, Tolerance = .91, VIF = 1.09; Group-based anger, Tolerance = .91, VIF = 1.10; Outgroup identification, Tolerance = .54, VIF = 1.84;

Table 3

Study 2: Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables.

	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Positive contact	2.01 (1.24)	-						
2. Negative contact	2.34 (1.38)	-.01	-					
3. Outgroup identification	2.65 (1.63)	.48***	-.27***	-				
4. Group-based anger	3.99 (1.78)	.11*	.01	.08	-			
5. Empathy	4.60 (1.50)	.20***	-.11*	.20***	.15***	-		
6. Threat	5.18 (1.73)	-.37***	.26***	-.57***	-.02	-.18***	-	
7. Anxiety	3.47 (1.88)	-.32***	.34***	-.37***	.18***	-.11**	.47***	-
8. Collective action	3.29 (1.59)	.49***	-.26***	.61***	.12**	.33***	-.49***	-.45***

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

To test the hypothesized model, Structural Equation Modelling was used with latent scores in Mplus version 6, using the observed items as indicators for all latent constructs (see Figure 3). The model fit of the measurement model was good, $\chi^2(224) = 450.869$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .044; SRMR = .041; CFI = .977. The model included all paths from positive and negative contact to the mediating variables as well as to solidarity-based collective action, and from the mediators to solidarity-based collective action.

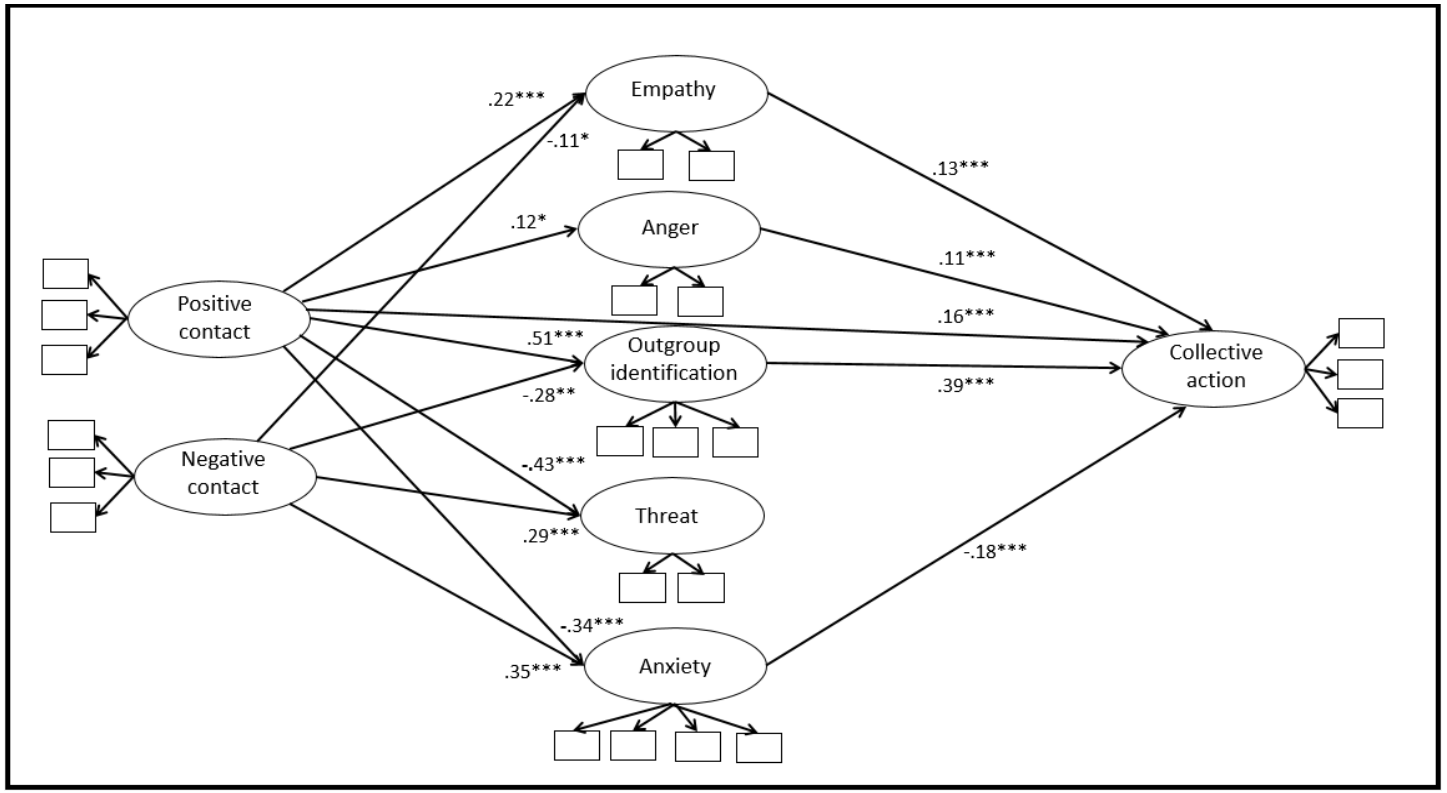

Figure 3. Results (standardized coefficients) of Study 2 showing the associations of positive and negative contact with affective and identity-based processes, and solidarity-based collective action intentions.

Note. Non-significant paths are not shown. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

As in Study 1, positive contact was positively and significantly associated with outgroup identification (β = .51, [.44, .58]), outgroup empathy (β = .22, [.14, .31]), group-based anger (β = .12, [.02, .21]), and negatively, significantly associated with threat (β = -.43, [-.50, -.35]), and intergroup anxiety (β = -.34, [-.42, -.26]). Negative contact was significantly and negatively associated with outgroup identification (β = -.28, [.36, .20]), and empathy (β = -.11, [-.19, -.02]), and positively associated with threat (β = .29, [.21, .38]), anxiety (β = .35, [.27, .43]). In this study, also the path from negative contact to empathy was significant, but not the path from negative contact to group-based anger (β = .04, [-.05, .13]).

Similarly to Study 1, outgroup identification (β = .39, [.29, .49]), empathy (β = .13, [.06, .20]) and anger (β = .11, [.03, .18]) were significantly associated with solidarity-based collective action, and also intergroup anxiety (β = -.18, [-.27, -.10]) was a significant predictor of solidarity-based collective action, but threat was not (β = -.10, [-.21, .01]).

Positive contact still had a significant direct positive association with collective action even when all five mediator variables were included in the model (β = .16, [.07, .25]). The direct path from negative contact to collective action was not significant (β = .02, [-.06, .10]).

Estimating the indirect associations between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action showed a total indirect effect, β = .35, [.29, .41], which was mainly the result of the specific indirect associations through outgroup identification, intergroup anxiety, and empathy (see Table 4). Also negative contact showed a significant total indirect effect on solidarity-based collective action (β = -.21, [-.27, -.16]) with significant specific indirect associations through outgroup identification and intergroup anxiety. The model explained 52% of variance in collective action,

34% in outgroup identification, 6% in outgroup empathy, 2% in group-based anger, 27% in perceived threat, and 24% in intergroup anxiety.

Table 4

Study 2: Standardized total, direct, and indirect effects of positive and negative contact on solidarity-based collective action.

	Positive contact			Negative contact		
	β *(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs	β *(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs
Total effect	.507 (.036)	< .001	.436, .577	-.195 (.005)	< .001	-.274, -.116
Direct effect	.158 (.045)	<.001	.070, .246	.019 (.040)	.632	-.059, .097
Indirect effect	.348 (.031)	< .001	.287, .410	-.214 (.029)	< .001	-.270, -.158
Via outgroup identification	.201 (.030)	< .001	.143, .260	-.109 (.021)	< .001	-.151, -.067
Via anger	.013 (.007)	.057	.001, .026	.004 (.005)	.443	-.006, .014
Via empathy	.029 (.010)	.004	.009, .048	-.014 (.007)	.053	-.027, .001
Via threat	.043 (.024)	.080	-.005, .091	-.030 (.017)	.085	-.064, .004
Via anxiety	.063 (.017)	<.001	.030, .096	-.065 (.018)	< .001	-.100, -.031

Conclusion

Both Study 1 and 2 showed that positive contact was positively and negative contact was negatively associated with solidarity-based collective action intentions. These results are consistent with the previous research (Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). Findings of these two studies extend our knowledge by replicating the role of both positive and negative contact on predicting solidarity-based collective action intentions.

Findings of Study 1 and 2 suggest that the relationship between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action is not only restricted to Western countries which are politically and economically stable. These two studies are important because they provide information about the generalizability of these associations in economically and politically less stable countries like Greece and Turkey.

These two studies also extended previous knowledge about contact and solidarity-based collective action by examining potential mediator roles of five variables. In sum, the results of Study 2 largely replicated the findings of Study 1 regarding the mediating role of outgroup identification and empathy in the association between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action. In both studies, lower outgroup identification, but not empathy, also played a key role for the association between negative contact and solidarity-based collective action. Furthermore, both studies showed that threat did not emerge as particularly important beyond the other variables included in the model.

The role of group-based anger was less clear in Study 2 as compared to Study 1, with weaker indirect effects for positive contact, and no significant indirect effect for negative contact through group-based anger.

Lastly, in the Turkish sample (Study 2) but not in the Greek sample, intergroup anxiety significantly mediated the associations of both positive and negative contact with solidarity-based collective action. In sum, the results of Study 2 highlight the importance of both affective and identity-based processes in the associations between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action but also illustrates that there may be some context dependency in these relationships.

Contact and collective action means were higher towards immigrants (in Study 1) compared to refugees (in Study 2). This might be due to people having more positive attitudes towards immigrants compared to refugees. This study did not investigate or compared attitudes towards refugees and immigrants side by side. Future studies may want to examine whether people evaluate immigrants more than positively refugees.

Study 1 and 2 are limited due to their cross-sectional nature. In the next chapter, a longitudinal study investigates the relationship between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action to determine change over time and examine opposite directional relations. Chapter 3 also examines the longitudinal mediation associations of outgroup identification, outgroup empathy, group-based anger, outgroup threat and intergroup anxiety.

Chapter 3. Longitudinal Associations between Intergroup Contact and Solidarity-Based Collective Action: Examining Longitudinal Mediation Effects

Study 3

Even though highly informative, the cross-sectional nature of the findings of Studies 1 and 2 does not allow for causal interpretations of the associations. Social psychological research on collective action has relied predominantly on cross-sectional survey research, with only one published study that investigated the associations between intergroup contact and collective action intentions over time (i.e., Reimer et al., 2017). Furthermore, although previous research examined the mediation role of identification, outgroup empathy, and group-based anger in cross-sectional studies (Reimer et al., 2017, Study 1; Selvanathan et al., 2017), according to my knowledge, this study is the first to examine longitudinal mediating roles of affective and identity-based processes in solidarity-based collective action intentions context.

Some of the observed associations in Studies 1 and 2 can be at least partly explained by the possibility that engaging (or the intention to engage) in more solidarity-based collective action influences the process variables (i.e., leading to stronger outgroup identification, more outgroup empathy), but also likely increases positive intergroup contact experiences. Moreover, because of contextual and temporal changes in factors such as threat it is plausible that the contact-threat linkages and their causal relations to other outcomes may vary, as outlined by Abrams and Eller's (2017) temporally integrated model of intergroup contact and threat (TIMICAT). Therefore, conducting a longitudinal study is critical to establish a clearer indication of the possible direction (and possible bi-directionality) of the

associations between the variables. Therefore, Study 3 is a longitudinal panel study with three waves of data collection to test the direct and indirect associations of positive and negative intergroup contact with solidarity-based collective action through the affective mediators and outgroup identification over time. Longitudinal studies are superior to cross-sectional studies for testing mediation models (see Cole & Maxwell, 2003) and give a better indication of the direction of the relationships, but it should be acknowledged that only experimental studies allow for causal interpretations of the findings.

In this study, I test these hypotheses in a different context by focusing on British nationals' solidarity-based collective action intentions with immigrants. The UK has a high number of immigrants with estimated 14% of the whole population that were born abroad, and a steady increase of foreign-born residents between 2015 and 2016 (Office for National Statistics, 2018). The current political climate makes the UK context a particularly interesting case to study intergroup relations. Indeed, following the 2016 Brexit referendum, there was a 57% increase in reported police incidents on hate crime against immigrants. However, there was also a solidarity movement to raise awareness towards hate incidents and the government is increasingly concerned to find ways to promote social integration between immigrant populations and the majority (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government [MHCLG], 2018). An important part of the approach is its advocacy of intergroup contact as a vehicle for promoting better intergroup relations. Therefore, the UK context is of special relevance to test my hypotheses.

Method

Procedure and participants. Respondents were recruited online using the crowdsource platform Prolific Academic. At Time 1 (March 2016), adult British

participants living in the UK were invited to participate in a study about attitudes towards immigrants and some social issues, and were invited again on two follow-up occasion with an interval of approximately 3-4 months between each response times between June and July 2016 (Time 2), and December 2016 (Time 3). Only participants having Caucasian ethnicity as indicated by their responses in the standard Prolific Academic pre-screening questions were invited to participate in the study. At Time 1, 603 respondents participated in the study (228 men, 247 women, 5 missing, *M*age= 34.10 and *SD*age = 11.43) with 70.72% also participating at Time 2 and 55.32% at Time 3.

Measures. Positive and negative contact and intergroup anxiety were measured each with 3 items used in Study 1. The scales measuring outgroup identification, group-based anger, and perceived threat, were the same as the scales used in Study 1.Outgroup empathy was measured with three items including the two items of Study 1 and the following additional item: "I often feel empathy with the immigrant community". Solidarity-based collective action intentions was measured in the same way as in Study 2. The target outgroup in the measures were 'immigrants'. All measures showed adequate internal reliability (αs > .76) [4] on all measurement occasions[5].

Results and Discussion

Preliminary data analyses. First, I checked whether the participants who dropped out from Time 1 to Time 2 and to Time 3, exhibited significant differences in any of the key variables at Time 1 as compared to the participants who did not

[4] Table A2 in Appendix A.2. presents all means, standard deviations, and scale reliabilities for each time points of Study 3.
[5] The tables in Appendix A.4. (Table A4, A5, and A6) present all correlations between the variables of Study 3 within and across Time points.

drop out. For all variables except one, no significant differences were revealed, *Fs*(1,603) > 1.147, *ps* > .285 (Time 1 to Time 2) and *Fs*(1,603) > 3.53, *ps* > .07 (Time 1 to Time 3), respectively. For negative contact, the Time 1 scores were slightly higher for participants who dropped out at Time 2 as compared to the scores of participants who did not drop out at Time 2, *M* = 2.71, *SD* = 1.54 *vs M* = 2.20, *SD* = 1.16, *F*(1,603) = 19.08, *p* < .001, partial η^2 = .031. The Time 1 negative contact scores were also slightly higher for participants who dropped out at Time 3 as compared to the scores of participants who did not drop out at Time 3, *M* = 2.57, *SD* = 1.43 vs. *M* = 2.17, *SD* = 1.17, *F*(1,603) = 14.85, *p* < .001, partial η^2 = .02. Despite these significant differences, the effect sizes were small and only occurred for one out of eight variables. Therefore, it can be concluded that dropout had little meaningful effect relevant to subsequent analyses. Missing values were dealt with using Full Information Maximum Likelihood procedures in Mplus (version 6; Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017), retaining the full sample for the longitudinal analyses. Testing the assumption of collinearity with Time 1 variables indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern.[6]

Overview of latent analyses and longitudinal models. I used structural equation modelling with latent constructs in Mplus using robust maximum likelihood estimation, with the items serving as indicators for the latent constructs. The measurement models for each time point showed a good model fit, Time 1, χ^2 (181) = 536.649, *p* < .001, CFI = .962, RMSEA = .057, SRMR = .058; at Time 2, χ^2

[6] Positive contact, Tolerance = .63, VIF = 1.58; Negative contact, Tolerance = .73, VIF = 1.36; Empathy, Tolerance = .56, VIF = 1.77; Group-based anger, Tolerance = .44, VIF = 2.51; Outgroup identification, Tolerance = .41, VIF = 2.41; Perceived threat, Tolerance = .52, VIF = 1.90; Intergroup anxiety, Tolerance = .71, VIF = 1.41

(181) = 312.429, p < .001, CFI = .979, RMSEA = .041, SRMR = .051; and Time 3: χ^2 (181) = 368.962, p < .001, CFI = .966, RMSEA = .055, SRMR = .058.

Given the large number of variables for longitudinal analyses, I first systematically tested three-wave longitudinal mediation models separately for each of the assumed mediators in the associations between positive and negative contact and solidarity-based collective action. More specifically, in the first model (Model 1) only the longitudinal associations between positive and negative contact and solidarity-based collective action were tested. Next, in models 2 to 6, I subsequently included outgroup identification (Model 2), outgroup empathy (Model 3), group-based anger (Model 4), threat (Model 5), and intergroup anxiety (Model 6) in addition to positive and negative contact and solidarity-based collective action. Finally, I tested a more extensive mediation model (Model 7) only including those mediator variables that were found to play a meaningful mediation role when tested separately. All these models included the latent factors of the variables from all three-time points and tested all the paths from Time 1 to Time 2 variables and from Time 2 to Time 3 variables. Within each wave, the variables were allowed to be correlated (Time 1) or the residuals were allowed to covary (Time 2 and 3). As such, the stability of all variables over time (i.e., auto-regressive effects) as well as for the cross-sectional associations within each time were controlled. Moreover, this approach allowed me to test simultaneously for, on the one hand, the longitudinal associations of the contact variables with the mediators and solidarity-based collective action intentions, and on the other hand, the longitudinal associations of solidarity-based collective action intentions with the mediators and contact variables. Longitudinal mediation would be demonstrated if intergroup contact at Time 1

longitudinally predicted solidarity-based collective action at Time 3, through one or more mediators at Time 2 (see also Swart et al., 2011).

For all the models I also first established whether the measurement models could be considered sufficiently equal across time points by constraining the factor loadings of parallel indicators to be equal across time points (i.e., longitudinal measurement invariance, Byrne, Shavelson, & Muthén, 1989; Little, Preacher, Selig, & Card, 2007; see also Onraet, Dhont, & van Hiel, 2014; Swart et al., 2011). Furthermore, the paths from T2 to T3 to be equal to the paths from T1 to T2 were constrained (i.e., establishing stationarity; Cole & Maxell, 2003; see model comparisons in Table A1 in Appendix). Fit indices showed that all models had an adequate model fit (Table 5).

Table 5

Study 3: Summary of model fits.

Model	Model fit
1	χ^2 (292) = 610.611, CFI = .968, RMSEA = .043, SRMR = .079
2	χ^2 (541) = 1229.64, CFI = .953, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .079
3	χ^2 (443) = 1192.16, CFI = .940, RMSEA = .053, SRMR = .087
4	χ^2 (541) = 1329.32, CFI = .939, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .087
5	χ^2 (443) = 1076.45, CFI = .950, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .076
6	χ^2 (541) = 1240.81, CFI = .950, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .075
7	χ^2 (1156) = 2661.77, CFI = .927, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .089

Note. CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root-mean-square residual.

Longitudinal model results. The first model (Model 1), with only positive contact, negative contact and collective action, showed that positive contact longitudinally predicted solidarity-based collective action (*B* = .054, [.001, .108]) and, interestingly, also the reverse path was significant (*B* = .092, [.038, .146]). In other words, those with more positive contact experiences showed a stronger intention to participate in solidarity-based collective actions several months later (see Figure 4). However, also the ones with stronger intentions to participate in solidarity-based collective action indicated to have more positive contact several months later, indicating a bi-directional relation between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action. Furthermore, negative contact did not predict any of the variables and was not predicted by any of the other variables. The model explained 53% of variance in collective action at Time 2 and 54% at Time 3, 47% of

variance in positive contact at Time 2 and 47% at Time 3, 54% at Time 3, 42% of variance in negative contact at Time 2 and 32% at Time 3.

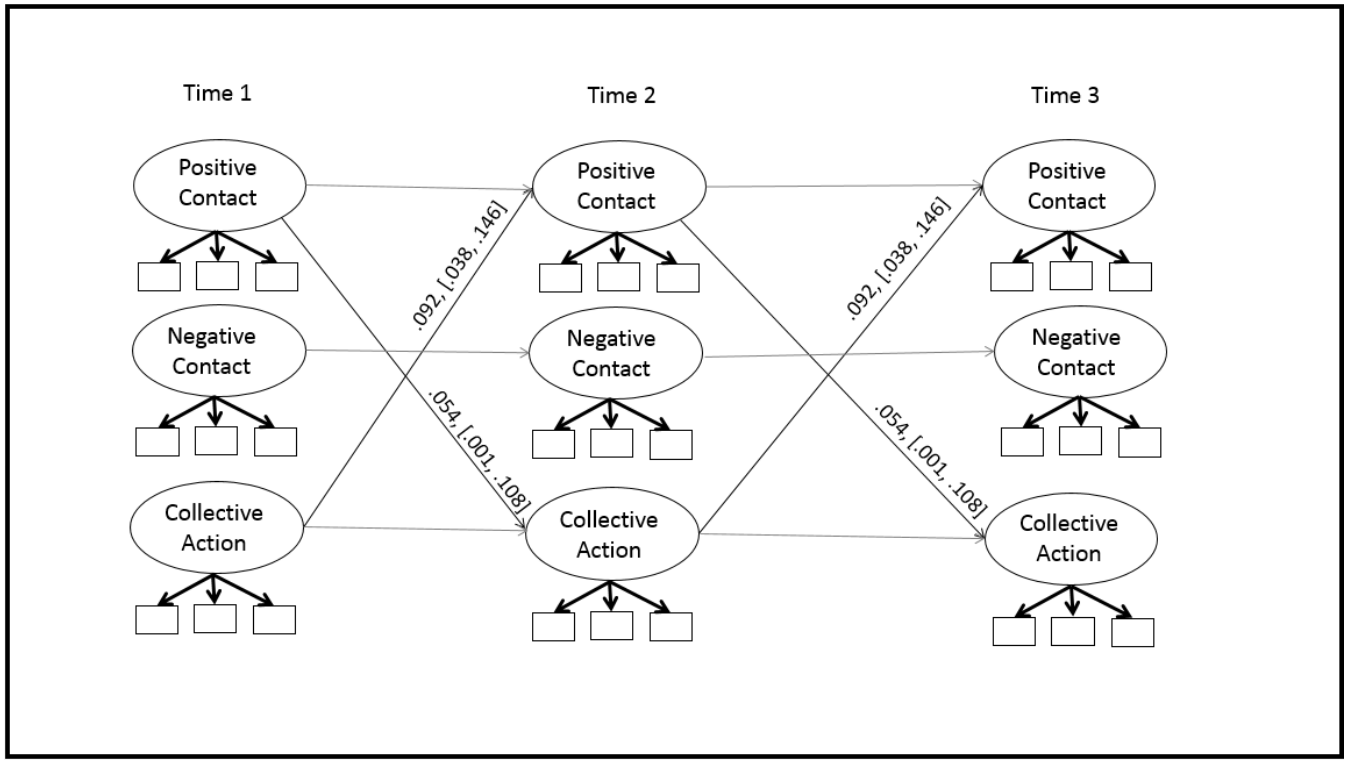

Figure 4. Study 3: Longitudinal model (Model 1) testing the associations between positive and negative contact and solidarity-based collective action.

Note: All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50

Model 2 tested the mediating role of outgroup identification (Figure 5). As expected, positive contact longitudinally predicted outgroup identification, which in turn predicted solidarity-based collective action. Furthermore, there was a significant indirect effect from positive contact at Time 1 to solidarity-based collective action at Time 3, via outgroup identification at Time 2 (B = .014, [.002, .026]), confirming the longitudinal mediation effect of outgroup identification. Negative contact, however, did not show any significant longitudinal association with other variables in the model. The model explained 59% of variance in collective action at Time 2 and 55% at Time 3, 49% of variance in positive contact at Time 2, 48% at Time 3, and 54% at Time 3, 41% of variance in negative contact at Time 2 and 32% at Time 3, 59% of variance in outgroup identification at Time 2 and 65% at Time 3.

Interestingly, also the longitudinal association from solidarity-based collective action to outgroup identification was significant, which in turn, was related to higher levels of positive contact. The longitudinal results of Model 2 are thus in line with the cross-sectional results of Studies 1 and 2, but also emphasize the idea that greater intentions to join solidarity-based collective action predicts more positive contact over time.

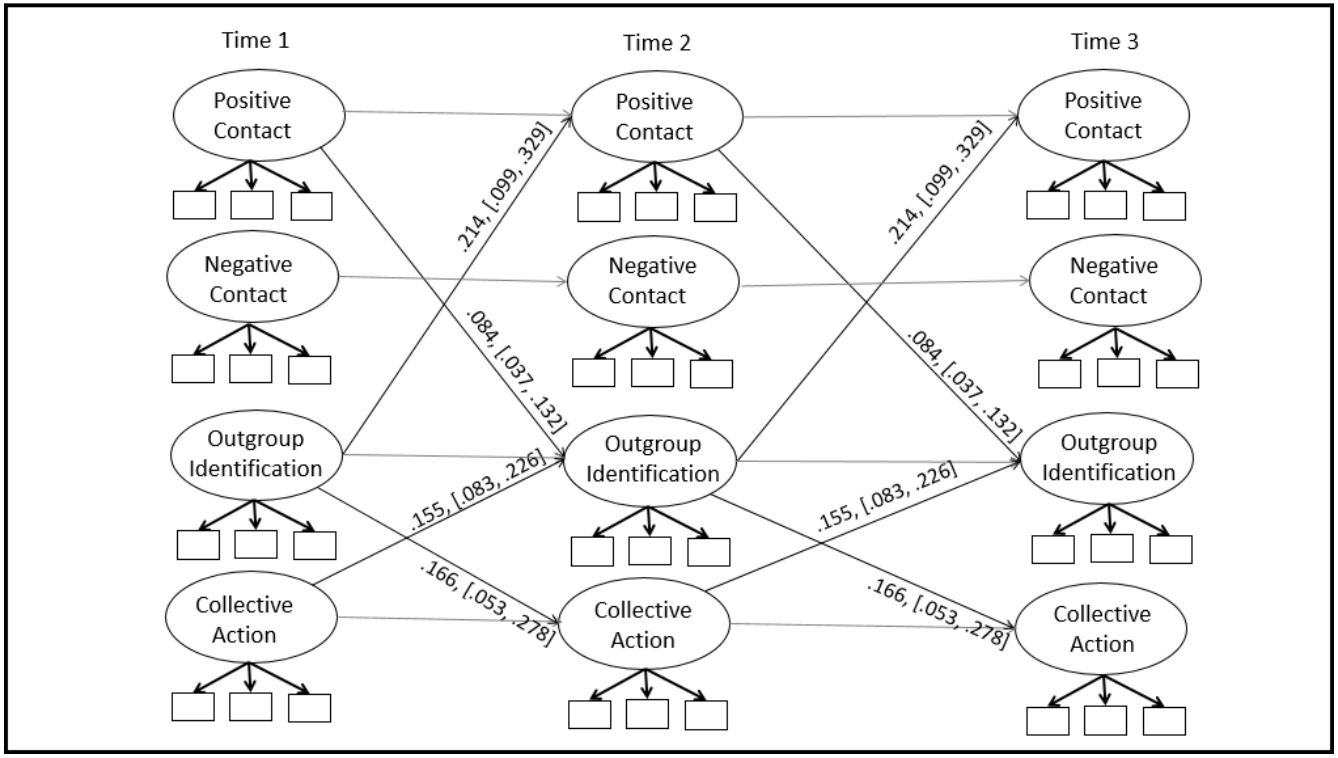

Figure 5. Study 3: Longitudinal mediation model (Model 2) testing the associations between contact, solidarity-based collective action, and outgroup identification.

Note. All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50.

In the next model, I tested group-based anger, (Model 3, Figure 6). As predicted, group-based anger longitudinally predicted solidarity-based collective action, yet positive contact only had a weak non-significant association with group-based anger. This resulted in a weak, marginally significant mediation effect of group-based anger at Time 2 between positive contact at Time 1 and collective action at Time 3, (*B* = .011, [-.001, .023]). Yet the reverse path from group-based anger to positive contact was significant. Additionally, group-based anger significantly negatively predicted negative contact over time, but the reverse path was not significant. The model explained 59% of variance in collective action at Time 2 and 56% at Time 3, 48% of variance in positive contact at Time 2 and 48% at Time 3, 42% of variance in negative contact at Time 2 and 33% at Time 3, 61% of variance in group-based anger at Time 2 and 71% at Time 3.

Model 4 showed that positive contact also predicted outgroup empathy over time (Figure 7), which in turn, predicted solidarity-based collective action, resulting in a significant indirect effect of positive contact at Time 1 to solidarity-based collective action at Time 3 through empathy at Time 2 (*B* = .013, *p* = .020, [.002, .024]). The reverse longitudinal path, from solidarity-based collective action to empathy, was also significant. Furthermore, empathy predicted positive contact positively and negative contact negatively. As with the previous models, negative contact did not have any significant association with any of the variables. The model explained 58% of variance in collective action at Time 2 and 56% at Time 3, 48% of variance in positive contact at Time 2 and 47% at Time 3, 41% of variance in negative contact at Time 2 and 32% at Time 3, 62% of variance in outgroup empathy at Time 2 and 59% at Time 3.

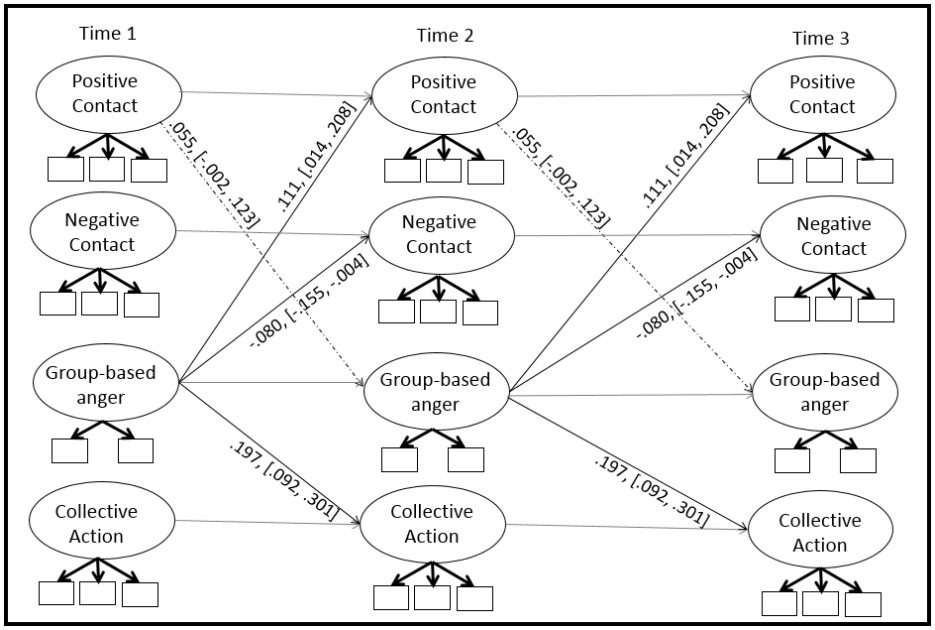

Figure 6. Study 3: Longitudinal mediation model (Model 3) testing the associations between contact, solidarity-based collective action, and group-based anger.

N*ote.* All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Marginally significant paths are shown as dashed lines. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50.

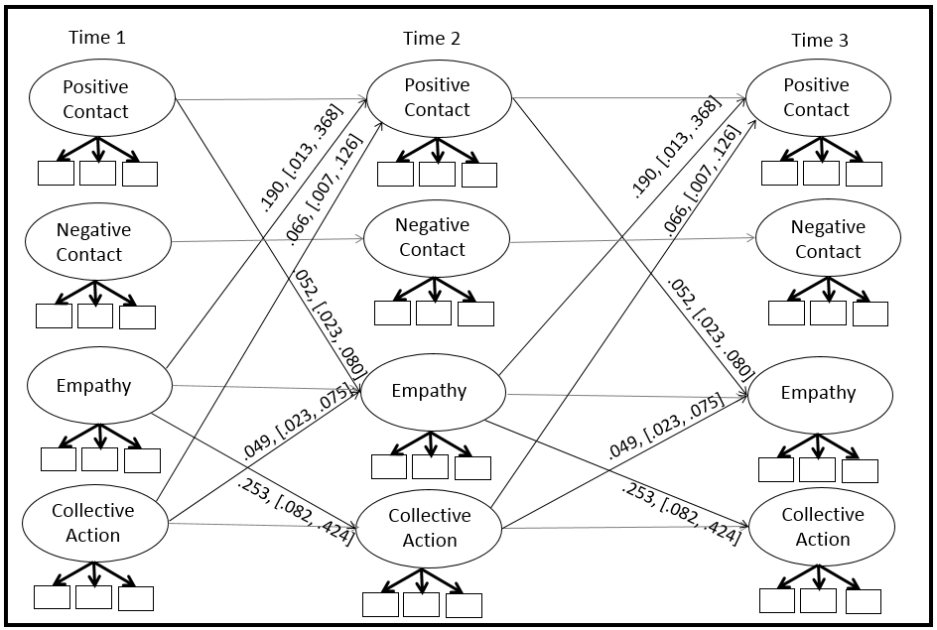

Figure 7. Study 3: Longitudinal mediation model (Model 4) testing the associations between contact, solidarity-based collective action, and empathy.

Note: All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50.

Testing a model with threat (Model 5) revealed no significant longitudinal associations of positive and negative contact with outgroup threat (Figure 8). However, threat had a negative, longitudinal associations with both positive contact and collective action as well as a positive associations with negative contact. The reverse path of collective action to threat was not significant. The model explained 58% of variance in collective action at Time 2 and 55% at Time 3, 48% of variance in positive contact at Time 2 and 48% at Time 3, 43% of variance in negative contact at Time 2 and 35% at Time 3, 75% of variance in threat at Time 2 and 84% at Time 3.

Model 6 showed that positive and negative contact longitudinally related to intergroup anxiety, yet anxiety did not have a significant longitudinal association with collective action (B = .025, [-.052, .102], Figure 9). Anxiety only predicted negative contact over time. All other cross-lagged paths were not significant. The model explained 57% of variance in collective action at Time 2 and 55% at Time 3, 48% of variance in positive contact at Time 2 and 47% at Time 3, 42% of variance in negative contact at Time 2 and 33% at Time 3, 33% of variance in intergroup anxiety at Time 2 and 33% at Time 3.

In sum, based on the results of these six models, I found supporting evidence for the longitudinal associations of positive contact with solidarity-based collective action, whereas no significant associations were found for negative contact, besides the longitudinal association with intergroup anxiety. Furthermore, consistent with the cross-sectional evidence from Study 1 and 2, both outgroup identification and empathy emerged as key process variables, and a lesser role of group-based anger, in the association between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action. Given that intergroup anxiety and threat were either not predicted by the contact variables

or did not predict solidarity-based collective action, I no longer considered them in a fuller model.

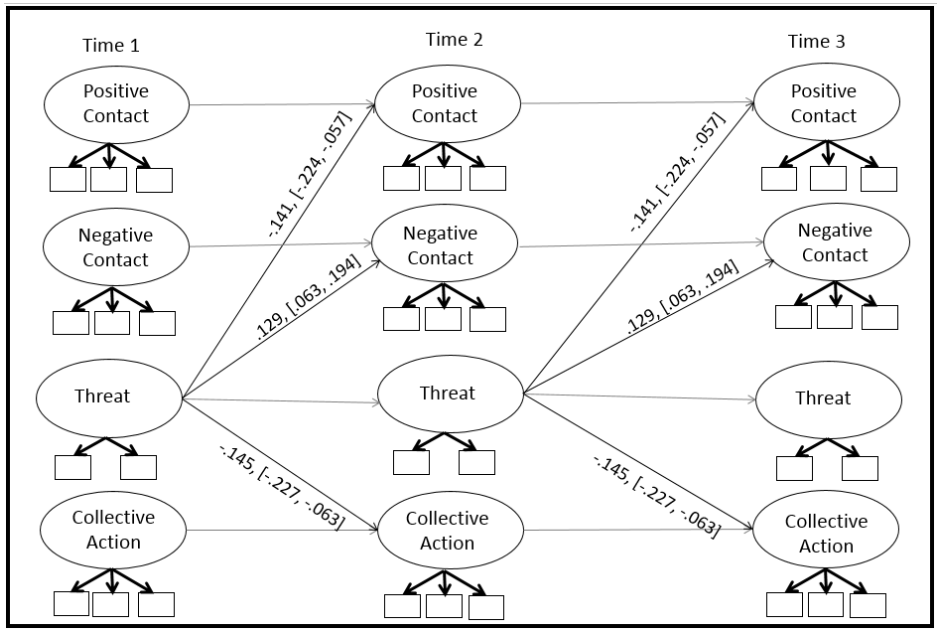

Figure 8. Study 3: Longitudinal mediation model (Model 5) testing the associations between positive contact, solidarity-based collective action, and threat.

Note. All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50.

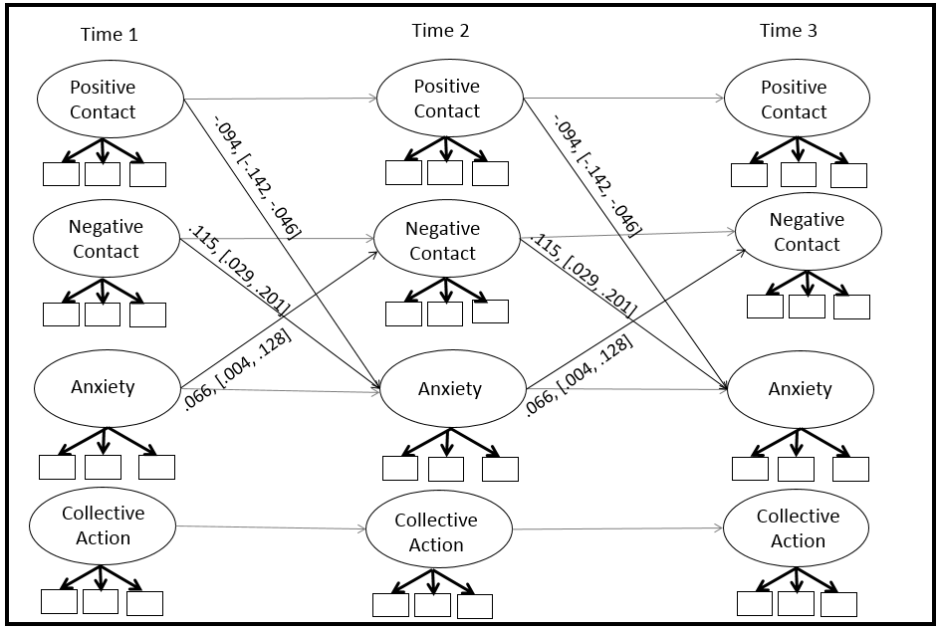

Figure 9. Study 3: Longitudinal mediation model (Model 6) testing the associations between contact, solidarity-based collective action, and intergroup anxiety.

Note. All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50.

When tested separately, outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger were all predicted by positive contact, and all three variables were positively related to solidarity-based collective action in the three studies. Despite some conceptual differences between these variables, and coming from different theoretical backgrounds, outgroup empathy, group-based anger, and outgroup identification are very closely related and may, therefore, overlap in the explained variance in solidarity-based collective action. Because of these similarities, it can be argued that there is conceptual overlap between the variables, with all three being part of a broader psychological construct, which I call *shared goal orientation.* This new overarching construct, *shared goal orientation,* includes affective and identity-based aspects. A factor analysis statistically supported the idea of combining these three variables as shared goal orientation. More specifically, entering the items of the mediators in a principal axis factor analysis with Direct Oblimin rotation showed two factors in which outgroup identification, group-based anger, and empathy loaded on one factor while threat loaded on a separate factor and explained 61.21% of the variance (see factor loadings in Appendix Table A3). After this, a confirmatory factor analysis was performed modelling shared goal orientation as higher-order latent factor indicated by the latent constructs of empathy, group-based anger, and outgroup solidarity on a separate adult sample from the UK (N = 342 British adults)[7]. It showed a good model fit χ^2 (32) = 90.122, $p < .001$, CFI = .972, RMSEA = .073, SRMR = .028, supporting the overarching concept of shared goal orientation.

Therefore, the final model (Model 7) combined these three variables, outgroup identification, empathy, and anger as one latent factor as shared goal

[7] This sample included 224 women, 95 men, and 1 respondent indicated 'other' as gender; M_{age}= 27.45, SD_{age} = 10.58

orientation (Figure 10). Positive contact, but not negative contact longitudinally predicted shared goal orientation, which in turn, longitudinally predicted solidarity-based collective action. Critically, there was a significant longitudinal mediation effect from positive contact at Time 1 to collective action at Time 3 through shared goal orientation at Time 2, (B = .011, p = .038, [.001, .022]). Furthermore, shared goal orientation longitudinally predicted more positive contact but had no significant association with negative contact. In other words, people who had more positive contact with immigrants identified and empathized more with this group, and also felt angrier about their situation. This, in turn, predicted their intentions to engage in solidarity-based collective action. Similarly, also solidarity-based collective action predicted shared goal orientation over time. The model explained 79% of variance in collective action at Time 2 and 79% at Time 3, 49% of variance in positive contact at Time 2 and 48% at Time 3, 42% of variance in negative contact at Time 2 and 32% at Time 3, 62% of variance in shared goal orientation at Time 2 and 72% at Time 3.

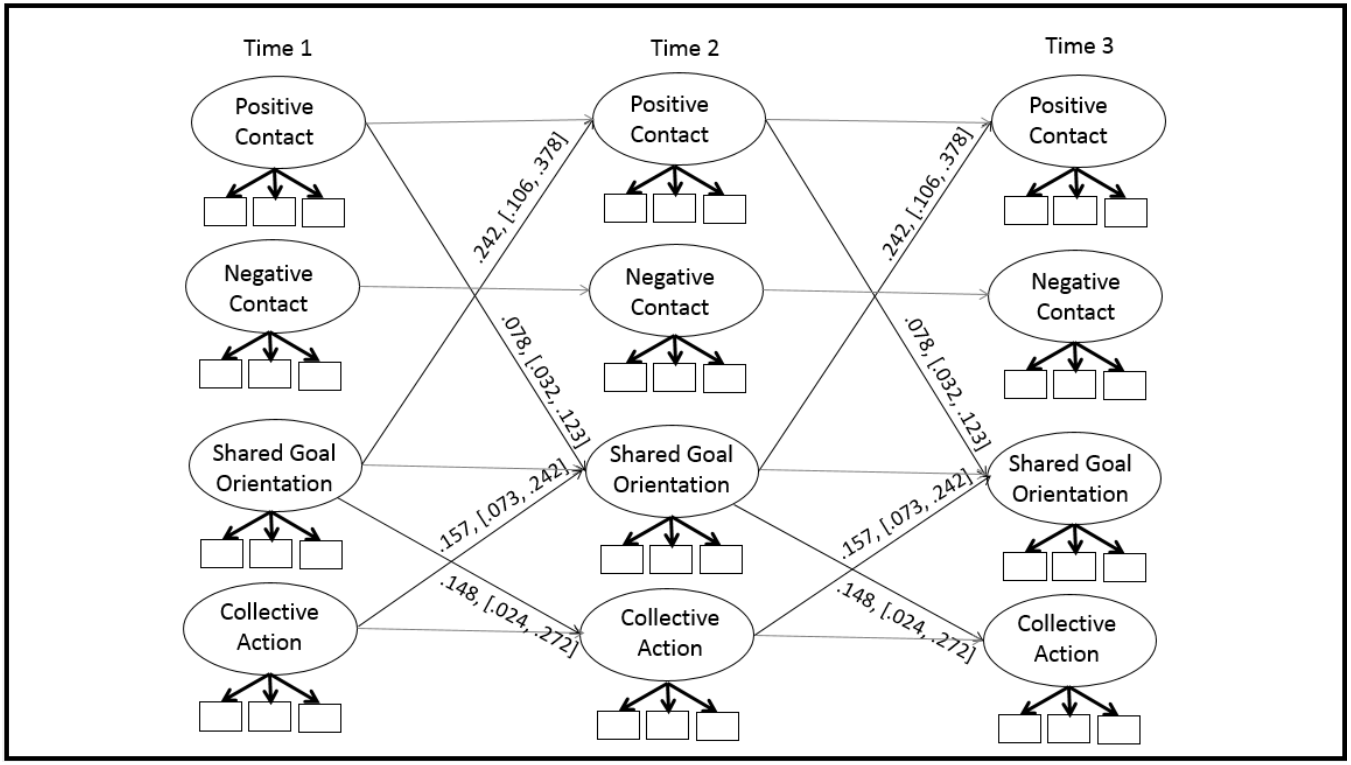

Figure 10. Study 3: Longitudinal model (Model 7) testing the associations from contact to solidarity-based collective action via shared goal orientation.

Note. All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Shared goal orientation represents a latent factor based on outgroup identification, group-based anger, and outgroup empathy. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50.

Conclusion

Based on the results of a three-wave longitudinal survey, I found supporting evidence for the role of positive contact on more solidarity-based collective action intentions. However, the reverse path was also significant: more solidarity-based collective intentions also predicted more positive contact over time. This result is important because it suggests that collective action does not necessarily have to be the end product. In other words, once people join solidarity-based collective action, they might be more willing to look for positive contact opportunities with disadvantaged outgroup members in the future.

Negative contact, on the other hand, did not show a significant longitudinal association with solidarity-based collective action. These results are complementary with recent research that found positive, but not negative contact to be linked to support for solidarity-based collective action in the context of the LGB (Reimer et al., 2017) and Black Lives Matter movements (see also Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). As a novel finding, this study extended these findings to a different context, solidarity with immigrants in the UK.

One of the most important contributions of this study was testing for longitudinal mediation roles of the proposed affective and identity-based variables. Both outgroup identification and empathy emerged as key mediating variables, while group-based anger played a weaker role. On the other hand, intergroup anxiety and threat did not have longitudinal mediating roles.

Based on these findings, I tested the significant mediating processes together as a higher-order mediating construct that I named *shared goal orientation*. This new construct included outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger. These variables were strongly correlated with each other and loaded on the same factor in a

factor analysis. While including these three mediators as separate constructs led to unclear results due to construct overlap, the combined approach with *shared-goal orientation* showed a clear longitudinal mediation role for the associations between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action. This result suggests that when people have more positive contact with immigrants, they feel more empathy with immigrants, identify themselves with the immigrants more strongly, and feel angry towards the injustices they experience, which in turn leads to stronger willingness to join solidarity-based collective action.

Combining the three variables in one overarching construct does not rule out the possibility that the mediators may also be connected in a sequential mediation process. For instance, Selvanathan et al (2017) suggested that contact promotes more outgroup empathy which in turn increases group-based anger, and group-based anger heightens collective action intentions. Unfortunately, I was unable to test this possible sequential mediating process longitudinally, as this would require at least four waves of data collection. It is important to highlight, however, that according to my knowledge, this is the first study demonstrating the longitudinal affective and identity-based mediating processes for the relationship between contact and solidarity-based collective action.

There are three potential limitations of this study. First, I did not ask participants' actual collective action participation over time. It would be beneficial to take into account their actual collective action participation besides their intentions. Second, between the data collection of Time 1 and 2 the Brexit referendum took place. Some of the pro-leave campaigners spread negative misinformation about immigration in the UK before the referendum (Cooper, 2016). This misinformation might had play a negative role on participant's responses at Time 2 and 3. However,

I did not take into account of potential impact of the referendum result on participants' responses. Lastly, even though I only collected data from UK nationals with Caucasian ethnicity, I did not ask specifically if they have an immigrant background. People with immigrant background may have more positive opinions towards immigrants. Future studies could overcome these limitations by observing actual collective action behaviour, taking into account important social or political changes at the time of the study, and whether participants have an immigration background.

Next chapter further investigates these key processes but also focuses on *online* solidarity-based collective action. Furthermore, I test whether contact predicts collective action while controlling for another key predictor of collective action, group efficacy beliefs.

Chapter 4: Online and Offline Collective Action Intentions: The Role of Intergroup Contact and Efficacy Beliefs

In the previous chapters, I investigated the roles of positive and negative intergroup contact on solidarity-based collective action and the mediating roles of identity-based and affective processes. In this chapter, I extend the research focus by investigating the relations between intergroup contact (positive and negative contact) and both online and offline solidarity-based collective action. The aim is to identify the social psychological correlates of online and offline solidarity-based collective action. Furthermore, I investigate the role of group efficacy beliefs in the prediction of solidarity-based collective action and aim to provide more evidence for the importance of outgroup identification and emotion-based processes (group-based anger and empathy) as mediators of the associations between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action.

This chapter starts by summarizing the results of the studies reported in the previous chapters, then reviews the literature distinguishing between online and offline collective action participation. I discuss the associations between intergroup contact and group efficacy beliefs with both online and offline collective action, and examine the associations between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action in two different intergroup contexts: the UK and Thailand. More specifically, the previous studies focused on solidarity with refugees and immigrants in Greece, Turkey, and the UK. Because it is important to replicate previous findings in different contexts and in different samples to demonstrate the generalizability and robustness of the findings, the studies in this chapter were designed to test the replicability of the previous results by focusing on contact and solidarity with

different disadvantaged groups, namely Muslim individuals in the UK and Burmese immigrants in Thailand.

In the cross-sectional studies reported in Chapter 2, I found that respondents with more positive contact with immigrants and refugees were more inclined to participate in collective actions in support of immigrants and refugees. This relationship was partially mediated by more outgroup identification and empathy (Study 1, 2), group-based anger (Study 1, conducted in Greece), and reduced outgroup anxiety (Study 2, conducted in Turkey). With respect to negative contact, there was a negative total effect on solidarity-based collective action and this was fully mediated via decreased outgroup identification (for both Study 1 and 2), group-based anger (Study 1), and more outgroup anxiety (Study 2).

Chapter 3 further showed that positive contact increased solidarity-based collective action intentions over time. However, negative contact did not have a longitudinal association with collective action (Study 3). Furthermore, positive contact predicted 'shared goal orientation', an overarching latent construct combining outgroup identification, group-based anger, and empathy. Shared goal orientation also predicted collective action over time. Therefore, I established a longitudinal mediation role of shared goal orientation between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action (Study 3, conducted in the UK). No longitudinal evidence was found for the role of intergroup anxiety and threat as mediators between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action.

Taken together, the previous studies did not provide convincing evidence for the mediating role of outgroup anxiety and threat in the associations between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action. Therefore, outgroup anxiety and threat are not included any longer in the research described in the current

chapter. Instead, I focus on group-based anger, outgroup empathy, and outgroup identification.

The Role of Group Efficacy Beliefs.

Building on the findings from the previous chapters and extending the research scope, this chapter also introduces an additional, cognitive predictor of collective action, namely group efficacy beliefs. These are defined as the belief that group level problems can be successfully dealt with through collective efforts by group members (Bandura, 1997, 2000). Several studies suggested that group efficacy beliefs are a key motivator for engaging in both collective action to address a disadvantaged situation of one's ingroup (Grant, Abrams, Robertson, & Garay, 2015; Grant, Bennett, & Abrams, 2017; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Wright et al., 1990; for a review, van Zomeren et al., 2008) and collective action in solidarity with disadvantaged outgroups (Saab et al., 2015; Selvanathan et al., 2017; Stewart et al., 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2011). Hence, it is important to consider the role of group efficacy belief alongside intergroup contact in relation to collective action intentions. Indeed, irrespective of people's levels of contact with outgroup members, if people do not believe that they can change the situation of the disadvantaged groups through collective efforts, they may be less likely to take actions to join solidarity-based collective action. In this chapter, I extend the findings from the previous studies by testing the associations between group efficacy beliefs and collective action intention alongside the associations between intergroup contact and collective action intentions. Moreover, I consider these associations for two different types of collective action intentions: offline and online collective action.

As a next step, this thesis examines possible affective and identity-based mediating processes for the associations between cognitive factors, more specifically

efficacy beliefs, and solidarity-based collective action. Firstly, I suggest that outgroup identification might mediate the associations between group efficacy and collective action. Indeed, when people believe that they can change the disadvantaged situation of others with a group effort, they likely start identifying more with them because group efficacy can activate group identity (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2010) which in turn may increase their intentions to join solidarity-based collective action. If people think that they cannot improve the situation of the disadvantaged with collective effort, this might hinder them from identifying with the outgroup. Originally, the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) proposed the reverse association in which group identification predicts collective action both directly and indirectly via group efficacy beliefs (van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, van Zomeren et al. (2011) tested this idea among advantaged group members in two studies and found that outgroup identification and group efficacy, significantly predicted solidarity-based collective action tendencies, but did not obtain evidence that the association of outgroup identification would be mediated by group efficacy.

Also, other literature on identification and group efficacy does not offer a clear picture either. For example, Grant et al. (2017) showed that Scottish identity was associated with less belief in the Scottish belief in Scotland's future. Another study with skilled Canadian immigrants suggested that not identification with the disadvantaged ingroup (cultural identity), but identification with a superordinate Canadian identity was associated with more collective efficacy, which in turn predicted willingness to protest (Grant et al., 2015).

However, there is also some experimental evidence for the idea that efficacy beliefs predict identification (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2010), but so far, no

evidence has been found for the reverse path (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008, study 2). Given the mixed evidence, more research is clearly needed for the associations between group identification, efficacy beliefs and collective action. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, no studies have investigated these associations in the context of solidarity-based collective action.

Secondly, I also examine the potential mediating role of outgroup empathy for the associations between efficacy beliefs and collective action. Outgroup empathy is linked to outgroup altruism (e.g., Batson, 2011), and it is a well-studied mediator for the associations between contact and improved outgroup attitudes (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). The previous studies in this thesis showed that outgroup empathy also mediated the associations between contact and solidarity-based collective action (Studies 1, 2 and 3). According to collective action research, people make a cost-benefit analysis before joining collective action. If people think that collective effort would not help the disadvantaged group members, they might think that the injustice situation cannot be changed. Such beliefs might prevent them to empathise with the disadvantaged because this can be psychologically demanding (see Zaki, 2014) and they may not want to invest psychological resources if they perceive the situation as intractable. Contrary, if people think that disadvantaged outgroup members' situation can be improved with collective effort, they might choose to empathise with the disadvantaged because they believe their group can make a difference, which can promote their solidarity-based collective action motivation.

Lastly, I also suggest that group efficacy beliefs might predict group-based anger, which in turn might predict solidarity-based collective action. Previous research on collective action considered efficacy beliefs and anger as key variables,

but independent predictors of collective action (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004). It is important to note that these studies focused on the perspective of disadvantaged group members. Group-based anger and efficacy processes might play slightly different roles for predicting solidarity-based collective action among advantaged group members. Believing that injustices towards the outgroup members can be decreased by collective effort might make the injustices more active in the mind, and this could make the advantaged group members feel more angry towards the injustices, which in turn could motivate them to join solidarity-based collective action. In other words, I propose that besides outgroup identification and empathy, also group-based anger mediates the association between group efficacy beliefs and solidarity-based collective action. One may argue that it is also possible that feelings of anger lead to more group efficacy beliefs. Therefore, this study also tests possible alternative models.

Online and Offline Solidarity-based Collective Action

Collective action can be defined as any action by a group to advocate for a specific viewpoint or ideology or engage in a political struggle with another group (Brunsting & Postmes, 2002). When advantaged group members join an action to support one or more other groups that are in a disadvantaged situation, this type of action is called solidarity-based collective action (Saab et al., 2015). In this digital era, protests are not limited to traditional street demonstrations and marches anymore. Indeed, the internet has become a critical tool to advertise and invite people to online political action. Prototypical examples of online protest are signing an online petition, using social media to promote a political movement, and writing mass emails to official bodies. Participating in online collective action is less costly in terms of time and money and it can reach thousands of people through email and

social media with little effort. Organising online campaigns typically provides an easily accessible opportunity to raise awareness about an issue in a peaceful and fairly passive way (Bimber, 2000).

This distinctive aspect of online actions means that the motivators of online collective action could work differently than offline collective action. For example, online action provides the comfort of joining a movement from a safe desk, interact with others through social media, and a greater chance to stay anonymous if wanted. Despite the vast number of studies on collective action (Haslam, 2001; Klandermans, 1984, 1997; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008), few empirical studies have examined predictors of both online and offline collective action simultaneously. One exception is the work by Brunsting and Postmes (2002) who suggested that different psychological factors may be related to different types of collective action. They conducted an online survey among members of an environmental activist group in the Netherlands and asked how often they participated both online (e.g. signing digital petitions and writing e-mails) and offline (participating in demonstrations and sabotage actions) versions of collective action. Even though they did not find substantial differences between the predictors of offline and online collective action, they argued that cognitive variables such as efficacy beliefs may be more strongly related to online collective action because individuals can calculate risks and benefits more carefully before deciding to join collective action. For example, people are able to read detailed information on websites associated with the action, see how many others have already joined, and what they have achieved so far. Moreover, people are less likely to confront negative direct consequences online such as clashes with security forces. Brunsting and Postmes (2002) also found group identification to be a stronger predictor for offline

collective action in which people have more chances to have direct contact with other protesters. In another study, Postmes and Brunsting (2002) provided more evidence for this idea. Their survey asked participants how many times they partook both online and offline versions of the same collective action (e.g. signing online and offline petitions, and writing letters and emails) in the past year. They found that online collective action was more strongly related to perceived effectiveness while offline collective action was more strongly related to group identification. Given the limited number of studies, the question of whether motivators of offline and online collective action work differently not only requires more examination, but also an integrative approach that simultaneously tests the role of contact variables, efficacy beliefs, affective and identity variables.

No research to date appears to have investigated whether positive intergroup contact also promotes more online collective action as it does for offline collective action. Furthermore, there is a need to test the psychological processes mediating the relationship between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action. In other words, this chapter addresses the question of how positive contact may be distinctively related to more online and offline solidarity-based collective action with disadvantaged outgroups.

The Present Study

As a replication of the previous studies, I expect that positive contact and to a lesser extent, negative contact will be significantly related to solidarity-based offline collective action. Extending these findings, I further expect positive contact to be positively and negative contact to be negatively related to online solidarity-based collective action. I also expect that both affective (empathy and group-based anger) and identity-based processes will be positively correlated with both online and

offline collective action and to mediate the relationships between intergroup contact (positive and negative intergroup contact) and solidarity-based collective action (online and offline collective action). (see Figure 11, for a schematic representation of the model).

As the second set of research questions, this study examines the role of efficacy beliefs for both offline and online solidarity-based collective action. I hypothesise that affective and identity-based processes will mediate these relations. In other words, when people believe that they can change the disadvantaged situation of others collectively, they will feel angrier about their unjust situation, feel more empathy with them and have a sense of shared identity with them, which in turn predict more solidarity-based offline and online collective action. I expect predictors of offline and online solidarity-based to operate similarly. I also expect to see efficacy beliefs to be associated with both types of collective action but more closely related to online collective action as Brunsting and Postmes (2002) suggested.

These hypotheses are tested with two cross-sectional studies in two different countries: with non-Muslim adult British in the UK (Study 4) and non-Muslim adult Thais in Thailand (Study 5).

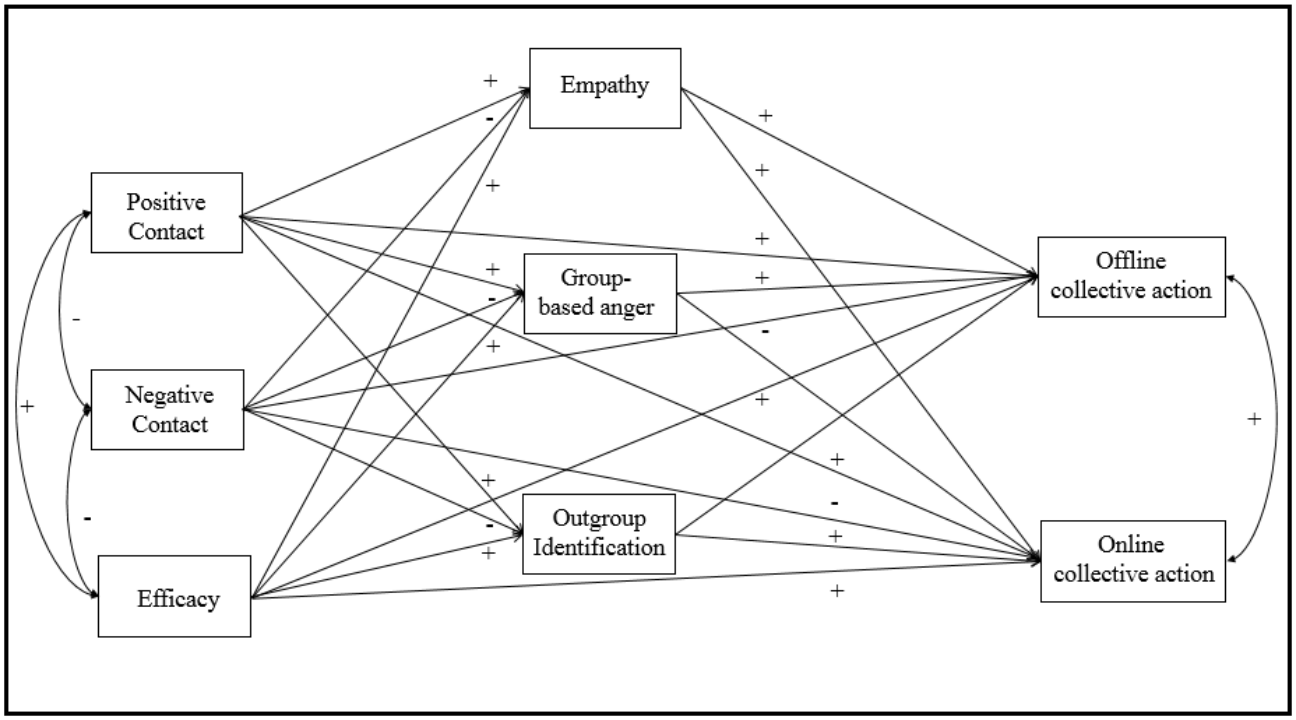

Figure 11. Schematic representation of the model tested in Studies 4 and 5: Efficacy beliefs, positive and negative contact are directly, and indirectly through empathy, group-based anger, and outgroup identification associated with both offline and online solidarity-based collective action. Predicted positive associations are shown with (+) and negative associations are shown with (-).

Study 4

The target outgroup of this study is Muslim individuals in the UK. Previous studies found that anti-Muslim prejudice is more common than prejudice against other ethnic or religious groups in Europe (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). It is important to focus on this target group because Muslims are the second largest religious group and constitute 4.8% of the population in UK (Office for National Statistics, 2015). Many Muslim individuals reported that prejudice against Muslims is increasing, especially among younger generations, a quarter of them said they experienced discrimination (Market and Opinion Research International [MORI], 2018). A survey in the UK showed that 70% of Muslims in the sample reported experiencing religion-based prejudice, and over thirty per cent of British adults expressed equal opportunities had gone 'too far' for immigrants (37%) and Muslims (33%) (Abrams, Swift, & Houston, 2018). There also seemed to be a rise of hate crimes against Muslims in England and Wales after the recent terrorist attacks on the Westminster Bridge (London) and in the Manchester Arena (The Guardian, 2017). Recently, there were harassments towards Muslim communities following a hate action movement called "Punish a Muslim day". However, many people responded to these threats with solidarity actions, such as "Love a Muslim" events, both in public streets and on social media (Belam, 2018).

This study examines positive and negative contact's role in predicting both online and offline solidarity-based collective action intentions. Potential mediating roles of affective and identity-based processes are also investigated. Furthermore, this study examines the associations between group efficacy beliefs and both collective action intentions variables. Also, potential mediating roles of affective and

identity-based processes are examined for the associations between efficacy beliefs and collective action intentions.

Method

Participants and procedure. Three hundred and forty-two participants took part in the study (224 women, 95 men, and 1 other, 22 not stated, M_{age}= 27.45, SD_{age} = 10.58, 77% of them were White UK/Irish). All of the participants were British and non-Muslim. Two undergraduate psychology students and the researcher collected data through snowball sampling by inviting their acquaintances and people from their wide social circles to participate in the study by completing an online survey. The survey was also advertised on social media, Facebook pages and groups, and Twitter with the aim to achieve a diverse sample in terms of age and educational background. The study was introduced as a study asking about their experiences with other social groups, such as Muslim communities in Britain and a number of other societal topics. The survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete.

Measures. Positive and negative contact items were measured using eight items (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009). Participants were asked how often they experienced specific interactions with Muslim individuals in Britain (1 = *Never*, 7 = *Very Often*). An example item for positive contact was "How often do you have pleasant contact with Muslim individuals" (α = .92), and for negative contact "How often have you had negative experiences with Muslim individuals?" (α = .89).

Group-based anger was measured with four items asking to what extent the participants felt angry, resentful, furious, and displeased (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Extremely*) about the negative treatment and disadvantaged situation of Muslims in England (α = .92; Mackie et al., 2000; van Zomeren et al., 2004).

For outgroup identification, empathy, efficacy beliefs measures, participants were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with a number of statements (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*). Outgroup identification was measured with three items adapted from Leach et al. (2008). An example item for outgroup identification was "I feel a bond with the Muslim communities in Britain" (α = .91). Empathy was measured with two items, adapted from Pedersen et al. (2004). "I can imagine how members of the Muslim communities in Britain must feel" (α = .83). Group efficacy beliefs were measured with three items adapted from van Zomeren et al. (2011). An example item was "I think together people from Britain can reduce discrimination against Muslims living here" (α = .95).

Participants completed 7 items to administer their intentions to participate in solidarity-based collective action. For all collective action items, participants were asked how likely they would engage in the stated actions in the future (1 = *Very unlikely*, 7 = *Very likely*). Offline collective action was measured with 4 items (α = .96). An example item was "Participate in demonstrations showing support for Muslims in Britain". Online collective action was measured with 3 items (α = .90). These items were: "Sign an online petition which asks authorities to improve Muslims' welfare in Britain", "Sign an online petition which asks authorities to improve Muslims' welfare in Britain", and "Ask your close friends to sign an online petition which wants authorities to improve Muslims' welfare".

Results

Zero-order correlations and descriptive statistics are presented in Table 6. As expected, positive contact was positively correlated with both offline and online solidarity-based collective action, while negative contact was negatively significantly correlated. Outgroup identification, empathy, group-based anger, and

efficacy beliefs were positively and strongly correlated with offline and online collective action.

Table 6.

Study 4: Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables.

	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Online collective action	4.51 (1.83)	-						
2. Offline collective action	3.24 (1.82)	.69***	-					
3. Positive contact	5.23 (1.53)	.46***	.34***	-				
4. Negative Contact	1.92 (1.12)	-.35***	-.24***	-.26***	-			
5. Outgroup identification	4.14 (1.56)	.67***	.59***	.52 ***	-.40***	-		
6. Group-based anger	4.20 (1.76)	.64***	.59***	.38***	-.33***	.67***	-	
7. Empathy	5.31 (1.15)	.66***	.51***	.44***	-.38***	.64***	.64***	-
8. Efficacy beliefs	5.59 (1.51)	.68***	.53***	.42***	-.47***	.68***	.65***	.71***

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

The high correlations between several of the variables may raise concerns about the construct validity and the possibility of multicollinearity between the variables (e.g., *rs* > .60). However, testing the collinearity assumption showed that multicollinearity was not a concern according to commonly accepted threshold values in the field (for all predictors and mediators the Tolerance values > .30 and VIF values < 3.00)[8].

Furthermore, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with the items of outgroup identification, group-based anger, empathy, and efficacy beliefs loading on their respective factors, showed a good model fit χ^2 (59) = 128.418, $p < .001$, CFI = .976, RMSEA = .059, SRMR = .034. These results suggest that these scales measure different concepts. A second CFA with the items of offline and online collective action also supported the construct validity of the two measures, χ^2 (13) = 25.672, $p < .001$, CFI = .991, RMSEA = .053, SRMR = .010, although it should be acknowledged that the two collective action factors were strongly correlated.

[8] Positive contact, Tolerance = .71, VIF = 1.41; Negative contact, Tolerance = .77, VIF = 1.30; Efficacy beliefs, Tolerance = .37, VIF = 2.71; Empathy, Tolerance = .41, VIF = 2.43; Group-based anger, Tolerance = .45, VIF = 2.20; Outgroup identification, Tolerance = .39, VIF = 2.56

Structural Equation Modelling with observed scores with maximum likelihood estimation was used in Mplus version 6 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017) to test the hypothesised structured model (Figure 12). All hypothesised paths were included in the model; from positive and negative contact and efficacy beliefs to the three mediating variables (outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger) and the solidarity-based collective action variables, and from the mediators to the solidarity-based collective action variables. The model was fully saturated, yielding perfect model fit. All parameter estimates are reported with 95% confidence intervals and standardized indicators.

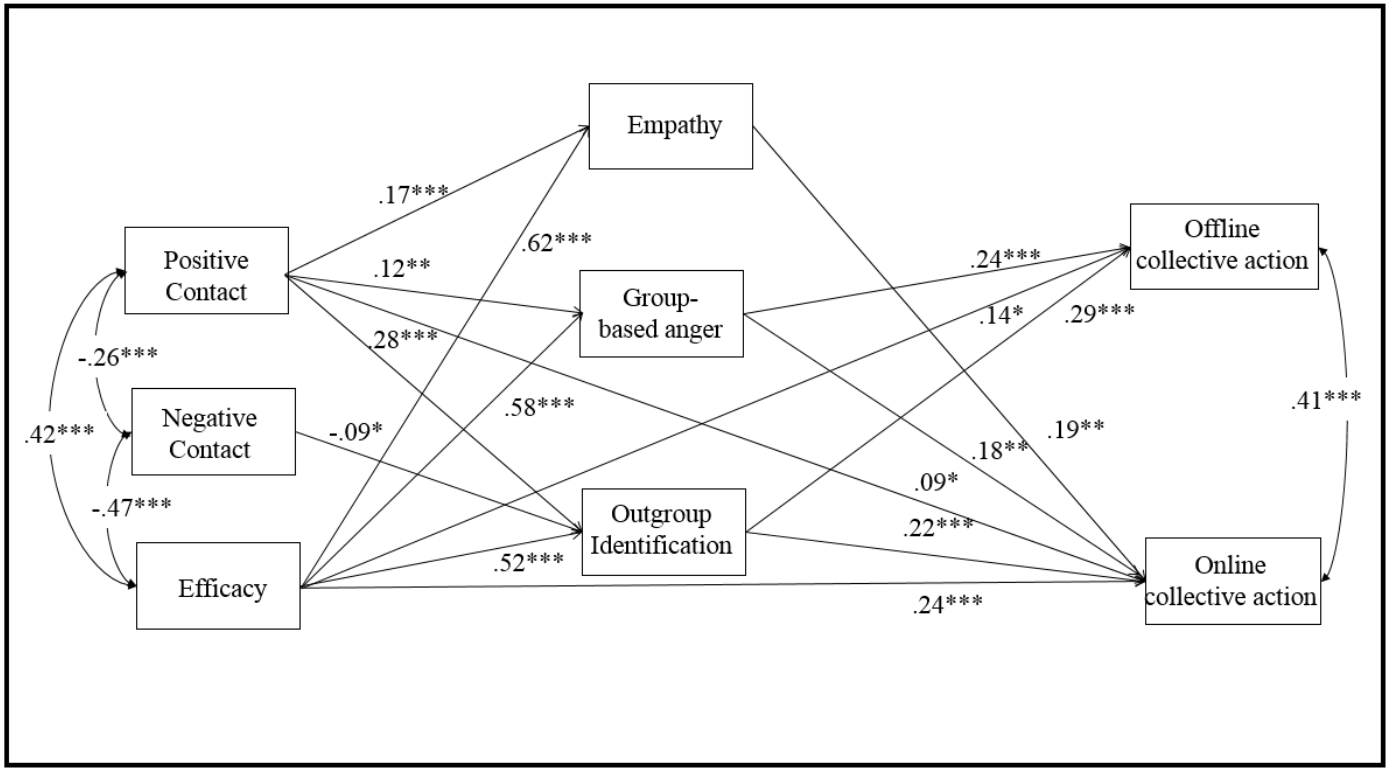

Figure 12. Results (standardized coefficients) of Study 4 showing the associations of positive and negative contact and efficacy beliefs with affective and identity-based processes and solidarity-based online and offline collective action intentions. Non-significant paths are not shown. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

Tables 7 and 8 present the direct, total and indirect effects of positive and negative contact and efficacy beliefs through outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger on both online and offline collective action. Consistent with the previous findings and expectations, positive contact was positively significantly associated with outgroup identification, β = .28, [.20, .36], empathy β = .17, [.09, .25], and group-based anger β = .12, [.04, .21]. Positive contact thus significantly predicted outgroup identification, group-based anger and empathy, while controlling for efficacy beliefs. This confirms that positive contact is a key variable predicting these variables above and beyond the role of efficacy beliefs. Negative contact was significantly and negatively associated with outgroup identification β = -.09, [-.17, -.01] but not significantly associated with group-based anger β = -.03, [-.12, .06], and empathy β = -.04, [-.13, .04]. Efficacy beliefs was strongly and positively associated with outgroup identification β = .52, [.44, .60], empathy β = .62, [.54, .69], and group-based anger β = .58, [.50, .67].

As expected, outgroup identification and group-based anger, were significantly and positively associated with both offline and online collective action (Figure 12). Positive contact and empathy, however, were only significantly related to online collective action, β = .19, [.09, .30], but not to offline collective action (β = .09, [-.04, .21]) in this study. The model explained 42% of variance in offline collective action, 60% in outgroup identification, 53% in online collective action, 53% in outgroup empathy, 43% in group-based anger.

Table 7

Study 4: Standardized total, direct, and indirect effects of positive and negative contact on offline solidarity-based collective action.

	Positive Contact			Negative contact			Efficacy Beliefs		
	b(SE)	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs
Total effect	.144 (.050)	< .05	.047, .241	.029 (.051)	.572	-.071, .129	.488 (050)	< .001	.391, .586
Direct effect	.018 (.049)	.720	-.078, .113	.066 (.047)	.163	-.027, .158	.141 (.068)	< .05	.009, .274
Indirect effect	.126 (.027)	< .001	.074, .179	-.037 (.022)	.090	-.079, .006	.347 (.049)	< .001	.252, .442
Via outgroup identification	.081 (.022)	< .01	.039, .124	-.025 (.014)	.062	-.052, .001	.154 (.036)	< .001	.083, .225
Via anger	.030 (.013)	< .05	.004, .056	-.007 (.011)	.507	-.029, .015	.140 (.037)	< .001	.068, .212
Via empathy	.015 (.012)	.201	-.008, .038	-.004 (.005)	.401	-.013, .005	.053 (.040)	.181	-.025, .132

Table 8

Study 4: Standardized total, direct, and indirect effects of positive and negative contact online solidarity-based collective action.

	Positive Contact			Negative contact			Efficacy beliefs		
	b(SE)	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs
Total effect	.211 (.042)	< .001	.129, .293	-.021 (.043)	.628	-.106, .064	.584 (.041)	< .001	.505, .664
Direct effect	.094 (.041)	< .05	.014, .174	.012 (.039)	.752	-.064, .089	.244 (.056)	< .001	.134, .354
Indirect effect	.117 (.023)	< .001	.071, .163	-.033 (.019)	.085	-.071, .005	.340 (.041)	< .001	.260, .421
Via outgroup identification	.062 (.018)	< .05	.027, .096	-.019 (.010)	.067	-.040, .001	.116 (.030)	< .001	.058, .175
Via anger	.022 (.010)	< .05	.002, .042	-.005 (.008)	.509	-.022, .011	.103 (.031)	< .01	.043, .163
Via empathy	.034 (.012)	< .01	.010, .057	-.009 (.008)	.301	-.025, .008	.121 (.034)	< .001	.054, .187

Indirect associations. Next, the indirect associations between the contact and collective action variables were tested. The results demonstrated that positive contact was indirectly related to offline collective action via outgroup identification and group-based anger (See Table 7). The direct association between positive contact and offline collective action was not significant, suggesting that outgroup identification and group-based anger fully mediated the association between positive contact and offline collective action. Furthermore, positive contact was significantly indirectly associated with online collective action, via outgroup identification, group-based anger, and empathy (see Table 8). Yet also the direct association between positive contact and online collective action was significant (albeit weak), suggesting that the three mediating variables partially accounted for the association between positive contact and online collective action.

Negative contact was not significantly related to the collective action variables and only showed a significant weak negative association with outgroup identification.

Finally, direct paths from efficacy beliefs to online and offline collective action were significant and positive. The path form efficacy to offline collective action was significantly mediated by outgroup identification and group-based anger. The path from efficacy beliefs to online collective action was significantly mediated via outgroup identification, group-based anger, and empathy (see Table 7 and 8).

Testing alternative models. One may rightfully argue that in a cross-sectional study like this, variables could be placed differently in the model. Therefore, I tested three alternative models to increase confidence in the hypothesised model. First, I tested the proposed model (Model A) again but left out

the direct paths from positive and negative contact to the collective action variables[9]. The model (Model A) showed a good fit, χ^2 (4) = 7.716, p = .1026, CFI = .997, RMSEA = .052, SRMR = .013. In the first alternative model, Model B, efficacy beliefs were considered another mediator parallel to outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger between the contact variables (predictors) and collective action variables (criterion variables). The model fit of Model B was unacceptable, χ^2 (7) = 222.114, p < .001, CFI = .854, RMSEA = .300, SRMR = .121, and therefore Model B can be rejected. Next, I tested a second alternative model (Model C) in which, efficacy beliefs was situated between the affective and identity-based processes and the collective action variables. In other words, the contact variables predicted the collective action variables in a two-stage mediator model, first through outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger as parallel mediators, followed by efficacy beliefs. Also Model C did not fit the data as well, χ^2 (12) = 139.903, p < .001, CFI = .913, RMSEA = .177, SRMR = .085. Finally, I tested model D, as a third alternative model. In this model, efficacy beliefs were placed between the contact variables (predictors) and outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger. In other words, in Model D, the contact variables first predicted group efficacy beliefs, followed by outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger as parallel mediators, in the prediction of the collective action variables. The test of Model D resulted in an inadequate model fit, χ^2 (10) = 64.046, p < .001, CFI = .963, RMSEA = .126, SRMR = .057. In conclusion, compared to three alternative models, in which I placed efficacy beliefs differently, the

[9] Saturated models always show perfect model fit, making it impossible to compare them with other models

hypothesised model (Model A) was the only model with a satisfactory model fit, increasing the confidence in the hypothesised model.

Discussion

In conclusion, there were slightly different results for the relations between positive contact and online and offline collective action. Outgroup identification and group-based anger accounted for the associations with both online and offline collective action. Additionally, feelings of outgroup empathy also accounted for the relationship between positive contact and online collective action.

In other words, when people had more positive contact with Muslims, they felt more empathy towards them, identified more with Muslims, and felt angrier with the unjust situation. This, in turn, increased non-Muslim people's intentions to participate in online solidarity-based collective action. Secondly, when people had more positive contact with Muslims, they self-identified more with Muslims and felt angrier with their unjust situation, which in turn was resulted in stronger intentions to participate in offline collective action.

These results show that believing the disadvantaged situation of immigrants can be successfully addressed through collective effort, is associated with a greater likelihood to join both online and offline collective action intentions. More specifically, the more people believed that they can change the disadvantaged situation of others, the more they identified with them and the more they felt empathy towards them and the more they felt angry about their unjust situation, which in turn were related to increased online and offline collective action participation.

Study 5

Study 5 aims to replicate the findings of Study 4 in a different sample towards a different disadvantaged outgroup. Burmese are the largest refugee group in Thailand, including over a hundred of thousands of refugees fled from the social, economic and political tensions from Burma, settled in refugee camps, which has led to a conflict between the Buddhist majority and Muslim minorities (McGann, 2013). This study explores the role of intergroup contact and efficacy beliefs in predicting solidarity-based online and offline collective action intentions among the advantaged Thai in support of the Burmese refugees.

Method

Participants and procedure. Three hundred and five non-Muslim Thai adults (220 women, 66 men, 2 other, 17 did not state, M_{age} = 41.26, *SD* = 10.12) were recruited through social media via invitations. A graduate student in psychology collected the data with snowball sampling technique during her visit to Thailand by distributing the survey with her acquaintances. The participants were entered a £50 prize draw. The survey was in Thai language and translated from English by a bilingual research assistant. Two other bilingual individuals verified and suggested changes about the translations if appropriate. Participants were informed that the aim of the study was to investigate people's opinions on Burmese immigrants in Thailand, and participants were given a debrief note at the end of the survey regarding the purpose of the study. The survey took around 10 minutes to complete.

Measures. Similar measures were used as in Study 4 for most constructs, but the wording of the items was changed from "Muslims" to "Burmese immigrants in Thailand" and fewer items were used. Positive (α = .86) and negative contact (α =

.81), perceived efficacy (α = .61), outgroup identification (α = .89), group-based anger (α = .81), empathy (α = .64) and online collective action (α = .87) were measured with two items each.

The content of the offline collective action items was changed into items that were more suitable in the Thai context. More specifically, offline collective action was measured with three items (α = .83). These were "Joining talks addressing the mistreatment of Burmese migrants in Thailand.", "Support an organisation protecting the rights of Burmese migrants in Thailand", "Set up a monthly donation supporting an organisation seeking to improve the rights of Burmese migrants in Thailand". The offline collective action items in this study were softer versions of collective action whereas in Study 4 in which the items included participating demonstrations, joining solidarity marches and sit-down actions. The reason for using softer items in this study was due to the political environment at the time that suppresses any collective protest gathering vigorously and the respondents might felt uncomfortable answering those outside-based collective action items.

Results

Zero-order correlations between variables and descriptive statistics are shown in Table 9. Positive contact, outgroup identification, group-based anger, empathy and efficacy beliefs were positively correlated with both online and offline solidarity-based collective action. These pattern of results were similar to Study 4. Negative contact, on the other hand, did not significantly correlated with either online or offline solidarity-based collective action.

Table 9.

Study 5: Means, standard deviations, and correlations between variables.

	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Online collective action	3.23 (1.39)	-							
2. Offline collective action	3.18 (1.27)	.77***	-			.	.		
3. Positive contact	2.86 (1.75)	.18**	.17***	-					
4. Negative Contact	2.25 (1.35)	-.05	-.09	38***	-				
5. Outgroup identification	2.79 (1.39)	.38***	43***	.33***	-.07	-		.	
6. Group-based anger	4.17 (1.08)	.27***	27***	.18**	-.01	.27***	-		
7. Empathy	4.18 (1.01)	.33***	.28***	.17**	-.07	33***	.41***	-	
8. Efficacy	4.11 (.97)	.33***	.36***	.16**	-. 05	.41***	.25***	.42***	-

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

Tests to see if the data met the assumption of collinearity indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern (for all predictors and mediators the Tolerance values > .30 and VIF values < 3.00)[10]

Furthermore, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with outgroup identification, group-based anger, empathy, and efficacy beliefs measures showed an acceptable model fit χ^2 (14) = 33.121, $p < .01$, CFI = .957, RMSEA = .068, SRMR = .037. This suggests that these scales measured different concepts. Also a CFA with the measures of offline and online collective action showed a good fit, χ^2 (4) = 6.985, $p < .001$, CFI = .992, RMSEA = .051, SRMR = .014, which means that also these scales measured distinct concepts, despite being highly correlated.

The same model from Study 4 was tested using Structural Equation Modelling with observed scores in Mplus version 6 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2017) using the maximum likelihood estimator. The model included the direct paths from positive and negative contact, efficacy beliefs, outgroup identification, empathy and groups-based anger to collective action variables. Furthermore, also the paths from positive and negative contact and efficacy beliefs to outgroup identification, empathy and groups-based anger were included, to test the mediation effects of these latter variables in the associations between the contact variables and the collective action variables, as well as between efficacy beliefs and the collective action variables. The model was fully saturated (Figure 13). All parameter estimates are reported with 95% confidence intervals and standardized indicators.

[10] Positive contact, Tolerance = .72, VIF = 1.40; Negative contact, Tolerance = .80, VIF = 1.25; efficacy beliefs, Tolerance = .74, VIF = 1.35; Empathy, Tolerance = .73, VIF = 1.38; Group-based anger, Tolerance = .82, VIF = 1.22; Outgroup identification, Tolerance = .71, VIF = 1.41

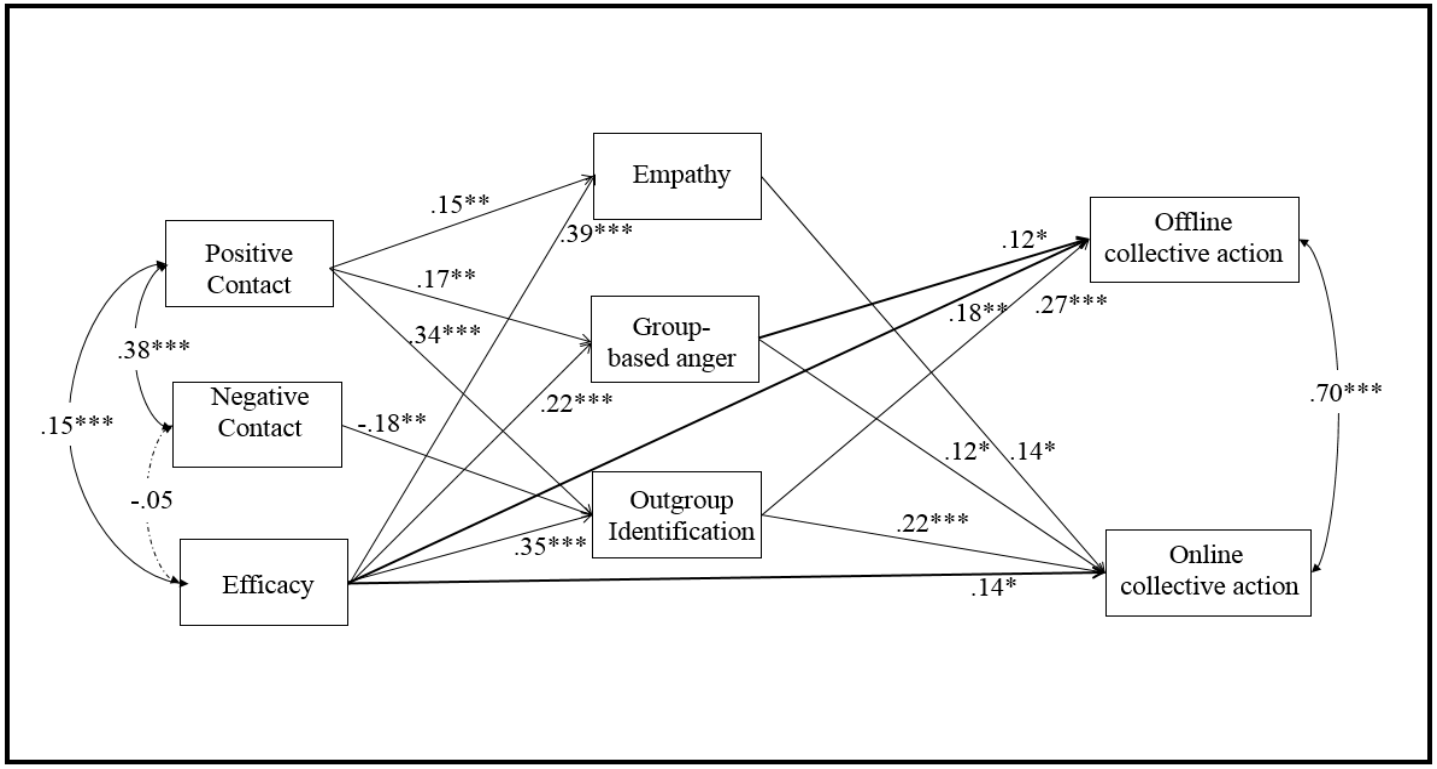

Figure 13. Results (standardized coefficients) of Study 5 showing the associations of positive and negative contact and efficacy beliefs with affective and identity-based processes and solidarity-based online and offline collective action intentions. Non-significant paths are not shown. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

The direct, indirect, and total effects of positive and negative contact and efficacy beliefs on both online and offline collective action are presented in Table 10 and 11. As expected positive contact was positively significantly related with empathy, β = .15, [.04, .27], outgroup identification, β = .34, [.23, .41], and group-based anger, β = .17, [.05, .29]. Once again, positive contact appeared as a focal variable predicting these variables while controlling for efficacy beliefs and negative contact. Similar to Study 4, negative contact only had a significant negative relationship with outgroup identification β = -.18, [-.29, -.08] but was not significantly associated with group-based anger, β = -.06, [-.18, .06], and empathy, β = -.11, [-.11, .02]. Efficacy beliefs positively and significantly predicted empathy, β = .39, [.29, .49], outgroup identification β = .35, [.25, .47], and group-based anger β = .22, [.11, .33]. The model explained 26% of variance in offline collective action, 23% in outgroup identification, 27% in online collective action, 8% in outgroup empathy, 12% in group-based anger.

Similar to Study 4, outgroup identification and group-based anger were significantly and positively related to both offline and online collective action (Figure 13). Empathy was significantly associated with online collective action but did not predict offline collective action.

Indirect associations. Positive contact was not directly associated with offline and online collective action, but positive contact was indirectly associated with both collective action variables. Outgroup identification fully mediated these associations. Similarly, the direct effects of negative contact on the collective action variables were not significant**,** but there was a significant indirect effect of negative contact on both collective action variables through outgroup identification (see Table 10 and 11).

Table 10

Study 5: Standardized total, direct, and indirect effects of positive and negative contact on offline solidarity-based collective action.

	Positive Contact			Negative contact			Efficacy Beliefs		
	b(SE)	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs
Total effect	.198 (.058)	< .01	.083, .313	-.170 (.059)	< .01	-.285, -.054	.324 (053)	< .001	.221, .428
Direct effect	.078 (.060)	.194	-.040, .196	-.107 (.058)	.065	-.221, .007	.182 (.060)	< .01	.065, .299
Indirect effect	.120 (.028)	< .001	.066, .174	-.063 (.022)	< .01	-.105, -.020	.143 (.032)	< .001	.079, .206
Via outgroup identification	.092 (.025)	< .001	.043, .140	-.049 (.018)	< .01	-.085, -.014	.095 (.025)	< .001	.046, .144
Via anger	.019 (.012)	.103	-.004, .043	-.007 (.008)	.381	-.022 .008	.025 (.014)	.074	-.002, .053
Via empathy	.009 (.010)	.373	-.011, .028	-.006 (.007)	.398	-.021, .008	.022 (.024)	.351	-.024, .069

Table 11

Study 5: Standardized total, direct, and indirect effects of positive and negative contact online solidarity-based collective action

	Positive Contact			Negative contact			Efficacy beliefs		
	b(SE)	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs	*b(SE)*	*p*	95% CIs
Total effect	.185 (.059)	< .01	.069, .301	-.122 (.060)	< .05	-.240, -.004	.302 (.054)	< .001	.196, .407
Direct effect	.068 (.061)	.260	-.051, .187	-.059 (.059)	.313	-.175, .056	.143 (.061)	< .05	.025, .262
Indirect effect	.116 (.028)	< .001	.061, .172	-.063 (.022)	< .01	-.106, -.020	.158 (.033)	< .001	.094, .222
Via outgroup identification	.075 (.024)	< .01	.028, .122	-.040 (.016)	< .05	-.072, -.008	.078 (.024)	< .01	.031, .125
Via anger	.020 (.012)	.105	-.004, .043	-.007 (.008)	.382	-.022, .009	.025 (.014)	.076	-.003, .054
Via empathy	.022 (.012)	.077	-.002, .046	-.016 (.011)	.138	-.036, .005	.055 (.025)	< .05	.006, .104

Lastly, efficacy beliefs positively and directly predicted both online and offline collective action. The path from efficacy beliefs to offline collective action was partially mediated via outgroup identification. The path from efficacy beliefs to online collective action was partially mediated through outgroup identification and empathy (see Table 10 and 11).

Testing alternative models. The same three alternative models were tested as in Study 4. The proposed model showed a good fit when paths from the contact variables to the collective action variables were excluded, χ^2 (4) = 4.062, p = .3977, CFI = 1.000, RMSEA = .007, SRMR = .014. All three alternative models similarly did not include direct paths from contact to collective action. The first alternative model, Model B, placed efficacy beliefs parallel with outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger as mediator variables for the associations between contact and collective action. Model B did not show an acceptable model fit, χ^2 (7) = 78.982, p < .001, CFI = .870, RMSEA = .184, SRMR = .093. For the next model, Model C, efficacy beliefs were placed after outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger, and these latter variables were allowed to predict collective action variables only through efficacy beliefs. Also the model fit of this model was worse as compared to Model A, χ^2 (12) = 15.538, p < .001, CFI = .927, RMSEA = .105, SRMR = .085. Lastly, in Model D, efficacy beliefs were placed after the contact variables and before outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger. Model D did not showed a better fit than Model A, χ^2 (10) = 46.257, p < .001, CFI = .935, RMSEA = .109, SRMR = .058. Compared to the three alternative models, the hypothesised model (Model A) showed the best model fit, replicating the findings of Study 4 in a different context.

Discussion

In conclusion, the findings showed that Thai people who reported more positive contact with Burmese immigrants expressed higher empathy towards them, were angrier with the unjust treatment of immigrants and identified more strongly with them. Thai people who had more positive contact with Burmese immigrants identified themselves more with the outgroup. In return, they reported having more offline and online collective action intentions.

This study shows that Thai people who believed that they can improve the situation of Burmese immigrants, expressed higher empathy with immigrants, were angrier with the unjust treatment of immigrants and identified more strongly with immigrants. Furthermore, stronger efficacy beliefs were related to both more online and offline collective action. Outgroup empathy partially accounted for the relationship between efficacy beliefs and online collective action, while outgroup identification partially accounted for the relationships between efficacy beliefs and both online and offline collective action intentions.

General Discussion for Study 4 and 5

The aim of this chapter was twofold: a) to extend the model of intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action by considering both offline and online collective action and b) to investigate the roles of efficacy beliefs alongside the role of intergroup contact. I also investigated the role of identity-based and affective processes in these relationships. Several noteworthy findings were obtained. First, the studies extend the findings from Chapters 2 and 3, by providing further evidence for the associations between intergroup contact and offline solidarity-based collective action in different settings, namely among non-Muslim British people focusing on solidarity with Muslims in the UK, and among Thai people focusing on solidarity with Burmese immigrants in Thailand.

Second and central to this chapter, positive contact was positively and negative contact was negatively associated with online collective action. According to my knowledge, this is the first empirical evidence showing that positive contact not only reduces prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), and promotes offline solidarity-based collective action (Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2018), it also promotes online collective action intentions.

Consistent with studies 1 to 3, the role of negative contact was less pronounced than the role of positive contact in predicting collective action in Study 4 (in the UK). These findings add nuance to the discussion from previous work suggesting that negative contact has a stronger association with outgroup attitudes compared to positive contact (e.g., Barlow et al., 2012; Graf et al., 2014; Paolini et al., 2014). The current findings extend existing empirical evidence obtained in different settings indicating that the associations between negative contact and solidarity-based collective action tend to be rather weak or non-significant (Reimer

et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). However, in Study 5 (in Thailand), both positive and negative contact was significantly indirectly associated with the collective action variables. Hence, it is important to acknowledge that in some contexts, the strength of the associations between positive and negative contact and solidarity-based collective action may be comparable. Yet, also noteworthy is that the significant associations with negative contact were only observed after accounting for the other predictors in the model, but not at the zero-order correlational level (Table 9).

Third, this chapter also investigated possible mediation roles of affective and identity-based processes on intergroup contact and online collective action. Identification with the disadvantaged outgroup consistently accounted for the relationship between intergroup contact and online collective action in both the UK and Thailand. Group-based anger and outgroup empathy also partially accounted for the association between positive contact and online collective action in the UK but not in Thailand. The role of outgroup identification on solidarity-based collective action was suggested by van Zomeren et al. (2011). The studies extend previous work by showing that outgroup identification also mediates the relationship between intergroup contact and online collective action.

Interestingly in the proposed model, outgroup empathy was significantly related to only online collective action, but not offline collective action. This result may indicate that if the action has more risks or requires more effort, empathy may not necessarily be associated with collective action. Indeed, offline collective action such as street protests, requires more effort, whereas online collective action can be done easily in front of a screen. Other researchers also found that empathy predicts traditional helping behaviours but not daring political actions that can put one in a

potentially risky position (Greitemeyer, Fischer, Kastenmuller, & Frey, 2006). A study focussing on LGBT activism among heterosexual individuals showed that dispositional empathy (empathic concern and perspective taking) did not predict solidarity-based collective action (Fingerhut, 2011). Although outgroup empathy is a key variable that accounts for the associations between intergroup contact and reduced prejudice (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008 for a meta-analysis), further studies are needed to clarify the role of empathy for solidarity-based collective action.

Furthermore, even though confirmatory factor analyses showed that the measures in Study 4 and 5 tap into distinct constructs, it is important to note that empathy was highly correlated with both types of action. Similarly, online and offline collective action were highly correlated with each other. Such findings may suggest that the measures of self-reported intentions to participate in online and offline collective action reflect two subdimensions of a general construct that represents people's motivations to act against injustice on behalf of the disadvantaged. By examining actual participation in online and offline collective action instead of intentions, future research may be able to identify possible differences in the predictors and underlying processes of both types of collective action. Given the strong correlations, any possible differences between offline and online collective action should be interpreted with caution.

The fourth objective of this research was to explore the role of group efficacy beliefs for both online and offline collective action and examine possible affective and identification-based mechanisms that underpin these associations. Group efficacy beliefs were consistently associated with more online collective action in both studies. This relationship was mediated through outgroup identification (in the UK and Thailand), empathy (in the UK and Thailand) and

group-based anger (only in the UK). These results indicate that when people believed that they can improve the outgroup's disadvantaged situation, they identified more strongly with the outgroup, felt more empathy with them and felt angrier about the mistreatment of them. This, in turn, was associated with more online solidarity-based collective action intentions. Efficacy beliefs also promoted more offline collective action, through stronger outgroup identification (in the UK and Thailand) and group-based anger (only in the UK).

The findings are complementary with previous studies showing that efficacy beliefs increase both online and offline collective action (e.g., Brunsting & Postmes, 2002). However, previous studies examined efficacy belief's role mainly from the disadvantaged group's perspective (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008). The current findings further contribute to this limited literature by showing that efficacy beliefs also promote collective action among advantaged or majority group member in solidarity with the disadvantaged others.

These findings also integrates the findings obtained in previous research suggesting that efficacy beliefs can predict outgroup identification (van Zomeren et al., 2010) and that both outgroup identification and group-based anger predict collective action against social inequality (Leach, et al., 2006; van Zomeren et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008). More specifically, the current findings showed that believing that collective effort can improve the disadvantaged situation of others is associated with a stronger identification with others and feelings of anger about their unjust situation, which in turn can promote solidarity-based collective action. As such, the current studies provide a more complete picture of the role of efficacy beliefs, outgroup identification, and group-based anger in predicting collective action.

The mean levels of positive contact were higher in the UK compared to Thailand, while the mean levels of, negative contact were lower in the UK than in Thailand. Overall participants reported having more positive experiences with immigrants in the UK compared to positive experiences with refugees in Thailand. It is important to note that even though these groups are different, they are both disadvantaged outgroups. Furthermore, positive and negative contact were associated with solidarity for both of the groups in the same way. This increases my confidence to generalize the findings of the model to two different outgroups, namely immigrants and refugees in those countries.

Taken together, this novel set of research findings allows us to speculate about possible strategies to encourage people to participate in collective action. Indeed, social change movements and pro-immigrant campaigns can take into account specific psychological factors to attract more individuals to support their cause. For example, activism movements can implement specific strategies that increase empathy and group efficacy beliefs to advertise their call for action to attract more people. This can be done by showing pictures of disadvantaged group members to elevate feelings of empathy. Furthermore, to increase group efficacy beliefs, they can also emphasise successful prior solidarity events and what they have achieved, which communicates the message that the disadvantaged situation of others can be improved with collective effort. Yet, before implementing such strategies, experimental studies should be conducted to test the causal effects of empathy and efficacy beliefs on solidarity-based collective action.

Conclusion

To conclude, the present research indicates that positive contact predicts both online and offline solidarity-based collective action with disadvantaged others while

negative contact has a less pronounced role. These results add to the current knowledge of both intergroup contact theory and collective action literature. Intergroup contact does not only reduce outgroup prejudice, but it also promotes solidarity-based collective action. The role of intergroup contact held even when the role of group efficacy beliefs was controlled for. Taken together, these findings emphasise the importance of positive contact between advantaged and disadvantaged group members for improving the situation of disadvantaged groups in society. The potential of intergroup contact to encourage participation in collective actions may eventually lead to less social inequality.

Chapter 5. General Discussion

The first central aim of this research was to test the associations between positive and negative contact and people's intentions to engage in solidarity-based collective action on behalf of immigrants. With four cross-sectional studies conducted in four different countries -Greece (Study 1), Turkey (Study 2), the UK (Studies 3 and 5), and Thailand (Study 4), positive contact showed a pronounced positive association with solidarity-based collection action intentions while the association for negative contact was negative and less pronounced (Studies 1-5). Further supporting these cross-sectional findings, a three-wave longitudinal study (Study 3) conducted in the UK over a ten-month time interval showed that positive contact predicted more solidarity-based collective action intentions over time. In contrast, negative contact was not longitudinally related to collective action. Intergroup contact also predicted online solidarity-based collective action the same way as it predicted offline collective action. Furthermore, positive contact predicted both types of collective action after controlling for group efficacy beliefs (Studies 4 and 5).

These results are consistent with previous research that demonstrated the associations between positive contact and greater support for collective action in solidarity with sexual minority groups (Fingerhut, 2011; Reimer et al., 2017) and Black Americans (Selvanathan et al., 2017). This thesis extended this research line by focusing on solidarity with different target outgroups, refugees and immigrants, which has, to the best of my knowledge, not been examined before in any published paper. The findings of this thesis also contribute to the ongoing debate about the risk of creating false expectations for equality and social justice by installing amical intergroup relations through positive intergroup contact (Saguy et al., 2009; Wright

& Lubensky, 2009). These findings suggest that the net relationship between positive contact and people's motivations to challenge intergroup inequality is likely to be positive, given that majority group members feel encouraged to join solidarity actions. An important aspect of this research was the use of data from different countries, Greece, Turkey, the UK, and Thailand. Indeed, most research in the contact literature has been conducted in Western countries (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), while I provided consistent evidence for the associations between contact and solidarity-based collective action in both Western and non-Western countries, suggesting that these findings are generalizable to different populations and contexts.

Furthermore, these findings along with the findings of Reimer et al. (2017) and Selvanathan et al. (2017) (see also Pettigrew et al., 2011) are not entirely consistent with some previous work emphasizing that the role of negative contact are stronger than the role of positive contact (e.g., Barlow et al., 2012; Graf et al., 2014). These divergent findings across studies suggest that possible asymmetrical roles of positive *vs* negative contact varies across intergroup contexts and the type of outcome variables. Indeed, the associations for negative contact were weaker and inconsistent across studies. Negative contact was associated with reduced solidarity-based collective action via less outgroup identification in Greece (Study 1), Turkey (Study 2), and Thailand (Study 5) as well as via increased anxiety in Turkey. However, negative contact did not show significant associations with solidarity-based collective action cross-sectionally (Study 4) and longitudinally (Study 3) in the UK, questioning the importance of considering negative contact for solidarity-based collective action. Even though the evidence I provided signals a more consistent role of positive contact in predicting solidarity-based collective action intentions, negative contact may play a more central role in predicting anti-immigrant

collective action. Future research can investigate the associations of positive and negative contact with anti-immigrant collective action participation.

By examining the roles of positive and negative contact simultaneously, this thesis controlled for the so-called positivity bias in intergroup contact studies (Graf & Paolini, 2017; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Specifically, one of the recent criticisms of intergroup contact research is that studies have predominantly focused on the role of positive contact and neglected negative contact. However, negativity is also a part of intergroup interactions, yet, according to my findings, these seem to be of less importance in the prediction of solidarity-based collective action.

Another contribution of this thesis (Studies 4 and 5), is that positive and negative contact was associated with respectively more and less *online* solidarity-based collective action intentions. Once again, the role of negative contact was less pronounced compared to positive contact. In conclusion, positive contact may do more than improving outgroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). It can also predict both offline and online solidarity-based collective action with disadvantaged group members while negative contact's possible harmful contribution is less evident.

Lastly, this thesis showed that group efficacy beliefs were associated with more offline and online solidarity-based collective action. This finding extends current knowledge that group efficacy beliefs do not only predict collective action for the sake of one's own group (e.g., Brunsting & Postmes, 2002; van Zomeren et al., 2008) but it also predicts solidarity-based collective action with disadvantaged group members.

Affective Processes and Outgroup Identification in Solidarity-based Collective Action

The second aim of this research was to investigate the possible processes through which contact and solidarity-based collective action are connected. By testing the associations for both positive and negative contact in relation to five candidate mediator variables simultaneously, this thesis thereby avoided the single factor fallacy. Prominent contact researchers warned about this fallacy by arguing that the inclusion of a limited number of variables in research designs, while ignoring other focal variables, can easily result in false conclusions (Pettigrew & Hewstone, 2017). In this approach, the possible roles of several affective and identity-based processes were tested. These mediators were chosen from intergroup contact (outgroup empathy, threat, and anxiety) and collective action (outgroup identification and group-based anger) literatures. Across the studies, outgroup identification, outgroup empathy, and group-based anger emerged as the most consistent mediators for the associations between positive contact and solidarity-based collective action intentions (in Study 1, 2 and 3).

The consistent support for the importance of group identification and group-based anger is in line with research and theorizing on the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA, van Zomeren et al., 2008; van Zomeren, 2016). Yet, most of this research on collective action focused on the factors that motivate disadvantaged group members to take part in protests to improve their own situation and therefore on the role of ingroup identification and anger towards an advantaged group (Becker & Tausch, 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2008; Wright & Tropp, 2002). This thesis showed that this framework can be extended to a solidarity perspective. Those reporting more positive contact showed increased outgroup identification and

felt more angry about the injustices towards refugees and immigrants, which in turn, was linked to more solidarity-based collective action, even when other affective variables were included, such as empathy.

The finding that outgroup empathy mediated the association between contact and solidarity-based collective action in some of the studies (Study 1-3) was also in line with my expectations and with contact theorizing, but not part of SIMCA. This result is also consistent with research on the empathy-altruism model highlighting the role of empathic concern to promote altruistic motivation (Batson, 2011; Batson et al., 1997). This finding extends previous work which showed that empathy not only associated with reduced prejudice (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Swart, et al., 2011), but it is also associated with increased pro-social behaviours towards outgroups (e.g., Abrams et al., 2015; Eisenberg et al., 2010) including engagement in actions supporting social justice for disadvantaged others (Mallett et al., 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2017).

In Study 3, I also offered an alternative explorative approach of modelling the three mediators, outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger, as one higher-order mediating construct that I called *shared goal orientation*. Even though these three variables come from different theoretical backgrounds, they were strongly related and loaded on one single factor according to a factor analysis. People who had more empathy with immigrants also felt angrier towards the injustices and identified more themselves with immigrants. When tested separately, each of the three variables longitudinally mediated the association between positive contact and collective action. However, when tested simultaneously the picture became more complicated and showed that several of the mediators were longitudinally related to each other, while the simple mediations became non-

significant (see Figure 14 in Appendix). Thus, I combined these three variables into one higher-order latent construct, *shared goal orientation,* to determine their collective role in mediating the associations between positive contact and collective action intentions, which was indeed confirmed by the longitudinal mediation analyses. One concern about this approach could be that it prevented me to draw conclusions about the unique associations of each of the mediators while controlling for the other mediators Yet, the interconnected nature of the mediators both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, suggests that it may be rather difficult to tease the unique associations apart from each other, and in line with Selvanathan et al (2017), the associations between contact and solidarity-based collective action may go through a sequential mediating process through several mediators before having an impact on collective action (e.g., contact → outgroup empathy → group-based anger → collective action). Future longitudinal studies using more than three waves of data collection could test such sequential mediation paths.

The possible mediating roles of outgroup identification, empathy and group-based anger were also tested for the association between intergroup contact and *online* collective action, resulting in somewhat different results depending on the context. The relationships between intergroup contact and online collective action intentions were partially explained by increased outgroup identification in the UK (in Study 4) and Thailand (in Study 5). Furthermore, the relationship between positive contact and online collective action intention was also partially explained by outgroup empathy and group-based anger in the UK. To the best of my knowledge, these results provided the first test of the role of affective and identity-based mediators in the relationship between intergroup contact and online solidarity-based collective action intentions.

Even though it was a consistent mediator across five studies, it is also possible to consider outgroup identification a moderator of the relationship between contact and solidarity-based collective action intentions. Positive contact with the outgroup may show stronger associations with solidarity-based collective action intentions among people who already more strongly identify with the outgroup. This could be tested in future research.

Finally, with respect to the role of intergroup anxiety and threat, previous studies showed these variables play a key role in explaining how intergroup contact reduces prejudice (Dixon et al., 2010b; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Renfro et al., 2006 Swart et al., 2011). Therefore, I examined whether reducing anxiety and threat through positive contact can facilitate support for pro-immigrants collective actions. I found that perceived threat, but not anxiety was negatively associated with solidarity-based collective action in Greece (Study1), whereas anxiety and not threat significantly predicted solidarity-based collective action in Turkey (Study 2). Furthermore, neither threat, nor anxiety were significant longitudinal mediators in Study 3, and thus compared to the other processes (i.e., outgroup identification, group-based anger, and empathy), threat and anxiety were less important for the association between contact and collective action. Even though previous studies showed that threat could mediate the relationship between contact and collective action from the one's ingroup perspective (Çakal et al., 2016), I did not find support for the mediating role of threat in the context of solidarity-based collective action. Taken together, it can be concluded that those with more positive contact had stronger intentions to engage in solidarity-based collective action, which was partly explained by their stronger outgroup identification and empathy and to a lesser extent by group-based anger.

The differential roles of threat and anxiety might be due to the fact that in Turkey the majority of the immigrants and the host group share the same religion. Indeed, even though Syrian immigrants mostly speak different languages and hold different ethnic backgrounds, both groups are predominantly Muslim. The different findings across these studies highlight the contextual and temporal sensitivity of some of the variables in the model, and is consistent with the premises of the TIMICAT (Abrams & Eller, 2017).

Associations between Solidarity-based Collective Action Intentions and Intergroup Variables

The longitudinal findings also revealed new insight into the paths from solidarity-based collective action intentions to the outgroup variables. Solidarity-based collective action intentions predicted more positive contact, outgroup identification, and empathy but did not have any significant associations with negative contact, group-based anger, threat, and anxiety over time. These novel findings suggest that collective action should not be seen solely as an outcome of intergroup contact and affective and identity variables but also as a trigger of pro-outgroup constructs. When individuals state their intentions to join collective action, this will likely lead to them seeking out more positive contact, feeling more empathic, and identifying more strongly with the disadvantaged outgroups in the future. Collective action is usually seen as the outcome variable in psychology research (e.g., Saab et al., 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2008) but, as the longitudinal findings indicate, collective action can also be considered as a driver of more positive outgroup relations. This could be a positively reinforcing cycle in which more action for disadvantaged groups provide opportunities to interact with disadvantaged group members, and thus increase the potential for positive contact.

Such positive contact experiences may then lead again to more solidarity-based collective action intentions for disadvantaged groups.

This suggests two possibilities. One is that ideological reasons to engage in collective action (see Abrams & Grant, 2012; Grant et al., 2017) might lead to a deeper consideration of the issue and stimulate efforts to have contact with outgroup members. The other possibility is that both contact and collective action are affected by an important third variable, such as the influence of social networks on political engagement (Passy, 2001; Diani, 2000). The relational approach to collective action suggests that individuals are more likely to join collective actions when being invited by a friend (van Zomeren, 2015). Therefore, social networks likely play a key role in motivating people to participate in collective action, both through knowing that others in someone's network join a protest and by providing opportunities for positive indirect contact with outgroup members through ingroup friends (Wölfer et al., 2019; Wölfer et al., 2017). It would be interesting for future research to investigate such double motivating role of diverse social networks on collective action.

Notwithstanding the wide range of variables considered in the present programme of research, it is important to acknowledge that the drivers of collective actions are complex and multifaceted. Several other factors still play a role in the prediction of collective action, including the moral motivation to protest and promote core values (van Zomeren, 2016; van Zomeren et al., 2011) as well as identity based ideology which has power to lead radical change through political engagement (Abrams & Grant, 2012; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In the future, it would be valuable to examine the roles of social change beliefs and moral motivations for predicting solidarity-based collective action.

Limitations and Future Research

Before closing some limitations of the current studies should be mentioned. First, all studies relied on a correlational design, making it impossible to rule out alternative causal mechanisms. However, the longitudinal findings supported the hypothesized direction of the relations, increasing my confidence in the interpretation of the findings, whilst also highlighting the importance of the reverse paths. Experimental studies may serve to shed more light on this topic by independently manipulating positive and negative contact, outgroup anger, empathy, and outgroup identification. However, it is hard to imagine an experiment large enough to also test for possible reverse paths. Furthermore, it might be impractical to manipulate engagement in collective action directly. Moreover, self-reported contact may reflect more realistic intergroup interaction compared to experimentally manipulated contact in artificial laboratory settings. Dhont et al. (2012) also validated self-report measures of contact by showing that observer scores of contact are highly correlated with the self-report measures and both types of measures showed contact predicts prejudice over time. Paluck and Green (2009) called for more experimental research in real-world settings, such as, in refugee settlements, summer camps, and other multinational environments (e.g., Dhont et al., 2014). This way, quasi-experimental studies provide more information about the causal effects of contact but also preserve high levels external validity by focusing on existing intergroup settings.

Second, measuring action intentions does not guarantee individuals' actual engagement in solidarity-based collective action behaviour. Although research indicates that collective intentions and actions are often closely related (e.g., Armitage & Conner, 2001; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; van de Vyver, Leite, Abrams

& Palmer, 2018), individuals may not be able to participate in activism due to situational constraints, language barriers, and lack of collective action opportunities where participants live (e.g., those living in homogeneous communities). Yet, especially in the context of Turkey and Greece, residents had many opportunities to engage in solidarity actions and contact with the immigrants in daily life because the immigrants were not restricted to stay in refugee camps. Nevertheless, it would be valuable if future studies could simultaneously track individuals' actual behaviour and levels of intergroup contact over time.

Third, this thesis focused on several key mediating mechanisms that have been identified by contact and collective action literature. However, there might be other mediating processes that explain the relationship between intergroup contact and solidarity-based collective action. For instance, Tropp and Barlow (2018) suggested that empathy, enhancing personal relevance, and humanizing others can facilitate contact's role on caring about the perspectives and welfare of other group members. Future studies can therefore also investigate other possible mediators such as humanizing the outgroup and increased knowledge about the disadvantaged situation of the outgroup. For example, learning about the disadvantaged situation of others can promote feelings of empathy and anger towards the injustices that disadvantaged group members experience, which in turn increases solidarity-based collective action intentions.

The overall goal of this thesis was to examine the generalizability of a hypothesized model in both Western and non-Western contexts. One may argue that solidarity movements are tools only for members of developed Western countries, while in countries that face economic and political problems, solidarity may not be on people's agenda because they might be too worried about the well-being of their

own group. However, this thesis provided evidence for the proposed model in both Western and non-Western contexts. Still, this does not mean that the findings of these studies can be generalized to every context in the world. For example, other countries with oppressive governments like China and North Korea, any type of collective action could be suppressed violently by security forces. It would be valuable for future studies to take into account of additional variables to reflect the realities of non-democratic contexts, such as if participant would believe that joining a protest would bring any harm to them. Furthermore, several person-based features, such as, social economic status, political orientation, religiosity, age, and gender may also partake in predicting solidarity-based collective action. Therefore, future studies could focus on the role of these person-based features.

There are other ways to measure intergroup contact. In this thesis, I was particularly interested in the amount of positive and negative contact. This approach, however, did not give me the chance to examine exactly how many times the participants had positive and negative encounters with others. It is possible for people to have very limited contact with outgroups and this can be only known by asking the exact number of contact the participants experienced. Future studies can also ask participants how many times they had positive and negative contact incidents in a specific period of time to have a clear picture about their contact frequency and exact amount of contact.

Future research may also test the mediating role of group-based guilt. Mallet et al., (2008) showed that perspective taking with minority group members (LGBT individuals and Blacks) was positively associated solidarity-based collective action and this association was partially mediated by group-based guilt. Scholars suggested that guilt has the potential to motivate reparation behaviour and affirmative action

towards disadvantaged groups (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003). Members of the host group may feel group-based guilt for the situation of refugees because the reason refugees fled their country could be due to political or military operations that the country of the host group members supported or implemented. Future research can try to distinguish the roles of group-based guilt and group-based anger in predicting different types of intergroup outcomes that benefit the disadvantaged group (i.e., support for affirmative action, collective action, and reparation policies).

Fourth, the focus of the thesis was on the solidarity-based collective action intentions among advantaged group members. However, solidarity can also happen between different disadvantaged groups. Therefore, an interesting avenue for future research is to test whether positive contact between members of disadvantaged groups can promote solidarity towards the other group. There is already some evidence that confirms this idea. For instance, a study conducted by Dixon and colleagues (2015) in South Africa found that positive contact between Black and Indian residents was associated with greater willingness to participate in collective action to promote equality among Indian residents. This association was partially mediated by perceptions of collective discrimination. Another study, conducted in India, showed that positive contact between Muslim students and members of other discriminated groups increased Muslim student's willingness to join collective action to reduce shared inequalities (Dixon et al., 2017). Positive contact between members of historically disadvantaged groups can thus create solidarity between them and help them to raise their voices against inequalities.

Finally, future studies can examine the specific importance of cross-group friendships on solidarity-based collective action, relative to other less intimate forms

of intergroup contact. MacInnis and Hodson (2018) suggested that a certain level of closeness or intimacy between the interaction partners is needed to motivate individuals to support policy changes and join collective action to act against group inequalities. Moreover, these authors argued that the explicit recognition of group differences and the condemnation of group inequality in the friendship relationship play a key role in motivating both advantaged and disadvantaged group members to support collective action aimed at reducing intergroup inequality. Based on this reasoning, future studies can further identify the possible factors that determine *when* intergroup contact can predict solidarity-based collective action.

Conclusion

The current findings highlight the motivating role of positive intergroup contact for solidarity-based collective action with immigrants. Although both positive and negative contact was linked to (respectively, more and less) solidarity-based collective action, only positive contact showed a longitudinal relation over time. This shows that the power of positive contact is not limited to prejudice reduction but can also help in addressing social injustice by motivating advantaged group members to engage in solidarity-based collective action. The finding that positive contact heightened solidarity can be a focus for intervention in various social contexts where diversity is linked to problematic and unequal intergroup relations. By increasing positive contact opportunities, groups may start working together and collectively act against inequalities.

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APPENDIX

A.1. Model Comparisons

Table A1

Study 3: Comparisons of Longitudinal Models testing for longitudinal measurement across time 2 (a-models vs b-models) and time 3 (b-models vs c-models), and for stationarity of the autoregressive paths (d-models vs e-models) and cross-lagged paths (e-models vs f-models).

Model	Model fit	Model comparison	Corrected chi-square difference (df)
1a	χ^2 (262) = 513.204***, CFI = .975, RMSEA = .040, SRMR = .066		
1b	χ^2 (268) = 523.994***, CFI = .974, RMSEA = .040, SRMR = .067	1a vs. 1b	χ^2 (6) = 10.79, p = .095
1c	χ^2 (274) = 527.04***, CFI = .975, RMSEA = .039, SRMR = .067	1b vs. 1c	χ^2 (6) = 1.768, p = .940
1d	χ^2 (283) = 595.001***, CFI = .969, RMSEA = .043, SRMR = .076		
1e	χ^2 (286) = 603.06***, CFI = .968, RMSEA = .043, SRMR = .077	1d vs. 1e	χ^2 (3) = 8.059, p = .045
1f	χ^2 (292) = 610.611***, CFI = .968, RMSEA = .043, SRMR = .079	1e vs. 1f	χ^2(6) = 7.772, p = .255
2a	χ^2 (493) = 1084.821***, CFI = .960, RMSEA = .045, SRMR = .071		

2b	χ^2 (501) = 1099.846***, CFI = .960, RMSEA = .045, SRMR = .070	2a vs. 2b	χ^2 (8) = 14.686, p = .066
2c	χ^2 (509) = 1116.21***, CFI = .959, RMSEA = .044, SRMR = .069	2b vs. 2c	χ^2 (8) = 16.203, p = .040
2d	χ^2 (525) = 1207.405***, CFI = .954, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .077		
2e	χ^2 (529) = 1217.385***, CFI = .954, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .078	2d vs. 2e	χ^2 (4) = 9.894, p = .042
2f	χ^2 (541) = 1229.638***, CFI = .953, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .079	2e vs. 2f	χ^2(12) = 13.431, p = .339
3a	χ^2 (397) = 1049.421***, CFI = .948, RMSEA = .052, SRMR = .078		
3b	χ^2 (404) = 1064.357***, CFI = .947, RMSEA = .052, SRMR = .078	3a vs. 3b	χ^2 (7) = 14.735, p = .040
3c	χ^2 (411) = 1070.432***, CFI = .947, RMSEA = .052, SRMR = .077	3b vs. 3c	χ^2 (7) = 2.623, p = .918
3d	χ^2 (427) = 1160.471***, CFI = .941, RMSEA = .053, SRMR = .083		
3e	χ^2 (431) = 1165.315***, CFI = .941, RMSEA = .053, SRMR = .084	3d vs. 3e	χ^2 (4) = 5.395, p = .249
3f	χ^2 (443) = 1192.16***, CFI = .940, RMSEA = .053, SRMR = .087	3e vs. 3f	χ^2 (12)= 27.360, p = .007
4a	χ^2 (493) = 1174.024***, CFI = .948, RMSEA = .048, SRMR = .079		
4b	χ^2 (501) = 1188.96***, CFI = .947, RMSEA = .048, SRMR = .078	4a vs. 4b	χ^2 (8) = 14.936, p = .060

4c	χ^2 (509) = 1195.433***, CFI = .947, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .078	4b vs. 4c	χ^2 (8) = 4.814, p = .777
4d	χ^2 (525) = 1295.035***, CFI = .941, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .083		
4e	χ^2 (529) = 1312.711***, CFI = .940, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .084	4d vs. 4e	χ^2 (4) =11.617, p = .020
4f	χ^2 (541) = 1329.323***, CFI = .939, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .087	4e vs. 4f	χ^2(12) = 22.738, p = .030
5a	χ^2 (397) = 938.822***, CFI = .957, RMSEA = .048, SRMR = .069		
5b	χ^2 (404) = 952.817***, CFI = .957, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .068	5a vs. 5b	χ^2 (7) = 13.682, p = .057
5c	χ^2 (411) = 958.932***, CFI = .957, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .068	5b vs. 5c	χ^2 (7) = 4.034, p = .776
5d	χ^2 (427) = 1049.057***, CFI = .951, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .074		
5e	χ^2 (431) = 1054.399***, CFI = .951, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .074	5d vs. 5e	χ^2 (4) = 5.760, p = .218
5f	χ^2 (443) = 1076.453***, CFI = .950, RMSEA = .049, SRMR = .076	5e vs. 5f	χ^2 (12) = 22.738, p =.030
6a	χ^2 (493) = 1112.551***, CFI = .956, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .064		
6b	χ^2 (501) = 1127.380***, CFI = .955, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .063	6a vs. 6b	χ^2 (8) = 14.397, p = .072
6c	χ^2 (509) = 1131.714***, CFI = .955, RMSEA = .045, SRMR = .063	6b vs. 6c	χ^2 (8) = 5.107, p = .746

6d	χ^2 (525) = 1223.185***, CFI = .950, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .073		
6e	χ^2 (529) = 1232.151***, CFI = .950, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .074	6d vs. 6e	χ^2 (4) = 9.037, p = .060
6f	χ^2 (541) = 1240.813***, CFI = .950, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .075	6e vs. 6f	χ^2 (12) = 9.438, p =.665
7a	χ^2 (1098) = 2504.953***, CFI = .932, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .076		
7b	χ^2 (1111) = 2532.015***, CFI = .931, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .077	7a vs. 7b	χ^2(13) = 14.397, p =.014
7c	χ^2 (1124) = 2556.938***, CFI = .931, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .080	7b vs. 7c	χ^2 (13) = 5.107, p = .027
7d	χ^2 (1140) = 2628.429***, CFI = .928, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .085		
7e	χ^2 (1144) = 2644.518***, CFI = .928, RMSEA = .047, SRMR = .087	7d vs. 7e	χ^2 (4) = 9.037, p = .005
7f	χ^2 (1156) = 2661.771***, CFI = .927, RMSEA = .046, SRMR = .089	7e vs. 7f	χ^2 (12) = 9.438, p =.140

Note. CFI = comparative fit index; RMSEA = root-mean-square error of approximation; SRMR = standardized root-mean-square residual. All models included positive and negative contact and solidarity-based collective action. Models 2a-2f tested the role of outgroup identification. Models 3a-3f tested the role of group-based anger. Models 4a-f tested the role of empathy. Models 5a-f tested the role of threat. Models 6a-f tested the role of anxiety. Models 7a-f tested the role of "shared goal orientation" (outgroup identification, empathy, and group-based anger). The a-models were models with freely estimated parameters, which was then compared with models that were increasingly more restrictive to test for measurement invariance across time 2 (a-models vs b-models) and time 3 (b-models vs c-models), followed by tests for stationarity of the autoregressive paths (d-models vs e-models) and cross-lagged paths (e-models vs f-models).

A.2. Descriptive Statistics

Table A2.

Study 3: Scale reliability, means, and standard deviations for measures at time 1, time 2, and time 3.

Scale	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3	
	Mean (SD)	α	Mean (SD)	α	Mean (SD)	α
1. Positive contact	4.24 (1.79)	.97	4.88 (1.64)	.97	4.66 (1.64)	.97
2. Negative contact	2.35 (1.31)	.91	2.15 (1.14)	.90	2.18 (1.08)	.90
3. Outgroup Identification	3.51 (1.50)	.93	3.86 (1.57)	.95	3.63 (1.47)	.95
4. Anger	4.54 (1.60)	.85	5.07 (1.65)	.90	4.63 (1.64)	.89
5. Empathy	4.82 (1.19)	.76	5.03 (1.13)	.81	4.81 (1.19)	.81
6. Threat	3.57 (1.80)	.87	3.22 (1.84)	.89	3.48 (1.83)	.89
7. Anxiety	2.14 (1.46)	.94	1.86 (1.31)	.95	1.86 (1.25)	.93
8. Collective action	3.06 (1.53)	.84	3.25 (1.61)	.85	3.08 (1.48)	.83

A.3. Factor Analysis Results

Table A3.

Study 3: factor loading results from an exploratory factor analysis with the items of outgroup identification, group-based anger, empathy, and threat. (N = 603) (Time 1).

Items	Factor 1	Factor 2
I feel solidarity with immigrants (Outgroup Identification 2)	.78	
I often feel empathy with the immigrant community (Empathy 3)	.78	
I feel committed to immigrants (Outgroup Identification 3)	.77	
I feel a bond with the immigrant community (Outgroup Identification 1)	.76	
I empathize with the situation of the immigrants (Empathy 2)	.66	
Thinking of the problems regarding the discriminatory treatment of immigrants in Europe makes me angry (Anger 1)	.59	
Sometimes I feel angry when I think of what British people are doing to the immigrant communities (Anger 2)	.51	

I can easily imagine how members of the immigrant community must feel (Empathy 1)	.48	
The presence of immigrants is problematic for our cultural norms and values in England (Threat 2)		.81
Immigrants are posing a threat to the economic and political system of England (Threat 1)		.80
% of variance	53.98	7.23

A.4. Longitudinal Correlation Results

Table A4.

Study 3: Correlations between all variables at Time 1 with all variables at Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3.

	Pos T1	Neg T1	Ide T1	Ang T1	Emp T1	Thr T1	Anx T1	Col T1
Pos T1	-	.11**	.50***	.35***	.31***	-.38***	-.34***	.37***
T2	.65***	.04	.50***	.37***	.33***	-.39***	-.34***	.40***
T3	.59***	.12*	.41***	.34***	.29***	-.36***	-.28***	.34***
Neg T1		-	-.21***	-.29***	-.30***	.33***	.29***	-.15***
T2	.02	.60***	-.12*	-.27***	-.18***	.31***	.23***	-.14**
T3	.01	.48***	-.12*	-.22***	-.14**	.29***	.27***	-.13*
Ide T1			-	.66***	.59***	-.56***	-.40***	.69***
T2	.46***	-.10*	.73***	.59***	.48***	-.54***	-.34***	.61***
T3	.42***	-.10	.73***	.58***	.51***	-.52***	-.39***	.65***
Ang T1				-	.58***	-.59***	-.32***	.64***
T2	.34***	-.22***	.53***	.67***	.48***	-.55***	-.52***	.51***
T3	.34***	-.20***	.58***	.69***	.54***	-.55***	-.32***	.60***

Emp T1					-	-.43***	-.36***	.52***
T2	.40***	-.22***	.55***	.52***	.66***	-.43***	-.29***	.47***
T3	.30***	-.10	.53***	.53***	.64***	-.41***	-.27***	.51***
Thr T1						-	.43***	-.53***
T2	-.36***	.24***	-.52***	-.56***	-.40***	.77***	.41***	-.47***
T3	-.35***	.24***	-.53***	-.56***	-.41***	.78***	.34***	-.50***
Anx T1							-	-.26***
T2	-.30***	.25***	-.29***	-.24***	-.26***	.35***	.53***	-.23***
T3	-.29***	.17**	-.27***	-.25***	-.27***	.30***	.52***	-.21***
Col T1								-
T2	.36***	-.09	.60***	.60***	.48***	-.50***	-.25**	.76***
T3	.25***	-.14**	.58***	.55***	.47***	-.45***	-.25***	.71***

Note. Pos = Positive contact; Neg = Negative contact; Ide = Outgroup identification; Ang = Group-based anger; Emp = Empathy; Thr = Threat; Anx = Anxiety; Col = Solidarity-based collective action intentions; T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2; T3 = Time 3.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table A5.

Study 3. Correlations between all variables at Time 2 with variables on Time 2, and Time 3 variables.

	Pos T2	Neg T2	Ide T2	Ang T2	Emp T2	Thr T2	Anx T2	Col T2
Pos T2	-	.02	.54***	.49***	.47***	-.45***	-.34***	.47***
T3	.70***	.03	.50***	.42***	.37***	-.42***	-.29***	.41***
Neg T2	.02	-	-.12*	-.26**	-.18***	.33***	.29**	-.09
T3	.02	.52***	-.09	-.16**	-.18**	.27**	.25***	-08
Ide T2	.54***	-.12*	-	.68***	.63***	-.61***	-.30***	.71***
T3	.50***	-.14*	.76**	.59***	.54***	-.58***	-.25***	.67***
Ang T2	.49***	-.26***	.68***	-	.61***	-.63***	-.31***	.63***
T3	.46***	-.25***	.62***	.72***	.52***	-.62***	-.30***	.63***
Emp T2	.47***	-.18***	.63***	.61***	-	-.52***	-.31***	.56***
T3	.38***	-.13*	.57***	.51***	.67***	-.48***	-.22***	.53***
Thr T2	-.45***	.33***	-.61***	-.63***	-.52***	-	.39***	-.53***
T3	-.44***	.38***	-.57***	-.61***	-.45***	.83***	.37***	-.54***
Anx T2	-.34***	.29***	-.30***	-.31***	-.31***	.39***	-	-.24***

T3	-.28***	.19**	-.26***	-.27***	-.19**	.32***	.56***	-.21***
Col T2	.47***	-.09	.71***	.63***	.56***	-.53***	-.24***	-
T3	.35***	-.13*	.59***	.54***	.46***	-.46***	-.17**	.74**

Note. Pos = Positive contact; Neg = Negative contact; Ide = Outgroup identification; Ang = Group-based anger; Emp = Empathy; Thr = Threat; Anx = Anxiety; Col = Solidarity-based collective action intentions; T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2; T3 = Time 3.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table A6.

Study 3: Correlations between all variables at Time 3.

	Pos T3	Neg 3	Ide T3	Ang T3	Emp T3	Thr 3	Anx T3	Col T3
Pos T3	-	.04	.47***	.44***	.37***	-.41***	-.29***	.34***
Neg 3		-	-.16**	-.25***	-.17**	.34***	.37***	-.15**
Ide T3			-	.71***	.61***	-.61***	-.27***	.58***
Ang T3				-	.62***	-.67***	-.31***	.66***
Emp T3					-	-.51***	-.18**	.52***
Thr T3						-	.37***	-.51***
Anx T3							-	-.18**
Col T3								-

Note. Pos = Positive contact; Neg = Negative contact; Ide = Outgroup identification; Ang = Group-based anger; Emp = Empathy; Thr = Threat; Anx = Anxiety; Col = Solidarity-based collective action intentions; T1 = Time 1; T2 = Time 2; T3 = Time 3.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

A.5. Longitudinal Mediation Model with All Variables

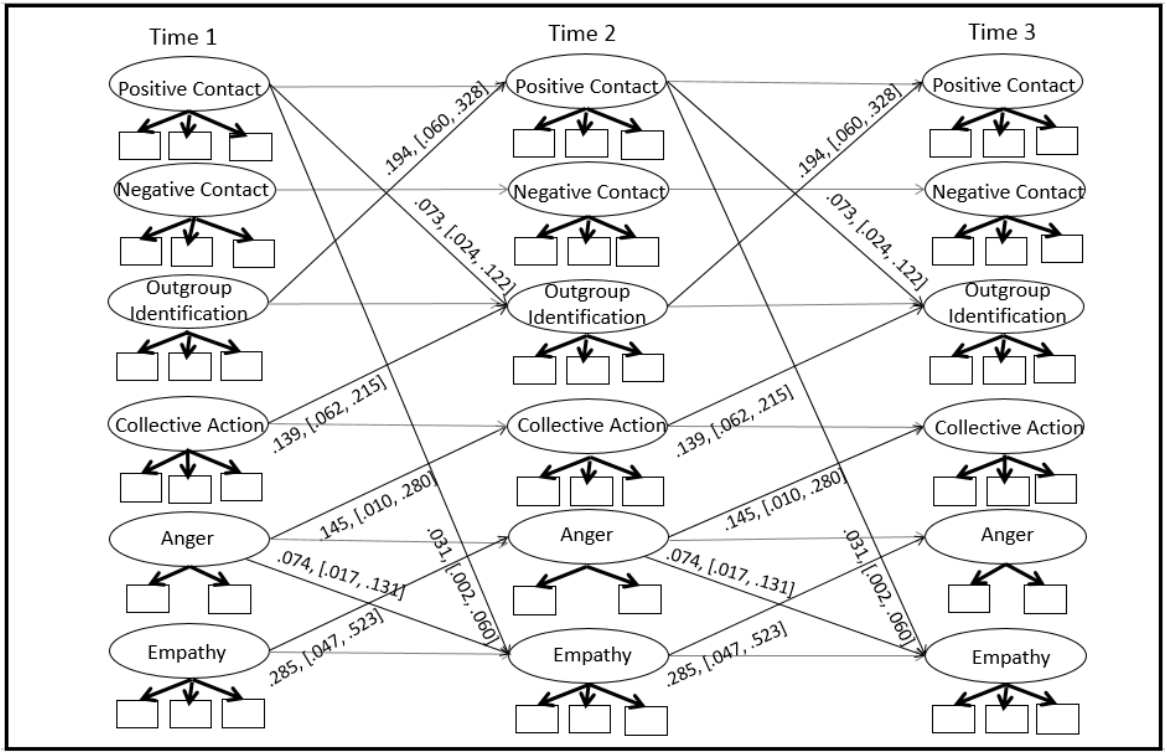

Figure 14. Study 3: Longitudinal mediation model testing the associations between contact, group-based anger, outgroup identification, empathy, and solidarity-based collective action.

N*ote.* All cross-lagged paths were tested, but only significant paths are shown. Marginally significant paths are shown as dashed lines. Unstandardized coefficients are presented. All auto-regressive paths were significant, *B*s > .50.

Model fit: $\chi^2(1114) = 2084.162$, $p < .001$, CFI = .953, RMSEA = .038, SRMR = .081.