Identifying with political actions plays a greater role in predicting collective action intention among the advantaged, than identifying with political opinions

Abstract

This research aims to investigate what motivates members of advantaged groups to join collective action efforts aimed at reducing discrimination as understanding this motivation is crucial for designing effective interventions and campaigns that aim to mobilise these groups in the fight against discrimination. Across three studies conducted in Germany ($N_{\text{Study 1}}$ = 326; $N_{\text{Study 2}}$ = 136) and the UK ($N_{\text{Study 3}}$ = 184), we investigated the psychological mechanisms linking moral conviction to collective action intention among members of advantaged groups. Each study focused on a distinct social issue: xenophobia, sexism, and racism. Specifically, we examined the mediating roles of different types of politicised identification (solidarity-based and opinion-based), perceived collective efficacy, and perceived closeness with discriminated groups. Results consistently showed that solidarity-based identification was a stronger and more reliable predictor of collective action intentions than collective efficacy, closeness with discriminated individuals, or opinion-based identification. By focusing on solidarity-based identification, social movements can better harness the potential of these groups to contribute to meaningful social change, thereby enhancing the overall effectiveness of efforts to combat xenophobia, sexism, and racism. Please refer to the Supplementary Material section to find this article's Community and Social Impact Statement.

Keywords: Collective action, discrimination, migration, morality, racism, sexism, social change, social identity, solidarity, xenophobia

Systematic discrimination and oppression, built on categories such as gender, class, religion, or race, have created and maintained profound differences in equality and justice between social groups (Human Rights Watch, 2020), which has prompted an increase in collective action movements. Previous research has evidenced the key role that identification, in particular the politicisation of collective identity, plays in mobilising members of both disadvantaged groups (Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Jiménez-Moya et al., 2015; Klandermans et al., 2002; van Zomeren et al., 2008a) and advantaged groups (Brown, 2015; Mallett et al., 2008; Saab et al., 2014; Radke et al., 2020; Selvanathan et al., 2017; Tropp & Uluğ, 2019) to participate in collective action aimed at challenging inequalities and injustices. In this paper, we aim to examine how cause-related identification processes (solidarity-based identification and opinion-based identification) might mobilise advantaged-group members' efforts aimed at combating different types of discrimination (xenophobia, sexism, and racism) with data from two different countries, Germany and the United Kingdom (UK).

Prominent models of collective action in social psychology, such as the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2011) or the Encapsulated Model of Social Identity and Collective Action (EMSICA; Thomas et al., 2012), highlight identification as a key driver of collective action by interlinking it with group-based anger, perceived efficacy, and, more recently, moral values. Common, across these models, is the emphasis on two additional predictors of collective action, alongside identification: perceived injustice and efficacy. These social-psychological determinants emphasise that collective action fundamentally arises from a sense of subjective injustice or disadvantage, tied to one's membership in a particular social group, rather than from objective or individual experiences (van Zomeren et al., 2008b). Yet, different models see these three drivers as intersecting in different ways. The present paper draws primarily on the extended SIMCA model, which is developed to account for the mobilisation of advantaged groups (van Zomeren et al., 2011),

as we aim to test which types of politicised collective identification might matter more in the context of advantaged groups, or allies, supporting collective action aimed at reducing injustices or inequalities that they themselves do not necessarily experience first-hand.

From identification with a group to identification with a cause

Unlike social identities more broadly, the concept of politicised collective identities situates social groups, and their relations, within a wider societal context defined by power asymmetries between groups, where social change is engaged to challenge, or change, these asymmetries. As such, the concept of politicised collective identities refers to a "form of collective identity that underlies group members' explicit motivations to engage in such a power struggle." (Simon & Klandermans, 2001, p.323). Crucial for advantaged group members' involvement in collective action to be perceived positively by disadvantaged groups is the extent to which they are seen as acting in solidarity and support of movements led by disadvantaged groups (Saab et al., 2014; Selvanathan et al., 2017), rather than becoming the leaders of those movements themselves (Kutlaca et al., 2022). Additionally, crucial for advantaged groups to engage in collective action is the perception that disadvantaged groups perceive them as allies (Adra et al., 2020). As such, *solidarity-based identification* emerges as one key type of politicised collective identity that can mobilise advantaged groups in ways that are inclusive and positively recognised, and this holds true even in contexts where intersectional identities are examined (e.g., White, 2006). In the present paper, we conceptualise solidarity-based identification not as identifying with a disadvantaged group, but rather, identifying with others who share in a particular cause (i.e., to tackle discrimination against the disadvantaged).

Similar to a focus on solidarity with a social movement, another recent approach in social psychology suggests that identification with the group leads to purposeful behaviour,

such as collective action, especially if the group membership is characterised through a commonly shared opinion (Bliuc et al., 2007). According to this, membership in opinion-based groups is defined not by shared characteristics but shared opinions on a topic or situation, which warrants the group taking a clear stance toward it. Therefore, as opinion-based groups become framed in relation to support or opposition to a particular topic, they are associated with a higher degree of intergroup conflict than other kinds of social groups and can easily be considered another type of politicised identity. *Opinion-based identification* may be particularly effective in predicting socio-political behaviour, such as organising or participating in protests for, or against, a particular cause (e.g., war; Musgrove & McCarthy, 2008).

To us, a key distinction between solidarity-based and opinion-based identifications is that while solidarity with a cause or movement more readily implies action, sharing a particular opinion on a topic can lead to mobilisation, but requires the inclusion of additional ingredients to do so. This distinction is similar to recent typologies of allyship, which distinguish between reactive and proactive allyship actions (De Souza & Schmader, 2025). Despite the authors distinguishing between allyship and solidarity, we argue that solidarity-based identification, when it is framed around a cause, rather than solidarity with a group, embodies this more proactive allyship approach whereas opinion-based identification is potentially more reactive, triggered only in response to a perceived violation of that opinion.

Moral conviction and collective efficacy to fight for a cause

In an initial attempt to apply the SIMCA to members of advantaged groups, van Zomeren et al. (2011) extended their model by incorporating moral conviction as a key predictor of collective action. Moral convictions are defined as "strong attitudes that are experienced as absolute stances on moralised issues" (van Zomeren et al., 2011, p.737). As

moral convictions are perceived as absolute stances on moralised subjects, they usually carry an obligation to act on them (Skitka et al., 2005), binding people together into moral communities/groups, on the basis of what we 'should' be doing (Graham & Haidt, 2010). By following the extended SIMCA model, we assume that morality operates through identity, not only by transforming existing identities into politicised ones, but also by fostering awareness of new, shared identities that transcend group boundaries and enable identification with broader movements and causes. The relevance of morality is echoed in the group-based needs of allies in social movements, where moral affirmations and acceptance from disadvantaged groups can alleviate identity threats emerging from awareness of privilege in contexts of social inequality (Hässler et al. 2022; Selvanathan et al., 2020). As such, moral convictions can be both important for mobilising advantaged groups to join collective action and be recognised as part of a movement, rather than as part of the problem. In line with the extended SIMCA model, we expect that moral conviction will predict (solidarity-based or opinion-based) identification (H1), which will then predict collective action intention (H2).

According to van Zomeren et al. (2011), moral convictions can directly strengthen collective efficacy beliefs as they instil a sense that group action is necessary and justified, even in the face of obstacles. As the authors note, "the absolute stance so central to moral convictions implies that others must also be ready to act to defend one's convictions – a factor that increases group efficacy independent of increases in social identification" (p. 67). The need to defend one's convictions, for example by punishing or excluding those with opposing stances, is often driven by strong negative emotions such as anger (Skitka & Morgan, 2014). Consequently, holding a moral stance increases the individual's need to reaffirm their convictions through action. This urge to act can foster a sense of collective efficacy, as individuals may come to believe that morally justified causes are more likely to attract shared support and thus have a greater chance of success through coordinated efforts.

According to this, we expect that moral conviction will predict collective efficacy (H3), which will also be predicted by identification (H4) and will predict collective action intention (H5).

Interpersonal and intergroup contact as raising awareness of injustice

Advantaged groups are less likely to perceive injustices experienced by others (i.e., Tropp & Barlow, 2018), which might limit the extent to which an opinion is in turn acted on. Therefore, how this awareness emerges becomes important to consider. We follow others in considering the integration of research on collective action with contact research, as key to answering this question. A recent narrative review (Cocco et al., 2024), for example, demonstrates that intergroup contact may have mobilising effects among advantaged groups and that this is particularly strong when the contact increases awareness of the injustices faced by disadvantaged groups. Advantaged group members can also mobilise more easily when they feel accepted and not condemned because of their advantaged group membership (Hässler et al., 2022). Additionally, Brown (2015) makes the point that close interpersonal contact, rather than general intergroup contact, is of particular importance since it is associated with a higher awareness among advantaged groups about how people from disadvantaged minorities experience discrimination. In effect, identification with a solidarity-based or opinion-based group (e.g., allies or activists) may place individuals in closer social proximity to people targeted by discrimination, both physically and psychologically. Such contact may also encourage valuing and sustaining those relationships, as they reinforce shared moral beliefs and commitments (Bliuc et al., 2007). Positive contact can further foster psychological closeness and solidarity with marginalised groups, which in turn predicts action intentions (Özkan et al., 2024). We contribute to the growing literature integrating contact and collective action research further by assessing whether closeness to people

targeted by discrimination (such as having meaningful contact or relationships with people affected by discrimination) might emerge from shared moral convictions and identification with justice-oriented values and strengthen motivation for collective action. So, we expect that moral conviction will predict closeness to people targeted by discrimination (H6), which will also be predicted by politicised identification (H7) and will predict collective action intention (H8).

Contextualising collective action across social issues and countries

While existing literature on collective action is growing, there is a notable absence of comparative studies across social issues and contexts – although some exceptions exist (e.g., Besta et al., 2024). Key to the novelty of the present research is the testing of the extended SIMCA model, using politicised identities in two contexts (Germany and the UK) and three contemporary social issues (xenophobia, sexism and racism). In doing so, we examine how different types of politicised identities intersect with context and cause, to unpack the potential role played by different socio-political contexts. Comparing Germany and the UK may allow for a richer understanding of how national histories, political climates, and cultural attitudes influence the dynamics of collective action. Different migration patterns and political histories have shaped each country's understanding of 'otherness' (see, for example, Kamasak et al. 2019; Kaya, 2013; Moffitt & Juang, 2019; Platt & Nandi, 2020) and responses to inequalities in distinct ways (see Albayrak-Aydemir & Gleibs, 2021). In both cases, however, we look at structural disadvantages in similar cultural contexts, which may yield similar results in terms of being individualistic cultures (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). Furthermore, focusing on xenophobia, sexism, and racism as the primary social issues allows us to explore structural disadvantages which, in some ways might implicate advantaged groups as part of the 'problem', making it increasingly important to identify the ways in which collective action is perceived as something advantaged groups identify with and care

about, rather than as a potential threat to their identity or morality (i.e., Hässler et al., 2022). Each of these issues presents unique challenges and may require different approaches to foster solidarity and collective action. While racism and xenophobia often overlap, they are distinct concepts. Racism is rooted in biological classifications and has faced extensive criticism and legal challenges, whereas xenophobia, based on cultural difference and perceived integration issues, often escapes similar scrutiny (Sundstrom & Kim, 2014). In this research, we address xenophobia by treating 'migration background' as a self-identified construct, allowing participants to determine whether they considered themselves to have a migration background and to whom this label applied. This approach allows us to capture the subjective sense of belonging that may not align with official definitions. By engaging with xenophobia, sexism, and racism, we seek to explore the interconnectedness of these forms of exclusion.

The present research

Building on the extended SIMCA, we examine how two different forms of politicised identifications (i.e., solidarity-based identification and opinion-based identification) as well as collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination mediates the relationships between moral conviction and collective action intention. Study 1 investigates this in Germany in 2020, focusing on white Germans' support for combating xenophobic discrimination against migrants. Study 2, also set in Germany in 2021, shifts the focus to German men's support for tackling sexist discrimination against women. Study 3 shifts the context to the United Kingdom in 2021, concentrating on white British people's support for fighting ethnic discrimination against ethnic minorities. Our conceptual model with hypotheses, which were theory-based and data-driven instead of being formed a priori, is presented in Figure 1. We present descriptive scores (i.e., means, standard deviations, 95% confidence intervals, and correlations) from three studies together in Table 1. We report how

we determined our sample size, all data exclusions and manipulations (if any), and all measures in the study. Analyses were conducted in R version 3.6.3 (R Core Team, 2021)[1]. We conducted the path analyses using the Maximum Likelihood estimator, and we used listwise deletion to handle missing data, where only cases with complete data across all variables were included in the analysis. While listwise deletion reduces the sample size, it ensures that all data used in the analysis are complete for the specified model. Additionally, we applied bootstrapping with 1,000 samples to estimate the standard errors for the indirect effects. This method provides more robust estimates by accounting for the uncertainty associated with sampling variability. Materials, data, and analysis codes necessary to replicate the studies are on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/unzg2/?view_only=2370b574d1a84c7f9feafb829f1d003b).

[1] We used dplyr package version 1.1.2 (Wickham et al., 2023a), readr package version 2.1.4 (Wickham et al., 2023b), psych package version 2.3.6 (Revelle, 2023), writexl package version 1.4.2. (Ooms, 2023), lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012), and metafor package version 4.6.0 (Viechtbauer, 2010).

207 **Figure 1**

208 The conceptual model and the hypotheses

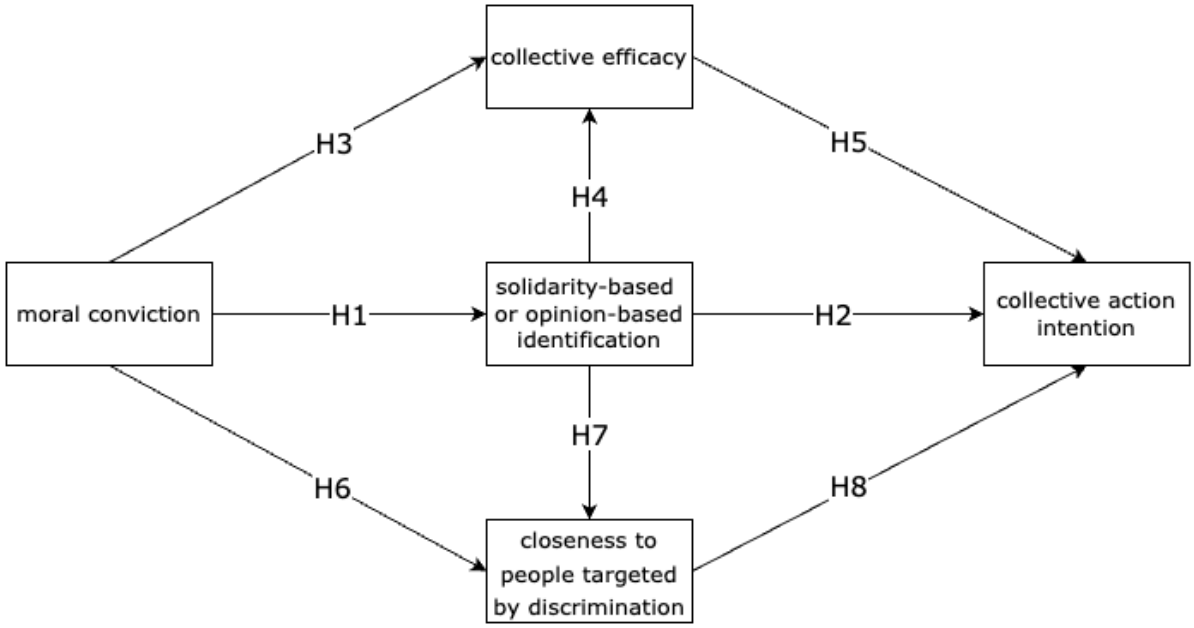

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Table 1

Means, standard deviations, 95% confidence intervals, and correlations in Studies 1, 2, and 3

Variables	*M (SD)*	95% *CIs*	2	3	4	5	6
Study 1 (Xenophobic discrimination in Germany)							
1. Moral conviction	5.91 (1.24)	[5.77, 6.05]	.48***	.25***	.13*	.29***	
2. Solidarity-based identification	5.60 (1.23)	[5.46, 5.73]	-	.36***	.24***	.60***	
3. Collective efficacy	5.64 (1.20)	[5.51, 5.77]	-	-	.15**	.34***	
4. Closeness to people targeted by discrimination	2.87 (1.68)	[2.69, 3.05]	-	-	-	.36***	
5. Collective action intention	4.75 (1.32)	[4.61, 4.89]	-	-	-	-	
Study 2 (Sexist discrimination in Germany)							
1. Moral conviction	5.36 (1.45)	[5.11, 5.6]	.55***	.26**	.28**	.44***	.28**
2. Solidarity-based identification	5.09 (1.40)	[4.85, 5.33]	-	.49***	.40***	.71***	.38***
3. Collective efficacy	5.52 (1.24)	[5.31, 5.73]		-	.06	.40***	.28**
4. Closeness to people targeted by discrimination	3.50 (1.92)	[3.18, 3.83]	-	-	-	.42***	.20*
5. Collective action intention	4.09 (1.58)	[3.82, 4.36]	-	-	-	-	.34***
6. Opinion-based identification	4.29 (1.84)	[3.98, 4.6]	-	-	-	-	-
Study 3 (Racist discrimination in the United Kingdom)							
1. Moral conviction	5.90 (1.18)	[5.73, 6.08]	.39***	.30***	.19*	.36***	.20**
2. Solidarity-based identification	5.38 (1.29)	[5.20, 5.57]	-	.34***	.14	.50***	.25**
3. Collective efficacy	6.16 (1.03)	[6.01, 6.31]	-	-	.09	.27***	.09
4. Closeness to people targeted by discrimination	3.12 (1.80)	[2.86, 3.39]	-	-	-	.36***	.06
5. Collective action intention	4.91 (1.41)	[4.71, 5.12]	-	-	-	-	.18*
6. Opinion-based identification	4.57 (1.95)	[4.28, 4.86]	-	-	-	-	-

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

Study 1

Method

Participants

We initially recruited 406 participants through convenience and snowball sampling (i.e., via social media, including LinkedIn and Facebook, by posts shared by the second and third authors), targeting Germans above the age of 18 who do not have any migration backgrounds. 80 participants were then excluded because their demographic characteristics did not fit the inclusion criteria because of having a migration background ($N = 74$) or being below the age of 18 ($N = 6$). The remaining sample comprised 326 participants ($N_{female} = 194$, $N_{male} = 113$, $N_{non\text{-}binary} = 12$). Our decision for this sample size was based on practical considerations, including the resources available for recruitment and data collection. Sensitivity analyses suggest that this sample size should be able to detect effects of at least $f^2 = .035$ at conventional alpha levels of .05 and power of .80. The majority of participants fell within the 21-29 age range ($N = 223$; 69.47%), followed by 30-39 ($N = 52$; 16.20%) and 50-59 ($N = 20$; 6.23%) ranges. Out of 10 (with 10 indicating a higher status), most participants reported a socio-economic status of 7 ($N = 104$, 32.70%), followed by 8 ($N = 68$, 21.38%) and 6 ($N = 64$, 20.13%). Education levels varied, with most participants ($N = 108$; 33.54%) holding bachelor's degrees, followed by those holding master's degrees ($N = 98$; 30.43%) and having an abitur or equivalent advanced high-school or pre-university qualification ($N = 96$; 29.81%). In terms of residence, most of the participants reported living in smaller cities (100,000 - 500,000) ($N = 135$; 41.93%) or larger cities (> 500,000) ($N = 98$; 30.43%).

Measures and procedure

All participants answered a questionnaire without manipulation and completed the study voluntarily without compensation. The survey included close-ended questions and one open-ended question. They responded to all close-ended questions on a 7-point Likert scale

(1: strongly disagree, 7: strongly agree) unless noted otherwise. The survey was translated from English to German and then, back-translated to English to check for accuracy. After making the necessary corrections to the translation, the subsequent German version was used to collect participant data.

First, an item asking whether participants have any *migration background* was presented to ensure that all participants fit the inclusion criteria of having no migration background (1: Yes, 2: No). We only kept participants in the analysis if they picked 'no' for this question. Then, three items adapted from van Zomeren et al. (2011) assessing *moral conviction* were presented ($\alpha = .81$; e.g. "My opinion about the discrimination of people with a migration background is an important part of my moral norms and values."). Next, three items adapted from Leach et al. (2008) assessing *solidarity-based identification* ($\alpha = .82$; e.g. "I feel connected to the people who are working against the discrimination of people with a migration background in Germany."), two items adapted from van Zomeren et al. (2011) assessing *collective efficacy* ($r = .43$, $p < .001$; e.g. "I believe that collectively, individuals can reduce discrimination against people with a migration background in Germany."), and one item adapted from Tropp and Uluğ (2019) assessing *closeness to people targeted by discrimination* (1-7: Never, Very often; i.e. "How often in the last 12 months has someone close to you been insulted or discriminated against because of their origin, ethnicity, or culture?") were presented. Following this, eight items adapted from Selvanathan et al. (2017) were used to assess *collective action intention*, asking participants about their willingness to engage in a list of actions ($\alpha = .86$; 1-7: Very unlikely, Very likely; e.g. "Participating in demonstrations, protests, or rallies against racism"). Finally, questions about socioeconomic

status (Hoebel et al., 2015), gender, age, education, and population of current place of residence were asked to collect *demographic information*.[2]

Results

Solidarity-based identification

We tested the mediating role of solidarity-based identification between moral conviction and collective action intention. We also tested the mediating roles of collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination between solidarity-based identification and collective action intention. The model exhibited a perfect fit to the data ($\chi^2(2) = 1.62$, $p = .446$; $CFI = 1.00$; $TLI = 1.00$; $RMSEA = .00$, $SRMR = .02$), suggesting that the proposed paths explain the relationships among the variables (see Figure 2).

First, we examined the direct effects. Solidarity-based identification mediated the relationship between moral conviction and collective action intention, with moral conviction positively predicting solidarity-based identification (H1: $B = .48$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$), which then, positively predicted collective action intention (H2: $B = .54$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$). Collective efficacy was not predicted by moral conviction (H3: $B = .10$, $SE = .06$, $p = .081$) but it was positively predicted by solidarity-based identification (H4: $B = .30$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$) and it positively predicted collective action intention (H5: $B = .13$, $SE = .05$, $p = .007$). Similarly, closeness to people targeted by discrimination was not predicted by moral conviction (H6: $B = .04$, $SE = .08$, $p = .670$) but it was positively predicted by solidarity-based identification (H7: $B = .31$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$) and it positively predicted collective action intention (H8: $B = .17$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$).

Then, we investigated the indirect effects. The results revealed a significant indirect effect of moral conviction on collective action intention through solidarity-based

[2] For exploratory reasons, we also asked about which population participants intuitively think of first when they think of people with migration backgrounds in Germany, in an open question.

identification (B = .26, SE = .04, p < .001). However, there were no significant indirect effects of moral conviction on collective action intention through collective efficacy (B = .01, SE = .01, p = .144) and through closeness to people targeted by discrimination (B = .01, SE = .01, p = .671).

Finally, we looked at the R^2 values to understand the proportion of variance explained by the predictors in the endogenous variables, which were calculated using the squared multiple correlations from the path model. According to this, 42% of the variance in collective action intention was accounted for by moral conviction, together with solidarity-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination. Solidarity-based identification explained 23% of the variance while collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination accounted for 13% and 6%, respectively.

Study 2

Method

Participants

We recruited 136 participants through convenience and snowball sampling (i.e., via social media, including Linkedin and Facebook, by posts shared by the second and third authors), targeting German men above the age of 18 (M_{age} = 31.16, SD_{age} = 9.48). Our decision for this sample size was based on practical considerations, including the resources available for recruitment and data collection. Sensitivity analyses suggest that this sample size should be able to detect effects of at least f^2 = .082 at conventional alpha levels of .05 and power of .80. Out of 10 (with 10 indicating a higher status), most participants reported a socio-economic status of 4 (N = 37, 28.03%), followed by 3 (N = 28, 21.21%) and 5 (N = 27, 20.45%). Education levels varied, with most participants holding master's degrees (N = 52; 39.69%), followed by those holding bachelor’s degrees (N = 40; 30.53%) and having an abitur or equivalent qualification (N = 32; 24.43%). In terms of residence, most of the

participants reported living in large cities (> 500,000) (N = 59; 44.70 %) or smaller cities (100,000 - 500,000) (N = 45; 34.09%).

Measures and procedure

The procedure was the same as in Study 1. First, an item asking about participants' *gender* was presented to ensure that all participants fit the inclusion criteria of being a man (1: Male, 2: Diverse, 3: Non-binary). We kept participants in the analysis only if they picked 'Male' for this question. Then, *moral conviction* (α = .80), *solidarity-based identification* (α = .88), *collective efficacy* (r = .58, p < .001), and *closeness to people targeted by discrimination* were measured as in Study 1. Additionally, three items adapted from Musgrove and McGarthy (2008) assessing *opinion-based identification* were presented (α = .90; e.g. "I feel close to other people who do not support the discrimination of women."). Following this, the same items from Study 1 were used to assess *collective action intention* (α = .89). Finally, demographic information was collected with the same questions as in Study 1.[3]

Results

Solidarity-based identification

We tested the mediating roles of solidarity-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination as in Study 1. The model exhibited a good fit to the data ($\chi^2(2) = 4.49$, p = .106; CFI = .99; TLI = .94; $RMSEA$ = .10, $SRMR$ = .04), suggesting that the proposed paths explain the relationships among the variables well (see Figure 2).

First, we examined the direct effects. Solidarity-based identification mediated the relationship between moral conviction and collective action intention, with moral conviction

[3] For exploratory reasons, we also asked whether there are any situations participants hesitate to speak out against sexism, in an open question.

positively predicting solidarity-based identification (H1: $B = .54$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$), which then, positively predicted collective action intention (H2: $B = .67$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$). Collective efficacy was not predicted by moral conviction (H3: $B = -.02$, $SE = .08$, $p < .829$) but it was positively predicted by solidarity-based identification (H4: $B = .45$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$); however, it did not predict collective action intention (H5: $B = .13$, $SE = .09$, $p = .145$). Closeness to people targeted by discrimination was not predicted by moral conviction (H6: $B = .11$, $SE = .13$, $p = .359$) but it was positively predicted by solidarity-based identification (H7: $B = .49$, $SE = .13$, $p < .001$) and it positively predicted collective action intention (H8: $B = .14$, $SE = .05$, $p = .009$).

Then, we investigated the indirect effects. The results revealed a significant indirect effect of moral conviction on collective action intention through solidarity-based identification ($B = .36$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$). However, there was no significant indirect effects of moral conviction on collective action intention through collective efficacy ($B = .00$, $SE = .01$, $p = .831$) and through closeness to people targeted by discrimination ($B = .02$, $SE = .02$, $p = .387$).

Finally, we looked at the R^2 values to understand the proportion of variance explained by the predictors in the endogenous variables, which were calculated using the squared multiple correlations from the path model. According to this, 54% of the variance in collective action intention was accounted for by moral conviction, together with solidarity-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination. Solidarity-based identification explained 31% of the variance while collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination accounted for 24% and 17%, respectively.

Opinion-based identification

In addition to solidarity-based identification, we also tested the mediating role of opinion-based identification, together with collective efficacy and closeness to people

targeted by discrimination. The model did not exhibit a good fit to the data ($\chi^2(2) = 10.14$, $p = .006$; *CFI* = .92; *TLI* = .58; *RMSEA* = .18, *SRMR* = .05). For transparency, we presented the path coefficients below; however, given the inadequate model fit, the path coefficients and indirect effects should be interpreted with caution, as the model does not adequately represent the data.

First, we examined the direct effects. Opinion-based identification mediated the relationship between moral conviction and collective action intention, with moral conviction positively predicting opinion-based identification (H1: $B = .36$, $SE = .11$, $p = .001$), which then positively predicted collective action intention (H2: $B = .15$, $SE = .06$, $p = .019$). Collective efficacy was positively predicted by moral conviction (H3: $B = .17$, $SE = .07$, $p = .024$) and by opinion-based identification (H4: $B = .16$, $SE = .06$, $p = .006$) and it positively predicted collective action intention (H5: $B = .42$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$). Similarly, closeness to people targeted by discrimination was positively predicted by moral conviction by (H6: $B = .34$, $SE = .11$, $p = .003$) but not predicted by opinion-based identification (H7: $B = .12$, $SE = .09$, $p = .192$) and it positively predicted collective action intention (H8: $B = .34$, $SE = .11$, $p = .003$).

Then, we investigated the indirect effects. The results did not reveal a significant indirect effect of moral conviction on collective action intention through opinion-based identification ($B = .05$, $SE = .03$, $p = .053$). However, there were significant but small indirect effects of moral conviction on collective action intention through collective efficacy ($B = .07$, $SE = .02$, $p = .043$) and through closeness to people targeted by discrimination ($B = .10$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$).

Finally, we looked at the R^2 values to understand the proportion of variance explained by the predictors in the endogenous variables, which were calculated using the squared multiple correlations from the path model. According to this, 35% of the variance in

collective action intention was accounted for by moral conviction, together with opinion-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination. Opinion-based identification explained 8% of the variance while collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination accounted for 12% and 9%, respectively.

Study 3

Method

Participants

We recruited 189 participants through convenience and snowball sampling (i.e., via social media, including Linkedin and Facebook, by posts shared by the second and third authors), targeting white British people above the age of 18. Five participants were then excluded because their demographic characteristics did not fit the inclusion criteria because of being ethnically white. The remaining sample comprised 184 participants (M_{age} = 28.61, SD_{age} = 9.15; N_{female} = 96, N_{male} = 76, $N_{non\text{-}binary}$ = 5). Our decision for this sample size was based on practical considerations, including the resources available for recruitment and data collection. Sensitivity analyses suggest that this sample size should be able to detect effects of at least f^2 = .059 at conventional alpha levels of .05 and power of .80. Out of 10 (with 10 indicating a higher status), most participants reported a socio-economic status of 3 (N = 41, 23.03%), followed by 4 (N = 30, 16.85%) and 5 (N = 26, 14.61%). Education levels varied, with most participants holding bachelor's degrees (N = 66; 37.08%), followed by those having an abitur or equivalent qualification (N = 51; 28.65%) and holding master's degrees (N = 45; 25.28%). In terms of residence, most of the participants reported living in large cities (> 500,000) (N = 86; 48.59 %) or smaller cities (100,000 - 500,000) (N = 33; 18.64%).

Measures and procedure

The procedure was the same as in Study 2. First, an item asking participants about their ethnicity was presented to ensure that all participants fit the inclusion criteria of being

white (1: White or White British, 2: Mixed or Multiple Ethnic Groups, 3: Other Ethnic Group). We kept participants in the analysis only if they picked 'White or White British' for this question. Then, *moral conviction* (α = .89), *solidarity-based identification* (α = .89), *collective efficacy* (r = .76, p < .001), *closeness to people targeted by discrimination*, *opinion-based identification* (α = .92), and *collective action intention* (α = .89) were measured as in Study 2. Finally, *demographic information* was collected with the same questions as in Study 1.[4]

Results

Solidarity-based identification

We tested the mediating roles of solidarity-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination as in previous studies. The model exhibited a good fit to the data ($\chi^2(2) = 5.05$, p = .080; *CFI* = .98; *TLI* = .89; *RMSEA* = .09, *SRMR* = .03), suggesting that the proposed paths adequately explain the relationships among the variables (See Figure 2).

First, we examined the direct effects. Solidarity-based identification mediated the relationship between moral conviction and collective action intention, with moral conviction positively predicting solidarity-based identification (H1: B = .42, SE = .08, p < .001), which then, positively predicted collective action intention (H2: B = .47, SE = .07, p < .001). Collective efficacy was positively predicted by moral conviction (H3: B = .17, SE = .06, p = .009) and by solidarity-based identification (H4: B = .21, SE = .06, p < .001); however, it did not predict collective action intention (H5: B = .13, SE = .09, p = .152). Closeness to people targeted by discrimination was positively predicted by moral conviction (H6: B = .24, SE =

[4] For exploratory reasons, we also asked about which population participants intuitively think of first when they think of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, in an open question.

.12, $p = .045$) but not by solidarity-based identification (H6: $B = .11$, $SE = .11$, $p = .301$); however, it positively predicted collective action intention (H8: $B = .22$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$).

Then, we investigated the indirect effects. The results revealed a significant indirect effect of moral conviction on collective action intention through solidarity-based identification ($B = .20$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$). However, there was no significant indirect effects of moral conviction on collective action intention through collective efficacy ($B = .02$, $SE = .02$, $p = .209$) and through closeness to people targeted by discrimination ($B = .05$, $SE = .03$, $p = .066$).

Finally, we looked at the R^2 values to understand the proportion of variance explained by the predictors in the endogenous variables, which were calculated using the squared multiple correlations from the path model. According to this, 34% of the variance in collective action intention was accounted for by moral conviction, together with solidarity-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination. Solidarity-based identification explained 15% of the variance while collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination accounted for 15% and 4%, respectively.

Opinion-based identification

In addition to solidarity-based identification, we also tested the mediating role of opinion-based identification, together with collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination, as in Study 2. The model did not exhibit a good fit to the data ($\chi^2(2) = 12.61$, $p = .002$; $CFI = .86$; $TLI = .28$; $RMSEA = .17$, $SRMR = .06$). For transparency, we presented the path coefficients below; however, given the inadequate model fit, the path coefficients and indirect effects should be interpreted with caution, as the model does not adequately represent the data.

First, we examined the direct effects. Opinion-based identification did not mediate the relationship between moral conviction and collective action intention, with moral conviction

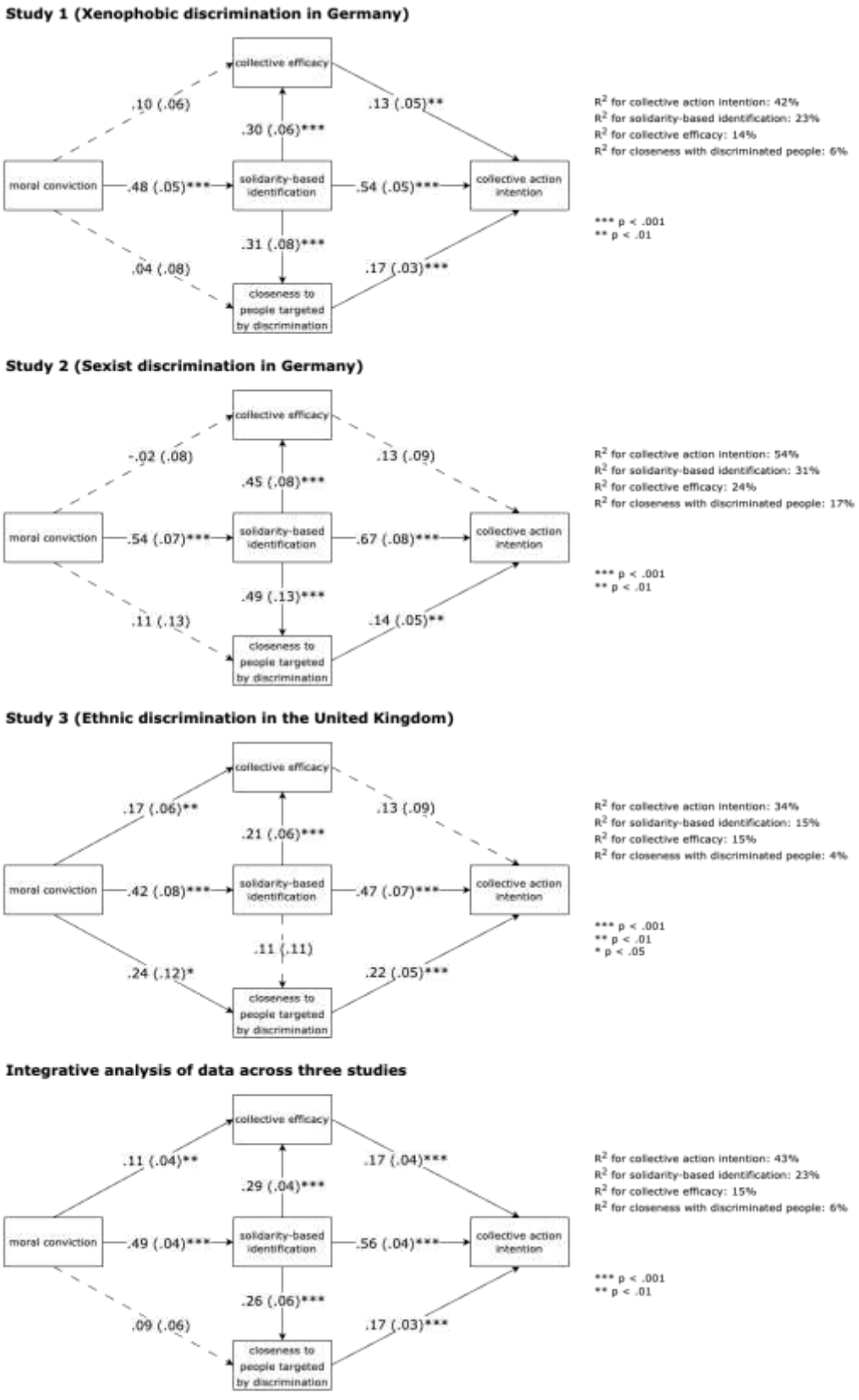
positively predicting opinion-based identification (H1: $B = .33$, $SE = .12$, $p = .005$), which then, positively predicted collective action intention (H2: $B = .10$, $SE = .05$, $p = .047$). Collective efficacy was positively predicted by moral conviction (H3: $B = .125$ $SE = .06$, $p < .001$) but not predicted by opinion-based identification (H4: $B = .02$, $SE = .04$, $p = .646$); however, it positively predicted collective action intention (H5: $B = .31$, $SE = .09$, $p = .001$). Similarly, closeness to people targeted by discrimination was positively predicted by moral conviction (H6: $B = .28$, $SE = .1$, $p = .013$) but not predicted by opinion-based identification (H7: $B = .02$, $SE = .07$, $p = .777$); however, it positively predicted collective action intention (H8: $B = .26$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$).

Then, we investigated the indirect effects. The results revealed no significant indirect effects of moral conviction on collective action intention through opinion-based identification ($B = .03$, $SE = .02$, $p = .106$); however, there were significant but small indirect effects of moral conviction on collective action intention through collective efficacy ($B = .08$, $SE = .03$, $p = .011$) and through closeness to people targeted by discrimination ($B = .07$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$).

Finally, we looked at the R^2 values to understand the proportion of variance explained by the predictors in the endogenous variables, which were calculated using the squared multiple correlations from the path model. According to this, 19% of the variance in collective action intention was accounted for by moral conviction, together with opinion-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination. Opinion-based identification explained 4% of the variance while collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination accounted for 9% and 4%, respectively.

476 **Figure 2**

477 The results for the solidarity-based identification



478

Integrative analysis of data across three studies

In this section, we present an integrative analysis of data from Studies 1, 2, and 3 to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the proposed model and its robustness across multiple datasets. More specifically, we test the proposed model using the aggregated dataset and conduct a mini meta-analysis. This allows us to increase statistical power, broaden the generalisability of the findings, and develop a more nuanced understanding of study-level variability. In doing so, we also offer a holistic perspective that may not be apparent from individual study analyses alone.

Method

We combined data for the following variables from three studies: *Moral conviction* (three items), *solidarity-based identification* (three items), *collective efficacy* (two items), *closeness to people targeted by discrimination* (one item), *collective action intention* (eight items), and demographic variables. The combined dataset included a total of 646 participants.

Results

Model testing

We tested the mediating roles of solidarity-based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination as in previous studies, combining all of the data from three studies. The model exhibited a perfect fit to the data ($\chi^2(2) = 5.06$, $p = .080$; *CFI* = .99; *TLI* = .98; *RMSEA* = .095, *SRMR* = .02), suggesting that the proposed paths adequately explain the relationships among the variables.

First, we examined the direct effects. Solidarity-based identification mediated the relationship between moral conviction and collective action intention, with moral conviction positively predicting solidarity-based identification (H1: $B = .49$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$), which then, positively predicted collective action intention (H2: $B = .56$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$). Collective efficacy was positively predicted by moral conviction (H3: $B = .11$, $SE = .04$, $p =$

504 .005) and by solidarity-based identification (H4: B = .29, SE = .04, p < .001) and it positively
505 predicted collective action intention (H5: B = .17, SE = .04, p < .001). Closeness to people
506 targeted by discrimination was not predicted by moral conviction (H6: B = .09, SE = .06, p =
507 .124) but was positively predicted by solidarity-based identification (H6: B = .26, SE = .06, p
508 < .001) and it positively predicted collective action intention (H8: B = .17, SE = .03, p <
509 .001).

510 Then, we investigated the indirect effects. The results revealed a significant indirect
511 effect of moral conviction on collective action intention through solidarity-based
512 identification (B = .27, SE = .03, p < .001). However, there was a significant but small
513 indirect effect of moral conviction on collective action intention through collective efficacy
514 (B = .02, SE = .01, p = .019) while there was no indirect effect through closeness to people
515 targeted by discrimination (B = .02, SE = .01, p = .134).

516 Finally, we looked at the R^2 values to understand the proportion of variance explained
517 by the predictors in the endogenous variables, which were calculated using the squared
518 multiple correlations from the path model. According to this, 43% of the variance in
519 collective action intention was accounted for by moral conviction, together with solidarity-
520 based identification, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination.
521 Solidarity-based identification explained 23% of the variance while collective efficacy and
522 closeness to people targeted by discrimination accounted for 15% and 6%, respectively.

523 ***Mini meta-analysis***

524 We took a meta-analytic approach to evaluate the model tested across three studies
525 and used a random-effects model to account for variability across studies, with restricted
526 maximum likelihood estimation ($\boldsymbol{\tau^2}$) used to estimate between-study heterogeneity. We
527 assessed heterogeneity using Q-tests for significance and I^2 values to quantify the percentage
528 of variability attributable to heterogeneity. We presented the results for each path of the

529 model in Table 2, including model estimates and heterogeneity statistics. Overall, all paths
530 were positive and significant except for the paths from moral conviction to collective efficacy
531 and from moral conviction to closeness to people targeted by discrimination. Most
532 relationships showed low to negligible heterogeneity ($I^2 < 15\%$), except for the paths from
533 moral conviction to collective efficacy and from solidarity-based identification to collective
534 efficacy, which showed moderate to high heterogeneity, suggesting study-level differences in
535 these associations.

Table 2

Model estimates and heterogeneity statistics for each path in the model

Paths	***β***	***SE***	***z***	***p***	**95% *CIs***	τ^2	I^2	***Q***	***p***
Moral conviction → Solidarity-based identification	.48	.04	12.73	< .001	[.41, .56]	.00	7.05%	2.71	.258
Solidarity-based identification → Collective action intention	.50	.04	13.84	< .001	[.43, .57]	.00	0.04%	2.37	.306
Moral conviction → Collective efficacy	.10	.06	1.69	.091	[-.02, .21]	.01	59.16%	4.79	.091
Solidarity-based identification → Collective efficacy	.35	.07	4.94	< .001	[.21, .49]	.01	71.06%	6.33	.042
Collective efficacy → Collective action intention	.11	.04	2.81	.005	[.03, .19]	.00	0.00%	.06	.969
Moral conviction → Closeness to people targeted by discrimination	.07	.06	1.21	.226	[-.04, .19]	.00	0.00%	.79	.672
Solidarity-based identification → Closeness to people targeted by discrimination	.21	.06	3.32	.001	[.09, .34]	.00	14.68%	2.75	.253
Closeness to people targeted by discrimination → Collective action intention	.22	.03	9.62	< .001	[.18, .27]	.00	0.10%	2.49	.287

Discussion

Across three studies, we explored what motivates members of advantaged groups to join collective action efforts aimed at reducing xenophobic, sexist, and ethnic discrimination. The unique and combined results from these studies provide a comprehensive understanding of the mediating roles of solidarity-based identification with a cause, collective efficacy, and closeness to people targeted by discrimination in the relationship between moral conviction and collective action intention. In Study 1, conducted in the context of xenophobic discrimination against migrants in Germany, solidarity-based identification emerged as a crucial mediator between moral conviction and collective action intention as well as a primary predictor of collective action intention, with its indirect role in collective action intention through both collective efficacy and closeness to people targeted by discrimination. Study 2, also set in Germany but focusing on sexist discrimination, reaffirmed the importance of solidarity-based identification as a mediator; however, collective efficacy became less relevant in this context. Study 3, conducted in the UK focusing on discrimination towards ethnic minorities, reinforced the importance of solidarity-based identification as a central mediator linking moral conviction and collective action intention in the context of ethnic discrimination; however, its indirect role was less pronounced in this context. Instead, closeness to people targeted by discrimination emerged as a unique mediator, prompting further explorations of the dynamics at play. Additionally, the results from both Studies 2 and 3 demonstrated that opinion-based identification did not play as important a role as solidarity-based identification did, which underscored the greater importance of identifying with political actions rather than political opinions in estimating collective action intention. Finally, the integrative analysis of data from the studies provided strong evidence supporting our model tested, reaffirming the centrality of solidarity-based identification in collective

action and providing a more generalisable framework for understanding the psychological drivers of collective action across different social issues and contexts.

The continued and consistent relevance of solidarity-based identification across the studies aligns with existing research on the motivations behind advantaged groups' involvement in collective action (e.g., Saab et al., 2014; Selvanathan et al., 2017; Tekin & Drury, 2023). Acting on the basis of solidarity, and being perceived as doing so (Adra et al., 2020; Kutlaca et al., 2022), seems to offer a key avenue for research. A strength of our research is that we specifically focus on identifying with political actions (i.e., solidarity-based identification) or opinions (i.e., opinion-based identification) based on a cause instead of identifying with disadvantaged group members as proposed in the original model, which allowed us to understand the alternative processes when identifying with disadvantaged group members is not possible. Moreover, in integrating both a proxy for social awareness (through closeness with people targeted by discrimination) and a testing of our assumptions across three studies, we are in a better position to evidence that solidarity-based identification, as opposed to opinion-based identification, captures not only a politicised, but also an *action-oriented* identification that acts as a key motivator for collective action (see Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Additionally, our findings also demonstrate that in contexts where advantaged group members may not personally experience or perceive injustice, strengthening their relational ties with disadvantaged group members can be helpful to heighten their awareness of social injustices.

Another strength of this research emerges from its examination of the mechanisms underlying advantaged group members' motivation to engage in collective action against various forms of discrimination. By integrating data across studies, we increased statistical power and generalisability. While the mini meta-analysis confirmed consistent effects for most pathways; moderate to high heterogeneity in certain relationships (i.e., the paths from

moral conviction to collective efficacy and from solidarity-based identification to collective efficacy) suggests contextual factors warrant further investigation. An interesting contextual difference to reflect on is the predictive power of moral conviction for collective efficacy. Moral conviction predicted collective efficacy and perceived injustice (as measured with closeness in our studies) in the UK as suggested by SIMCA (van Zomeren et al., 2018); however, these connections were lacking in Germany. This begs the question of why moral conviction was not directly predictive of collective efficacy and perceived injustice and which contextual factors were at play to cause this. Future research could explore this lack of connections to shed light on the variability of these effects across different societal settings and issues. Additionally, in measuring closeness to people targeted by discrimination we further consider how contact might shape collective action among advantaged groups, exploring how relationships might foster increased awareness of the injustices experienced by others (Cocco et al., 2024). Closeness emerged as a unique mediator between moral conviction and collective action intention when considering ethnic discrimination in the UK, but not when considering xenophobia or sexism in Germany. To us, this contextual variation seems to signal that different political movements have been more, or less, successful in mobilising the moral outrage among advantaged groups while not threatening their sense of morality on a personal or group level (i.e., Hässler et al. 2022). Perhaps this is because a higher-order identity is more easily made salient in the context of ethnic groups (i.e., all part of a national ingroup) compared to in contexts of sexism and xenophobia, where national identity is either less readily considered (i.e., the former) or contested in relation to the natives v. foreigners (i.e., the latter).

This research has several limitations. First, we did not measure opinion-based identification in Study 1; however, we included it in our design for Studies 2 and 3, allowing us to collect data from both contexts. Second, our research was correlational, which precludes

drawing causal inferences. While we conducted comparative research, employing experimental designs would be essential to uncover the significance of contextual factors influencing motivation to engage in solidarity-based collective action. Lastly, despite collecting data from two different countries, it's important to note that both were situated in the Global North, limiting the generalisability of our findings to different contexts.

Conclusion

At a time when political activism is on the rise, it is important to further understand what motivates people to engage in collective action and join social movements and how these motivations can be sustained over time to achieve real change. Solidarity-based identification, as a way to foster identification with a particular cause, seems to offer an inclusive, and non-threatening, way for advantaged groups to mobilise for collective action to support disadvantaged groups. This understanding is vital for designing effective interventions and campaigns that promote solidarity-based collective action and ultimately contribute to positive social change.

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