The Effects of Ingroup Transgression Visibility on Dutch People's Solidarity with Asylum Seekers

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Abstract

Previous work illustrated that group-based image concerns and image-related emotions may motivate highly identified transgressor group members to act in solidarity with disadvantaged outgroups when their group victimizes these outgroups. However, less is known about under which conditions this process could be more profound. To bridge this gap, this experimental study ($N = 455$) examined whether the visibility of transgressions influence solidarity through group-based image concerns and related emotions. Specifically, an experimental study focused on the visibility of alleged Dutch governmental transgressions in the context of the refugee crisis, looking at Dutch nationals' solidarity intentions with asylum seekers in the Netherlands. The experimental conditions were created in a way that either a local (i.e., ingroup visibility) or an international (i.e., third-party visibility) newspaper article described the same government's mistreatment of asylum seekers. Particularly, it was expected that third-party transgression visibility (vs. ingroup visibility) would predict higher solidarity intentions via increased group-based image concerns and image-related emotions, especially when Dutch national identification is high. The results showed the sequential mediation to be significant, with no moderating role of Dutch national identification. Yet, exploratory analyses showed that instead of Dutch national identification, political orientation moderates the sequential mediation, such that the effects of third-party transgression visibility (vs. ingroup visibility) via increased group-based image concerns and image-related emotions on solidarity intentions were stronger among right-wingers than left-wingers. Findings indicate the important role of transgression visibility on solidarity intentions with outgroup victims. Implications and limitations were discussed.

Keywords: transgression visibility, solidarity-based collective action, ingroup identification, appraisal, emotion

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Over the last decades, we have observed numerous collective efforts where members of many social groups such as women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ people, protest the injustice that they face. In social-psychological literature, these efforts are coined as 'collective action' – concerted efforts aiming to redress group-based disparities (Wright et al., 1990). Despite this broad definition, research concentrates more on the foundations of disadvantaged group members' collective action. Nevertheless, advantaged groups sometimes support these actions as well (e.g., White BLM supporters; see Selvanathan et al., 2018; Uluğ & Tropp, 2021). This type of support is coined as solidarity-based collective action and gaining more insight into advantaged group members' solidarity-based action is seen as crucial to getting a better grasp on attempts to achieve intergroup equality (Radke et al., 2020). With this in mind, this study researched the roots of advantaged group members' solidarity-based collective actions with a specific focus on Dutch nationals' solidarity with asylum seekers in the Netherlands.

Radke et al. (2020) have recently put collective action research into a relatively new perspective, concentrating on the advantaged groups' solidarity with the disadvantaged ones. As Radke et al. (2020) put forth eloquently, researching the underpinnings of the advantaged group members' solidarity with the disadvantaged has several reasons and benefits. Besides other structural- and group-level factors, the advantaged groups might be partly the reason for the other groups' disadvantaged position, such as through their groups' or their group representatives' (e.g., leaders, governments) transgressions towards the disadvantaged. Thus, unfairness in such cases can be solved not only by disadvantaged groups' efforts but also by advantaged groups' help. For example, in the context of Dutch colonialism, the transgressions

inflicted by the Dutch need to be partially restored by the Dutch themselves through reparatory actions, such as financial compensation and the repatriation of colonized cultural heritage (Figueiredo et al., 2010). One could argue for a serious need for action taken by the Dutch to repair such transgressions in the context of asylum seekers' dire living conditions in the Netherlands, as the Dutch government, representing the Dutch nationals, caused this transgression. Thus, by engaging in solidarity-based actions against their in-groups' transgressions towards asylum seekers in the Netherlands, Dutch nationals might be important catalysts in ameliorating asylum seekers' status as a disadvantaged group. This instance shows the utmost importance of solidarity-based collective action in the quest for broader societal change: The more the advantaged Dutch support the disadvantaged' cause, the more likely the positive change favoring the disadvantaged asylum seekers can be achieved. Therefore, we concentrated on the underpinnings of the Dutch solidarity with asylum seekers in the Netherlands to gain insight into the advantaged group solidarity with outgroups against their ingroup transgressions.

We believe that transgressions by the Dutch government towards asylum seekers reflect group-based inequalities that may drive Dutch nationals to show solidarity with asylum seekers via certain motivational and emotional processes. For instance, by highlighting their groups' contribution to group-based inequalities, these mistreatments render Dutch nationals' moral image questionable in the eyes of others, thereby increasing their group-based image concerns (Shuman et al., 2018; Teixeira et al., 2020). In turn, some Dutch, as advantaged group members, might engage in solidarity-based collective action if aroused emotions (i.e., guilt, shame, embarrassment) about the transgression, accompanying these increased image concerns, occur (Shuman et al., 2018). Previous research by Shuman et al. (2018) showed that such solidarity,

motivated by group-based image concerns and related emotions, is contingent upon higher levels of identification with the transgressor group. Also, high-identifiers are reluctant to express their solidarity in radical ways, as their primary motive is to save their group's image (Çakmak et al., 2024).

However, what we know little about is whether contextual factors influence the levels of experienced group-based image concerns and image-related emotions in motivating high-identifiers' solidarity. One factor could be the transgression visibility in such a way that high-identifiers can experience group-based image concerns and image-related emotions more when their group's transgressions are visible to third-party observers (i.e., others in the world without being involved in transgressions) compared to only visible to their ingroup. To fill this gap, the current study focused on the transgression visibility of the Dutch government towards asylum seekers in the Netherlands, examining the roots of Dutch nationals' solidarity. Specifically, we expected those with high Dutch national identification to be more concerned about the Dutch image and report more image-related emotions when the governmental transgressions of asylum seekers are visible to a wider audience who were not victimized by the transgressions (i.e., third-party visibility) compared to when they are only visible to Dutch nationals (i.e., ingroup visibility). Also, these aroused appraisals and feelings motivate them to express their solidarity only in non-radical ways, rather than radical ways. In the following sections, we will discuss the proposed solidarity motivators along with these characteristics.

Identification with advantaged groups as the key to understanding group-based image concerns and image-related emotions as solidarity motives

Social group memberships influence what drives people to behave and hold attitudes in certain ways. This happens via social identification: The process of identifying oneself with a

particular social group and feeling a sense of belonging to that group (Tajfel, 1979), which is one's national identification in our case (i.e., Dutch national identification). Previous research showed that high national identification is related to collective action taken to enhance the financial position of one's nation in the context of the financial crisis (Stathi et al., 2019). This study shows how national identification shapes collective action intentions favoring one's own national interests when it is perceived as disadvantaged; however, we focus on solidarity-based collective actions that favor an outgroup in the context of ingroup transgressions. Thus, Dutch national identification in our case implies the characteristics of an advantaged, or perpetrator, group, requiring the investigation of distinct motives in helping outgroup asylum seekers.

Higher levels of identification with an advantaged group may especially be associated with group-based image concerns as a solidarity motivator when facing group-based transgressions. Being invested in advantaged groups is mostly related to positive psychological benefits (e.g., higher self-esteem; Schmitt et al., 2014) and material gains (e.g., better access to monetary resources; Knowles et al., 2005); thus, highly identified advantaged group members usually have a positive image of their groups. However, seeing their groups' transgressions to others may tarnish high-identifiers' positive ingroup perception, and they may take some actions to repair this tarnished perception such as helping the harmed others (Çakmak et al., 2024; Shuman et al., 2018). Since this help essentially works to alleviate their concerns about their ingroup, high identification seems to be associated with ingroup-focused motivation to help outgroups in the form of solidarity-based collective action (Radke et al., 2020). Indeed, Van der Toorn et al. (2015) showed that when transgressor group members were given a moral opportunity to take corrective actions as a response to ingroups' moral transgressions, these actions seemed to reduce feelings of threat towards the moral group image. Consequently, we

first claim that highly identified advantaged group members are more likely to appraise in-group mistreatments as threatening to their group's positive image, being likely to result in outgroup solidarity.

Shuman et al. (2018) provided more direct evidence on this matter by showing that transgressions by the U.S. government to others were perceived as image-threatening by highly-identified American nationals, which, in turn, motivated them collective action to repair their image. Similarly, we claim that transgressions by the Dutch government towards asylum seekers can trigger similar processes among individuals with high Dutch national identification. However, one should also note that image concerns may have either positive or negative effects on outgroup solidarity, as we know that it can also predict defensive responses by making excuses or downplaying outgroups' suffering (Gunn & Wilson, 2011). Thus, defensiveness as a response to image threat can prevent advantaged group members from engaging in solidarity-based collective action. However, what makes image concerns a driver of prosocial behavioral intentions and tackles defensiveness seems to be the accompanying role of certain image-related emotions.

In this case, certain emotions related to the ingroup image such as guilt and shame are important as a solidarity motivator amongst highly identifying advantaged group members. Group-based guilt relates to the acknowledgement of ingroup responsibility, hence the acceptance of the ingroup's wrongdoing (Radke et al., 2020). Shuman et al. (2018) demonstrated the accompanying role of group-based guilt as an outgroup solidarity motivator amongst highly identified American nationals in the context of their country's war crimes in Guantanamo Bay. However, guilt is not the only image-related emotion that may arouse in line with increased image concerns. Shame is also aroused as a result of morally unacceptable group-based reactions

and behaviors (Radke et al., 2020). As ingroup transgressions towards other groups can be classified as such behaviors, they may consequently feel ashamed and embarrassed of what their ingroup does. Although past research shows distinctive roles of group-based guilt and shame in predicting different outcomes (i.e., shame as the reparation predictor vs. guilt as the apology predictor; Tangney & Dearing, 2002), we believe that their combination as 'image-related emotions' might also serve to predict outgroup solidarity in a non-radical form. Consequently, we predict that increased image concerns with the complement of image-related emotions (i.e., guilt, shame and embarrassment) can motivate solidarity-based collective action intentions among highly identified Dutch nationals.

Visibility of the ingroups' transgressions

Transgressions by advantaged groups towards disadvantaged groups do not occur in a social vacuum. Thus, several other factors might influence their effectiveness in arousing group-based image concerns and image-related emotions. One such factor can be transgression visibility. To our knowledge, no previous research has examined the potential role of transgression visibility in boosting outgroup solidarity via group-based image concerns and image-related emotions. However, a study by Teixeira et al. (2020; Study 4) investigated the role of visibility concerning collective action. They showed that highly identifying advantaged group members show less support for disadvantaged groups' collective actions that highlight group-based disparities when the visibility of those actions was higher (compared to lower). They attributed this to the fact that collective action taken by the disadvantaged outgroup can be perceived as a threat towards the ingroup's social image. In this case, the visibility of a disadvantaged group's actions seems to trigger defensive responses from advantaged group members due to the spotlight on group-based inequality.

However, our study focuses on the visibility of transgressions towards asylum seekers by the Dutch government on Dutch nationals' solidarity-based collective action intentions. In our study, the visibility is not necessarily increased by the actions of asylum seekers or their allies who defend their rights. Without such attempts, Western media may draw excessive attention to governmental mistreatment towards asylum seekers in some cases, while neglecting to do so in other cases. We believe that rather than the collective action efforts of disadvantaged group members in spotlighting group-based inequalities, the effects of media coverage may be seen as an external and neutral factor, thus not provoking defensiveness amongst advantaged group members. With this rationale, we propose that transgressions towards asylum seekers by the Dutch government arouse greater concerns about group-based image and elicit stronger image-related emotions amongst individuals with a stronger sense of Dutch national identification when the mistreatments are framed as being covered in international media (i.e., third-party visibility) compared to when they are framed as being covered in local media (i.e., ingroup visibility). Through greater group-based image concerns and stronger image-related emotions, we expect high-identifiers to express more solidarity with asylum seekers in the Netherlands.

The current research

Our research questions were as follows: How do Dutch national identification, group-based image concerns, and image-related emotions affect Dutch nationals' solidarity-based collective action intentions related to the Dutch government's transgressions towards asylum seekers? Does transgression visibility (i.e., third-party vs. ingroup) influence these associations?

Based on this, we propose the following hypotheses:

(H1) Group-based image concerns and image-related emotions are positively correlated with solidarity-based collective action intentions.

(H2) Third-party visibility predicts more group-based image concerns and image-related emotions than the ingroup visibility condition.

(H3) Group-based image concerns and image-related emotions sequentially mediate the relationship between transgression visibility and solidarity-based collective action intentions.

(H4) These relationships will be stronger among highly-identified Dutch nationals compared to the low-identified.

Methods

Participants and Design

The participants were Dutch nationals aged at least 16 who have a sufficient level of English reading skills. They were recruited online between February and June of 2023 via the University's SONA system, including first-year psychology (FYPP) and paid participant (PPP) pools. We compensated participants from FYPP with course credit and those from PPP with €2.00 per participation. The FYPP sample consisted of 298 participants and the PPP sample consisted of 157 participants. The two datasets were merged so the overall initial sample consisted of 455 participants. Participants were excluded based on multiple pre-registered quality criteria ($N_{attention\ checks} = 3$, $N_{comprehension\ checks} = 1$). The pre-registration form can be found at https://aspredicted.org/XSR_W1V. The remaining were 451 participants ($N_{female} = 326$, $N_{male} = 118$, $N_{non\text{-}binary} = 7$). The participants' age distribution was as follows: $N_{16\text{-}19\ years} = 157$, $N_{20\text{-}22\ years} = 173$, $N_{22\text{-}25\ years} = 57$, and $N_{over\ 25\ years} = 64$.

To assess the adequacy of our sample size for testing serial mediational paths, we conducted a Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects (Schoeman et al., 2020) using an

online application before data collection. The analysis indicated that a sample size of 229

participants would be sufficient to achieve a power level of .80 at a 95% confidence interval for

moderate intercorrelations between variables (i.e., $r = .30$). This calculation assumed a standard

deviation of 1.00, with 1000 replications and 20,000 Monte Carlo draws per replication. Since

we investigated sequential mediational association, moderated by an experimental manipulation

with two conditions, we planned to include at least 224 participants per experimental condition

and 448 in total. Thus, this minimum sample size was reached.

This study had a between-subjects experimental design where we manipulated the

ingroups' transgression visibility: visible to the ingroup vs. visible to third parties. We measured

Dutch national identification as the moderator, group-based image concerns as the first mediator,

image-related emotions as the second mediator, and solidarity intentions as the dependent

variable. The data collection procedure received approval from the University's Ethical

Committee of Psychology

Procedure

Participants completed an online Qualtrics questionnaire. They first received information

about the study, in which they were informed that the researchers are interested in their views

about asylum seekers in the Netherlands and how the researchers will process their data.

Informed consent was obtained from participants, stating that they participated voluntarily and

knew how their data would be processed. Note that all the research material was employed in

Dutch, except for the English newspaper excerpt in the third-party visibility condition.

The questionnaire started with *demographics*, including their gender (i.e., "What is your

gender? [Male/Female/Non-binary/I do not prefer to say]), age (i.e., What is your age?

[16-19/20-22/23-25/over 25]) and political orientation (i.e., "Please indicate where you place

yourself on the scale in terms of your political preference [1 = Extremely left/4 = Moderate/7 = Extremely right])". After this, *Dutch national identification* was measured (see Measures section).

The study followed with the *experimental manipulation of visibility of ingroup transgressions*. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions and were shown an excerpt from an ostensible newspaper article illustrating the mistreatment of asylum seekers in the Netherlands by the Dutch government. In the *ingroup visibility* condition, participants were first presented with the instruction stating that only some locals talked about the incident along with the pictures of asylum seekers. Then, they saw an excerpt from a local newspaper article (i.e., Groninger Krant) that emphasized the mistreatment towards the asylum seekers that only drew local attention in Groningen. In the *third-party visibility* condition, participants were first presented with the instruction stating that the incident became a trending topic on Twitter along with an actual post including pictures of asylum seekers. Then, they saw an excerpt from an internationally well-read newspaper article (i.e., Washington Post) strongly emphasizing the mistreatment of asylum seekers drawing worldwide attention. Additionally, the *ingroup visibility* article consisted of statements such as "Local aid organizations say that the situation is critical and that at least one local organization has been preparing to sue the Dutch government." In the *third-party visibility* condition*, the article stated: "International aid agencies say that the situation is critical and that at least one international organization has been preparing to sue the Dutch government." (see Appendix A for the experimental conditions).

After reading one of the articles, mediator and dependent variables were measured (see measures).

Measures

Note that, unless otherwise specified, all scales were 7-point Likert ranging from *completely disagree* (1) to *completely agree* (7) (see Appendix B for detailed measures).

Dutch national identification

For the assessment of Dutch national identification, a scale with 12 items (Koc, 2018) was used. These items concerned solidarity, centrality and satisfaction subdimensions of social identification. This included items such as "I feel a distance between myself and the Dutch people", "I am glad to be Dutch" and "Being Dutch has nothing to do with how I see myself" (α = .89). All items were averaged and the mean score was used.

Group-based image concerns

For this mediator variable, three items were adapted from the social image scale of Teixeira, Spears & Yzerbyt (2020). An example item is "Incidents like this will make Dutch people seem bad to the rest of the world" (α = .90).

Image related emotions

The items used for this mediator variable were adapted from Gordijn, Yzerbyt, Wigboldus & Dumont (2006). The items were "Incidents like this make me feel guilty/ashamed/embarrassed" (α = .78).

Solidarity-based collective action intentions.

The scale of the dependent variable consists of three non-radical solidarity items and three radical solidarity items (adapted from Çakmak et al., 2024) as per factor analysis results. Example items are "In the face of incidents like this, we, as Dutch people, need to take non-radical actions to supply medical help for asylum seekers" (non-radical) and "In the face of incidents like this, we, as Dutch people, need to support radical actions in society to show solidarity with asylum seekers" (radical). All non-radical and radical solidarity items were

measured on 7-point Likert scales ranging from *extremely unlikely* (1) to *extremely likely* (7).

Three attention checks were used in the questionnaire. The first and second attention checks were: "To check your attentiveness, please indicate option "completely agree".", this question was placed within the social identification with Dutch people and in the group-based image concerns measures. The third attention check was: "To check your attentiveness, please indicate the option "somewhat likely".". Furthermore, after the last dependent variable, two comprehension questions were included. Namely: "The incident in the newspaper article took place in …" and "The incident in the newspaper article is about ….".

Lastly, at the end of the survey, participants were thanked and asked for possible feedback. They were also debriefed, in which the actual aim of the study was explained.

Results

Primary analyses

The descriptives of all variables are shown in Table 1. Additionally, Table 2 shows the correlations between these variables. Hypothesis 1 stated that group-based image concerns and image-related emotions are positively correlated with solidarity-based collective action intentions. As seen in Table 2, group-based image concerns were positively related to both types of solidarity-based collective action intentions. Image-related emotions were also positively related to both solidarity-based collective action intentions. The findings supported Hypothesis 1.

Table 1.

Descriptive statistics across conditions and intercorrelations among variables

	National visibility *M (SD)*	Third-party visibility *M (SD)*

1 Dutch national identification	4.89 *(0.86)*	4.74 *(0.89)*
2 Group-based image concerns	4.50 *(1.29)*	4.97 *(1.13)*
3 Image-related emotions	4.55 *(1.25)*	4.82 *(1.19)*
4 Non-radical action intentions	5.21 *(1.23)*	5.37 *(1.09)*
5 Radical action intentions	3.32 *(1.48)*	3.38 *(1.35)*
6 Political orientation	3.37 *(1.25)*	3.35 *(1.19)*

Table 2.

Descriptive statistics across conditions and intercorrelations among variables

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
1 Dutch national identification						
2 Group-based image concerns	.04					
3 Image-related emotions	.19***	.40***				
4 Non-radical action intentions	-.03	.33***	.50***			
5 Radical action intentions	-.15***	.26***	.22***	.35***		
6 Political orientation	.18***	-.14**	-.26***	-.37***	-.36***	

Notes. **p < .01, ***p < .001.

Transgression visibility predictions

Next, Hypothesis 2 stated that third-party visibility predicts more group-based image

concerns and image-related emotions than the national visibility condition. To test this, we

conducted two one-way ANOVAs. In the third-party visibility condition, group-based image

concerns ($F(1, 449) = 17.34$, $p < .001$) and image-related emotions ($F(1, 449) = 5.54$, $p =.019$)

were significantly higher compared to the national visibility condition (see Table 2 for the

means). These findings supported Hypothesis 2.

Sequential mediation with group-based image concerns and image-related emotions

Further, we conducted a mediation analysis with PROCESS Macro with 5000 bootstraps

(Model 6, Hayes, 2017) to test Hypothesis 3 which stated that group-based image concerns (first

mediator) and image-related emotions (second mediator) sequentially mediate the relationship

between the predictor transgression visibility and the radical and non-radical solidarity-based

collective action intentions as outcome variables. The results showed that group-based image

concerns and image-related emotions significantly mediated the indirect effects of transgression

visibility on non-radical solidarity-based collective action intentions, $\beta = .08$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI

[.04, .13]. As for radical solidarity-based collective action intentions, the results also showed a

(smaller) significant sequential mediation effect, $\beta = .03$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI [.01, .06]. These

findings supported Hypothesis 3.

### *The moderating role of identification on the sequential mediational model*

Our final analyses were regarding the moderating effect of Dutch national identification.

Hypothesis 4 stated that the relations in the proposed sequential mediational model, are stronger

among highly identified Dutch nationals compared to low identified ones. For this, we used

PROCESS Macro with 5000 bootstraps (Model 84, Hayes, 2017, see Figure 1). The impacts of

transgression visibility sequentially via group-based image concerns and image-related emotions

appeared to be significant on both types of action intentions among high-identifiers ($\beta_{non\text{-}radical} =$

$.10$, $SE_{non\text{-}radical} = .03$, 95% CI [.04, .18]; $\beta_{radical} = .04$, $SE_{radical} = .02$, 95% CI [.01, .08]), but not

low-identifiers ($\beta_{non\text{-}radical}$ = .05, $SE_{non\text{-}radical}$ = .03, 95% CI [-.01, .11]; $\beta_{radical}$ = .02, $SE_{radical}$ = .01, 95% CI [-.00, .05]). Yet, both moderated mediation indices were non-significant ($\beta_{non\text{-}radical}$ = .03, $SE_{non\text{-}radical}$ = .03, 95% CI [-.02, .08]; $\beta_{radical}$ = .01, $SE_{radical}$ = .01, 95% CI [-.01, .04]). Thus, the findings did not support Hypothesis 4.

Figure 1.
Moderated sequential mediation models for high- and low-identifiers.

High-identifiers / Low-identifiers:
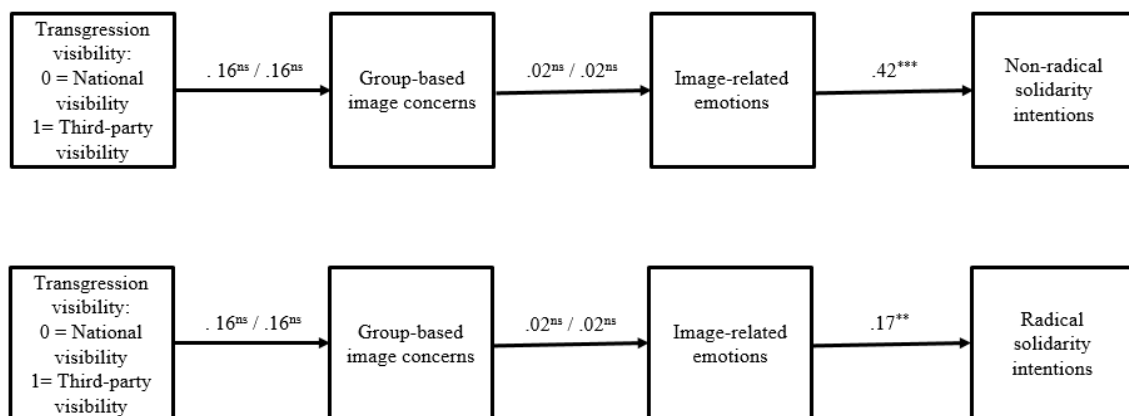
Notes. ^{ns}non-significant, $^{**}p$ < .01, $^{***}p$ < .001.

Exploratory analyses

Because the moderating effect of Dutch national identification was not significant, we explored why that might be the case. We figured that this might be the case due to our experimental manipulation not specifically focusing on Dutch nationals' transgression, but rather on transgressions inflicted by the, at that time, centre-right government. When replacing Dutch national identification with political orientation as the moderator, transgression visibility showed significant indirect effects on both types of action intentions through group-based image concerns and image-related emotions among right-wingers ($\beta_{non\text{-}radical}$ = .11, $SE_{non\text{-}radical}$ = .03, 95%

CI [.06, .18]; $\beta_{radical}$ = .05, $SE_{radical}$ = .02, 95% CI [.01, .09]), but not among left-wingers ($\beta_{non-radical}$ = .03, $SE_{non-radical}$ = .03, 95% CI [-.02, .08]; $\beta_{radical}$ = .01, $SE_{radical}$ = .01, 95% CI [-.01, .04]).

Further, moderated mediation indices were significant in these models ($\beta_{non-radical}$ = .04, $SE_{non-radical}$ = .02, 95% CI [.01, .07]; $\beta_{radical}$ = .01, $SE_{radical}$ = .01, 95% CI [.01, .04]) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2.
Moderated sequential mediation models for right- and left-wingers.
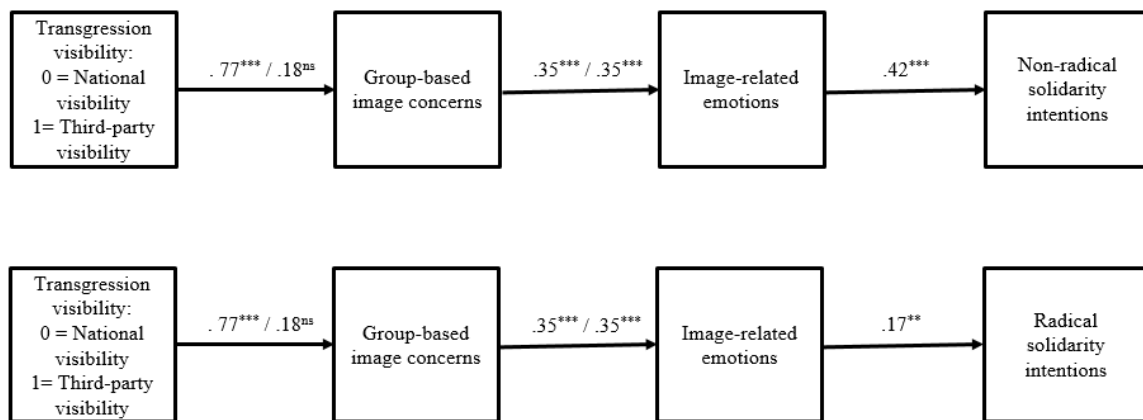
Notes. ns non-significant, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

Discussion

This study provided support for most of the key hypotheses. Specifically, the effects of transgression visibility were observed on group-based image concerns and related emotions, but not on solidarity-based collective action intentions. Furthermore, mediational analyses showed that transgression visibility predicted both non-radical and radical action intentions via initially increased group-based image concerns and then image-related emotions. However, there was no moderating role of Dutch national identification. That is, the sequential mediational links were not stronger for high identifiers compared to low identifiers. Instead, exploratory analyses

showed that political orientation moderated these relations. That is, the sequential mediational links on both non-radical and radical action intentions were stronger for right-wingers than for left-wingers. Overall, the study makes a contribution to the literature on solidarity-based collective action by introducing the important role of the visibility of ingroup transgressions to third-party observers.

Theoretical and societal implications

The findings of our study have several theoretical and societal implications. Earlier studies gave reason to believe that advantaged ingroups' transgression visibility can explain and promote acts of solidarity towards disadvantaged group members (Teixeira et al., 2020). Specifically, when this relationship is mediated through group-based image concerns and image-related emotions (Van der Toorn et al., 2015 & Shuman et al., 2018). In our study, the transgressions were inflicted upon asylum seekers by the Dutch government as representatives of Dutch nationals. Our results supported the assumption that third-party transgression visibility showed higher solidarity intentions with asylum seekers among Dutch nationals mediated through group-based image concerns and image-related emotions. Thus, our study replicated the previous mediational chain. Moreover, it addressed a very important aspect of transgressions (i.e., visibility) and contributed to the literature that higher transgression visibility strengthens the previously found mediational relations.

Further, previous research studied the moderating role of transgressor group identification on the sequential mediational chains between higher group-based image concerns, image-related emotions and collective action intentions (Shuman et al., 2018). However, in the case of the Dutch government as the transgressor of the ingroup 'Dutch nationals', our study did not support these previous findings. Instead, exploratory analyses showed that the Dutch government was a

good representation of those who support the government (i.e., political orientation). Accordingly, the visibility of governmental transgressions influenced group-based image concerns among right-wingers more than left-wingers, causing higher solidarity intentions mediated through higher levels of group-based image concerns and image-related emotions. Thus, these findings shed light upon the importance of the characteristics of the transgressor group representative in evoking solidarity-based collective action intentions.

Considering that our study focused on governmental transgressions and that our model distinguishes both types of solidarity intentions (i.e., radical and non-radical), we were also able to gain some insights into the underpinnings of these different solidarity intentions. Namely, in the context of transgressions inflicted by ingroup members, it might generally be expected to predict only non-radical solidarity via image concerns (Çakmak et al., 2024). However, in the context of our study, the transgression is perpetrated by a *powerful* ingroup representative (i.e., the Dutch government) and solidarity intentions via image concerns were in both non-radical and radical ways. Consequently, having a power holder as an ingroup representative may lead image-concerned people to seek radical solutions. In this way, this study also opens empirical questions regarding the relation of outgroup solidarity to power dynamics.

Another important aspect of our exploratory findings about political orientation shows that some transgressions might more effectively evoke concerns and feelings among a group of people with specific political views. At first, we thought the Dutch government to be a good representative because it is the institute that is chosen by the Dutch themselves to lead the country. However, we did not consider the fact that even though the government was chosen democratically, it was a center-right government possibly chosen by right-wingers. Thus, Dutch governmental transgressions did not necessarily bother those who highly identify with Dutch

nationality but those with right-wing political orientation (cf. Gootjes et al., 2021). This could indicate that the Dutch government at that time, as a transgressor, was a better representative for right-wingers. Consequently, transgression visibility showed a significant effect through group-based image concerns and image-related emotions on solidarity intentions (radical and non-radical) only among right-wingers.

In terms of societal implications, this finding tells us that making transgressions by politically elected representatives more visible might be important in promoting outgroup solidarity among those who (possibly) voted for them. Additionally, it would also be interesting to do future research in order to look more deeply into political orientation. Especially since after the experiment, the Dutch government shifted to the far-right. Therefore, it would be interesting to test whether this exploratory finding persists even in a far-right political atmosphere.

Limitations and future research

The study also has several limitations. The first one is about sampling. Our sample mainly consisted of students due to its convenience and low cost. This might lead to biased results because it comes with relatively homogenous participants in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and political orientation. Thus, this sample does not provide the best representation of Dutch nationals. Further, considering generalisability, it would be beneficial for future research to study the same model in other contexts to rule out the possibility of the results depending on the Dutch context or a specific victimized group (i.e., Dutch nationals and asylum seekers).

Moreover, the findings showing that transgression visibility via mediations predicted both types of solidarity can be attributed to other factors. By critically viewing what caused this effect, we looked at the design of our visibility manipulation. Namely, within the newspaper articles we

differentiated between local versus international authorities threatening sanctions. However, the

sanctions were of different degrees of severity due to the fact that international aid organizations

threatened to file a lawsuit against the Dutch government (third-party visibility) compared to a

local aid organization (ingroup visibility) suing. The latter can be perceived as less threatening

and less severe. The threat of serious sanctions could alternatively explain the radical intentions.

Hence, the effect we found could be explained by the perceived severity of the sanctions instead

of the perceived visibility of the transgressions. Therefore, to eliminate this possibility, we

suggest future research to change the manipulation in such a way that severity is ruled out as a

possible explanation of the effect. As for policy, assuming non-radical solidarity is preferred over

radical solidarity because radical solidarity can entail illegal actions (see Feinberg et al., 2020), it

would be of interest to take this insight into account when designing interventions.

Furthermore, the role of media in making transgression towards disadvantaged groups

visible is a highly important social implication highlighted by this study. The findings indicated

that the effect of international media usage was more potent in keeping Dutch nationals from

engaging in solidarity with asylum seekers. This could be an opportunity in such a way that those

who at first glance do not seem to be interested in helping people in disadvantaged positions can

be motivated to act in solidarity by using media visibility. This in turn shows the importance of

media responsibility in promoting positive social change: When well-established media

institutions spotlight mistreatments properly, even people who seem hesitant to help outgroups

(i.e., right-wingers here) could be more willing to show their solidarity. Overall, this study also

points to the impact of dutiful media coverage (or lack thereof).

In addition, the study focused only on *negative* group-based emotions (shame, guilt and

embarrassment). This was based on previous research (i.e., Shuman et al., 2018) and offered

interesting insights, but overlooked the possible role of *positive* group-based emotions to possibly underpin solidarity intentions. Hence, future research could try to create a visibility manipulation to evoke positive emotions such as empathy or sympathy based on which participants intend to act in solidarity.

Moreover, this study framed solidarity intentions as a strategic response to image concerns and image-related emotions within high-identifying Dutch nationals. However, image concerns are not the only motive behind outgroup solidarity in high-identifying ingroup members. Another possibility would be to approach solidarity intentions as moral responses. For example, morality can be seen as a factor that keeps a group together; it preserves social cohesion and ingroup transgressions can be seen as harmful acts undermining the transgressor group's cohesion (Tang et al., 2023). However, our study overlooks the potential role of such morality concerns as forces behind solidarity, driven by social cohesion concerns. For this reason, it is important for future research to look at other factors such as morality to gain a broader understanding of outgroup solidarity.

Furthermore, our study does not explain the reasons for left-wingers' solidarity. There might be other underlying motives that can explain left-wingers' outgroup solidarity. For one, 'aiding the needy' matches universally held left-wing values (Argüello-Gutiérrez et al., 2024), or justice concerns can explain their motivation for outgroup solidarity (Çakmak et al., 2024). For future studies, it would thus be relevant to deepen further our knowledge about issues and motives related to different ideological dispositions.

Additionally, when changing the ingroup's representative to a group of Dutch nationals in future studies, it can be of interest to critically look at other aspects of the design of our manipulation. For instance, the ingroup visibility condition concentrated only on local settings.

We chose this to emphasize the lower visibility of the ingroups' transgression. However, this could lead to subtyping of the transgression, especially among highly identifying Dutch people. In other words, they could have seen the problem as a minor one that would only be noticed in a small part of the northern Netherlands. This is a protective response to dealing with negative events concerning their ingroup (Parks-Stamm, 2013). In turn, this could hold back any concerns about the group's image, which can be confounding. To prevent such risk, we advise future researchers to think about ways to control for potential subtyping by the participants by not only focusing on local settings in the national (ingroup) visibility condition.

Further, we measured solidarity-based collective action intentions and not behavior. This is a limitation since often there is an intention-behavior gap. However, we chose to do this because measuring behavior, in this case, would not have been feasible for this study because we did not have the resources or time to do so. Thus, the next step could be to look at solidarity behavior instead of intentions. Finally, despite strong correlational mediational relations, we cannot reliably claim the causality of the proposed sequential mediation because we did not manipulate image concerns or related emotions. To have stronger conclusive results, the following studies should experimentally investigate these factors.

Conclusion

Prior research demonstrated that group-based image concerns and image-related emotions may motivate highly identified transgressor group members to act in solidarity with disadvantaged outgroups when their ingroup victimizes such outgroups. However, there was a gap in the literature regarding the conditions under which this process could be more profound. To address this gap, this experimental study examined whether the visibility of transgressions may influence solidarity intentions through group-based image concerns and image-related

emotions. The study specifically examined the visibility of presumed Dutch governmental transgressions in the context of the refugee crisis in the Netherlands, investigating Dutch nationals' solidarity with asylum seekers. The experimental conditions were created in a way that either a local (i.e., ingroup visibility) or an international (i.e., third-party visibility) newspaper article described the Dutch government's transgressions towards asylum seekers. We anticipated that third-party transgression visibility (compared to ingroup visibility) to induce higher solidarity intentions with asylum seekers via higher group-based image concerns and image-related emotions, especially among highly identifying Dutch nationals. The results demonstrated that the proposed sequential mediation was significant, with no moderating role of Dutch national identification. However, the exploratory analysis indicated that instead of Dutch national identification, political orientation moderates the sequential mediation, such that the effects were stronger among right-wingers than left-wingers. The findings suggest that transgression visibility plays an important role in shaping solidarity intentions with victims.

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Appendix A

Visibility manipulation conditions

Ingroup visibility condition

Instruction:

Nu vragen wij u de volgende passage uit een artikel van de Groninger Krant (een lokale website) te lezen. Het gaat over de erbarmelijke levensomstandigheden van asielzoekers in Ter Apel, Groningen. Het begint in Groningen steeds aandacht te krijgen dat het niet goed gaat in Ter Apel. Hieronder ziet u enkele foto's van de levensomstandigheden van asielzoekers. Nadat u het heeft gelezen, zullen wij u verschillende vragen stellen over het incident.

De schrijnende omstandigheden in asielcentrum Ter Apel trekken lokale aandacht

In het asielcentrum in Ter Apel, een klein Nederlands dorpje in provincie Groningen, beginnen de schrijnende omstandigheden voor asielzoekers steeds meer aandacht te trekken. Volgens lokale organisaties slapen de afgelopen dagen veel mensen in Ter Apel op straat in vanwege een ruimtegebrek in het asielzoekerscentrum.

De Groningse afdeling van vluchtelingenwerk Nederland is onlangs een onderzoek gestart naar de situatie. Volgens de eerste waarnemingen hebben degenen die buiten het centrum wonen geen toegang tot douches, schone toiletten en geen toegang tot gezond eten. Verder hebben sommige asielzoekers met chronische ziekten geen medicijnen meer. "Als deze situatie aanhoudt, kan dat leiden tot lokale problemen in het noorden", zegt Jeroen van der Berg, woordvoerder van de Groningse afdeling van Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland.

Sinds het hoogtepunt van de vluchtelingencrisis in Europa in 2015 en 2016 hebben de Nederlandse autoriteiten het personeel van de immigratiedienst teruggeschroefd en asielcentra gesloten, waardoor de verwerkings- en opvangcapaciteit is verminderd, aldus Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland. "De opvangcrisis is veroorzaakt door politieke keuzes en had voorkomen kunnen worden", aldus woordvoerder Jeroen van der Berg.

Voor onderdak stelde de regering enkele ongebruikelijke oplossingen voor, zoals hotels en cruiseschepen. De lokale autoriteiten stelden echter dat de Nederlandse overheid meer verantwoordelijkheid moet nemen om zo snel mogelijk opvang en onderdak te bieden, net zoals gebeurde met de Oekraïners die hier kwamen.

Lokale hulporganisaties zeggen dat de situatie kritiek is en tenminste één lokale organisatie bereidt zich voor om de Nederlandse overheid aan te klagen. Ook het Rode Kruis Groningen is deze maand begonnen met het verlenen van hulp aan asielzoekers in Ter Apel (de eerste keer dat zij dit doen in Nederland) en de gemeente Groningen is extra medische en mentale zorg gaan bieden.

Third-party visibility condition

Instruction:

Nu vragen wij u de volgende passage uit een artikel van de Washington Post te lezen. Het gaat over de erbarmelijke levensomstandigheden van asielzoekers in Ter Apel, Groningen. Het incident dat wordt beschreven in het artikel kreeg vorig jaar wereldwijd heel veel aandacht. Het werd zelfs een wereldwijde trending topic op Twitter. Hieronder ziet u een van de Twitter-berichten samen met foto's van de levensomstandigheden van asielzoekers. Nadat u het heeft gelezen, zullen wij u verschillende vragen stellen over het incident.

Dire conditions at the Dutch asylum center drawing the World's attention

At the asylum center in Ter Apel, a village located in the Netherlands, the dire conditions for asylum seekers receive worldwide attention. According to international organizations, many people have been sleeping on the street in Ter Apel in recent days after the refugee center ran out of space.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has recently started an investigation into the situation. According to their first observations, those who are living outside the center lack access to showers, clean toilets and healthy food. Further, some asylum seekers with chronic illnesses have run out of medication. "If this situation continues, it could lead to international sanctions on the Dutch government", said Jonathan Shapiro, a spokesman for UNHCR.

Since the peak of the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015 and 2016, Dutch authorities have scaled back staffing at the immigration service and closed asylum centers, reducing processing and shelter capacity, according to UNHCR. "The reception crisis was caused by political choices and could have been prevented," added the spokesman Jonathan Shapiro.

For sheltering, the government proposed some unusual solutions such as hotels and cruise ships. However, the international authorities stated that the Dutch government must take more responsibility for providing shelter and reception as soon as possible, just as happened with the Ukrainians that came here.

International aid agencies say that the situation is critical and that at least one international organization has been preparing to sue the Dutch government. The International Committee of the Red Cross also began providing assistance to asylum seekers in Ter Apel this month, and Doctors Without Borders began offering medical and psychological care — the first time they have offered such assistance in the Netherlands.

Appendix B

Measures

Note that all items were presented in Dutch in the survey.

Identification with Dutch people

Developed by Koc (2022) consists of twelve items of which each four items are solidarity, centrality and satisfaction, respectively.

- I feel a distance between myself and the Dutch people
- I have nothing in common with Dutch people
- I feel committed to Dutch people
- I feel solidarity with Dutch people
- The fact that I am Dutch is not core to my identity
- Being Dutch has nothing to do with how I see myself
- The fact that I am Dutch is an important part of my identity
- Being Dutch is an important part of how I see myself
- I am unhappy about being Dutch
- Being Dutch gives me a bad feeling

- I am glad to be Dutch
- It is pleasant to be Dutch

Group-based image concerns

Adapted from Teixeira, Spears & Yzerbyt (2020)

"Incidents like this…"

- will make Dutch people seem bad to the rest of the world.
- will damage the reputation of Dutch people in the world.
- will stain the image of Dutch people in the world.

Image-related emotions

Adapted from Gordijn, Yzerbyt, Wigboldus & Dumont (2006).

"Incidents like this make me feel…"

- guilty
- ashamed
- embarrassed

Solidarity-based collective action intentions

Adapted from Çakmak et al. (2024), it consists of three non-radical solidarity items and three radical solidarity items, respectively.

"In the face of incidents like this, we, as Dutch people, need to…"

- Show solidarity with asylum seekers to improve their living conditions in peaceful ways
- Support non-violent actions to raise awareness about dire conditions of asylum seekers
- Take non-radical actions to supply medical help for asylum seekers
- Support radical actions in society to show solidarity with asylum seekers
- Support civil disobedience to draw attention to dire conditions of asylum seekers
- Take disruptive actions against government if they do nothing about asylum seekers