

**The Energizing Role of Moral Convictions and Politicized Identification in Collective  
Action**

Nicoline Mehret Guldager Lauridsen

S3982769

Department of Psychology, University of Groningen

PSB3E-BT15: Bachelor Thesis

Group 20

Supervisor: Drs. Ana Figureiredo Leal

Second evaluator: Dr. Simon Dalley

In collaboration with: Rebekka Mensink, Marije Pot, Kim Juckoff, Elena Tjarks

June 24, 2022

*A thesis is an aptitude test for students. The approval of the thesis is proof that the student has sufficient research and reporting skills to graduate, but does not guarantee the quality of the research and the results of the research as such, and the thesis is therefore not necessarily suitable to be used as an academic source to refer to. If you would like to know more about the research discussed in this thesis and any publications based on it, to which you could refer, please contact the supervisor mentioned.*

### **Abstract**

While previous research has found that moral convictions are one catalyst for collective action, the condition under which this relationship would occur is less studied. This paper investigated whether moral convictions are associated with collective action. In addition, we investigated the role of politicized identification (i.e., identification with a movement) in the relationship between moral convictions and collective action in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement. This study employed a correlational study design. A sample of first-year psychology students ( $N= 234$ ) completed an online questionnaire. We found that moral convictions were not significantly associated with collective action. Secondly, politicized identification was significantly associated with collective action. Thirdly, politicized identification did not strengthen the relationship between moral convictions and collective action. To conclude, politicized identification seems to be a stronger predictor of collective action; however, more research is needed to examine its role in the relationship between moral convictions and collective action, particularly in the context of advantaged group members.

*Keywords:* politicized identification, moral convictions, collective action, Black Lives Matter movement, racial inequality

## **The Energizing Role of Moral Convictions and Politicized Identification in Collective Action**

For decades, racial inequality has been a highly controversial societal issue in the United States that has resulted in terrible events (Moore et al., 2018), including countless and unjustified shootings of African-Americans – despite strong reactions both within and outside the country. In 2012, the movement “Black Lives Matter” was founded as a response to the systemic criminal injustice towards African-Americans (Edrington and Lee, 2018), and as a call to eliminate institutionalized racism. The movement spread globally in 2020, after the unarmed African-American George Floyd was suffocated by a White police officer kneeling on Floyd’s neck. The incident triggered the Black Lives Matter partakers’ perception that their core morals, namely moral convictions (i.e., strong attitudes about right and wrong; Skitka et al., 2005) about racial equality being violated once again. This motivated thousands of people to stand together to combat racial inequality and engage in collective action, namely, actions utilized as a tool to improve and address the group’s conditions.

The Black Lives Matter movement has drastically increased in support and diversity: not only individuals from the disadvantaged group, namely African-Americans, but individuals from advantaged groups, namely White people, have increasingly shown their support against racial inequality. The latter group is considered as acting in solidarity by utilizing their power and resources to undertake collective action to support the disadvantaged group despite being non-representatives of this group (Radke et al., 2020). Research on the motivations of advantaged group members to undertake collective action in these instances is scarce; especially compared to the disadvantaged group (Teixeira et al., 2020; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). The perspective of the advantaged group is important to fully comprehend collective action as they can have an important role in bringing social change and supporting the fight against causes, such as racial inequality. In the literature, one key motivational factor

for collective action is moral convictions; yet, conditions under which this is apparent have not been explored (Van Zomeren et al., 2011). The goal of this research is to investigate some antecedents of collective action participation among advantaged group members (i.e., White people) in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement. Specifically, this paper investigates the relationship between moral convictions and collective action raising the research questions: Does moral convictions predict collective action among advantaged groups? And, does politicized identification moderate this relationship?

### **Moral Convictions**

Moral convictions are strong attitudes, mirroring core moral feelings and values, and fundamental beliefs about right and wrong (Skitka et al., 2005). These convictions are experienced as an integrated part of one's identity (e.g., "I strongly oppose racial inequality as it is morally wrong and against who I am"). They have unique characteristics, including that individuals perceive them as universal and objective facts (Cole Wright et al., 2008; Ryan, 2017). In combination with moral convictions being constant over time and resistant to change, they can be a breeding ground for intolerance (Cole Wright et al., 2008; Luttrell and Togans, 2021; Ryan, 2017). Additionally, their constancy is further reinforced by their root in morality beliefs which manifests them as strong, absolute stances (Skitka et al., 2021). Another important characteristic is their association with strong emotions and a strong obligation to act which may predict different forms of social activism such as collective action, and prosocial behavior (Kende et al., 2017; Skitka and Morgan, 2014; Skitka and Wisneski, 2011; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Another way in which moral convictions guide cognition and behavior is their power to reinforce moral responsibility (Skitka et al., 2021; Skitka and Wisneski, 2011).

Hereby, it is important to emphasize the difference between moral convictions and other types of strong attitudes as all strong attitudes are not necessarily rooted in moral convictions. For instance, “I oppose racial inequality because I feel like it” illustrates a strong attitude rooted in preferences which concern subjective taste, or preferences (Skitka et al., 2010). Another example that differs are moral conventions, such as “I oppose racial inequality because everyone I know does it”. These are strong attitudes rooted in in-group norms, and are highly dependent on in-group and authorities (Ryan, 2017; Skitka, 2010; Skitka et al., 2005; Skitka et al., 2021). Comparatively, “I strongly oppose racial inequality as it is morally wrong and against who I am” is a moral conviction as it stems from a fundamental belief about right and wrong.

Finally, possible consequences of moral convictions make them crucial to understand: moral convictions predict behaviors, such as collective action, that can have social and political consequences, and a potential for promoting positive societal change (e.g., helping refugees and voting; Kende et al., 2017; Skitka and Bauman, 2008; Zaal et al., 2011). However, there is also a dark side as they can result in the engagement in extreme behaviors to defend one’s beliefs (Skitka and Mullen, 2002). The power of moral convictions indicates the predictive value of such convictions, meaning that moral convictions can predict behavior.

### **Moral Convictions and Collective Action**

Collective action is a form of social activism, defined as any action aimed at enhancing the entire group’s condition which can be enacted (Wright, 1990), either as a representative of the disadvantaged group or as a non-representative advantaged group member (Thomas et al., 2020). Collective action behaviors (e.g., striking and demonstrations) are often carried out to protect moral convictions, and are therefore often perceived as legitimate (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). For instance, when individuals protested against the

police brutality against George Floyd. Here, protesting as a collective action behavior was used to spread awareness about the issue affecting the disadvantaged group. So, the advantaged group having impactful privileges and resources can play an important role in this context.

Literature has explored several motivators of collective action (e.g., emotions such as anger, Chan, 2016; Thomas et al., 2009), but only recently explored moral convictions. Research indicates that, indeed, morality seems to be an important driver of collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2012). For one, collective action may stem from a motivation to protect the respective group's morals and values ("what" we stand for), and the group members' identities ("who" we are) (Leal et al., 2020; Van Zomeren et al., 2018). This connection becomes even clearer, considering that moral convictions predict both collective action and intentions, in the case of the violation of moral convictions (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). This prediction occurs partly due to the emotional dimension of moral convictions. That is, in a situation of violation of morals and values (e.g., the death of George Floyd), negative emotions, e.g., anger and moral outrage, are evoked which energizes and motivates people to act on behalf of their beliefs (Miller et al., 2009; Montada and Schneider, 1989; Skitka et al., 2021). Considering that collective action has shown to occur despite opposing authorities' stance (Kende et al., 2017) and at high personal costs (Skitka, 2012), the motivation behind collective action becomes clear. After all, collective action participation is a way of reinforcing one's convictions about and commitment to the social movement which can be linked to a feeling of moral responsibility (Skitka, 2010). Given the amplitude of research supporting the relationship, this study aims to replicate previous research and predicts that moral convictions are associated with collective action intentions.

### **The Moderating Role of Politicized Identification**

Politicized identification refers to the integration of values and characteristics of a political group or social movement into one's self-concept (Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2015); thus, such values become an integral part of one's identity (Kutlaca et al., 2022; Van Zomeren et al., 2018). More specifically, it is an identification with a movement or politicized group which categorizes it as a type of group identification (e.g., activist group). This implies that the likelihood for individuals with a politicized identification to engage as self-conscious group members of a movement, based on the awareness that the respective struggle is situated in a broader societal context, is higher (Simon and Klandermans, 2001). As such, identifiers would be more likely to think, undertake action and feel for this group.

Research has shown that politicized identification is a strong direct and indirect predictor of collective action (Kutlaca et al., 2022; Simon et al., 1998; Van Zomeren et al., 2011). Here, the advantaged group member participates in collective action as a representative of the politicized group (i.e., identifying with the values of the movement), not as a representative of the disadvantaged group (i.e., African-Americans). The associated recognition of injustice (Kende et al., 2017), and awareness of shared grievances due to violation of the group's values, motivates individuals with a politicized identification to hold the out-group accountable (Alberici and Milesi, 2018; Simon and Klandersmans, 2001). This is consistent with the Extended Social Identity Model of Collective Action (E-SIMCA) which suggests that politicized identification predicts collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). The scarce research on politicized identification among advantaged group members (Klavina and Van Zomeren, 2020; Mazzoni et al., 2015) found that identification with a disadvantaged group and a given movement, increased the likelihood of engaging in collective action (Mazzoni et al., 2015; Ochoa et al., 2019; Van Zomeren et al., 2011). Given these findings, we suggest that politicized identification predicts collective action (Agostini and Van Zomeren, 2021).



Moreover, we propose that politicized identification moderates the relationship between moral convictions and collective action given that such identification has a moral fingerprint and a moral dimension (Leal et al., 2020; Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2017). This resonates with E-SIMCA's proposed close link and overlap between politicized identity ("who" we are) and moral convictions ("what" we will (not) stand for). Specifically, E-SIMCA states that moral convictions predict collective action via a positive association with politicized identification (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). Research also indicates that politicized identification increases individuals' motivation to protect their values, especially when violated (Mazzoni et al., 2015; Van Zomeren et al., 2018) and express their identities via collective action (Turner-Zwinkels and Van Zomeren, 2020). Therefore, we investigate whether politicized identification strengthens the relationship between moral convictions and collective action. It could be postulated that high identifiers have a stronger intrinsic need to protect and act in line with their identity and moral convictions, relative to low identifiers. Accordingly, we hypothesize that politicized identification strengthens the relationship between moral convictions and collective action.

### **The Current Research**

The current study investigates the following hypotheses: moral convictions are positively associated with engagement in collective action (Hypothesis 1); politicized identification is positively associated with engagement in collective action (Hypothesis 2); politicized identification moderates the relationship between moral convictions and engagement in collective action such that this relationship becomes stronger for those who score higher on politicized identification (Hypothesis 3). We conducted the study in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement in the Netherlands, with the issue of moral convictions being racial inequality.

## Method

### Participants and Design

A total of 234 first-year Psychology Bachelor students at the University of Groningen participated in the online study which they received 0.6 course credits for. The sample consisted of 56 males, 176 females, 1 other, and 1 prefer not to say, ranging in age between 18 to 27 ( $M = 20.06$ ,  $SD = 1.83$ ). A total of 99 participants and 135 were recruited from the English Psychology program and the Dutch Psychology program, respectively. We used a correlational study design, in which moral convictions was the independent variable, politicized identification was the moderator and independent variable, and collective action was the dependent variable.

### Procedure

The study was approved by the Ethical Committee for Psychology (ECP) of the University of Groningen on April 19th, 2022. Participants were recruited through the internal university participants pool of first year psychology students of the University of Groningen (i.e., SONA), and completed the study online via Qualtrics. To participate in this study, participants were first asked to give their informed consent, and their permission to collect and use/treat their data in compliance with the GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation) guidelines. In the first part of the study, participants were asked about their opinions on several societal issues, namely Russian military invasion, war immigration, racial inequality, and human-made climate change. Participants filled out a questionnaire about their attitudes (e.g., moral convictions) toward each one of these four issues. The target issue of moral convictions was in this paper racial inequality, and the others were simply filler issues. Next, participants were presented with two social movement contexts, namely “We stand with Ukraine”, and the “Black Lives Matter movement”, and filled out some measures on social

activism (e.g., collective action, volunteerism and prosocial behavior) in these contexts. The social movement of interest is the Black Lives Matter movement, and the other movement was not relevant to the hypothesis testing for this paper. In the third part of the study, participants completed a questionnaire that included a measure of politicized identification, and other variables that were not relevant for the hypotheses of this study. Finally, participants provided some socio-demographic information (i.e., age, gender, ethnicity<sup>1</sup>), and were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

## **Measures**

### ***Moral Convictions***

First, we measured participants' general attitude toward the target issue of moral convictions. They were asked to indicate the extent to which they supported or opposed racial inequality, on a 7-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly oppose) to 7 (strongly support). To assess moral convictions about racial inequality (Skitka et al., 2005), participants indicated how much their opinion on racial inequality “was a reflection of their core moral beliefs and convictions”, “connected to their beliefs about fundamental right and wrong” and “based on moral principle” on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). The Cronbach's alpha for the moral convictions scale was 0.948 ( $M = 5.8$ ,  $SD = 1.6$ )

### ***Participation in Collective Action***

To assess participants' willingness to engage in collective action, we measured their willingness to participate in a variety of collective behaviors in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement (adapted from Leal et al., 2020). Participants reported their willingness to “participate in an upcoming Black Lives Matter protest”, “share an informational post about

---

<sup>1</sup> Due to an error in the questionnaire, we could not obtain valid data for ethnicity.

the Black Lives Matter movement. “, and “sign a petition to support Black people’s rights” ( $\alpha = 0.816$ ;  $M = 4.7$ ,  $SD = 1.7$ ). Answers were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*). We averaged the items and created a composite score for collective action participation.

### ***Politicized Identification***

Politicized identification was assessed in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement by utilizing four items adapted from the study of Leal et al. (2020). Participants indicated on a 7-point Likert scale (1= *not at all* to 7 = *very much*) the extent of their identification and commitment by answering the following items: “I identify with the Black Lives Matter movement”, “I identify with the values of the Black Lives Matter movement”, and “I feel committed to the goals pursued by the Black Lives Matter movement”. The Cronbach's alpha for Politicized Identification was 0.858 ( $M = 4.9$ ,  $SD = 1.5$ ).

## **Results**

### **Preliminary Analyses**

In the current research we utilized the program SPSS (IBM SPSS Statistics version 26) to inspect the means, standard deviations, and correlations as well as the regressions analysis of the studied variables (see Table 1). All the variables were significantly and positively correlated with each other ( $p < .01$ ).

### **Table 1**

*Computations of Means, Standard Deviations and Alphas, Pearson correlations*

Variables	N	M	SD	SD	$\alpha$	Politicized identification	Collective action
Moral convictions (Black Lives Matter)	234	5.85	1.56	1.17	.948	.418**	.352*
Politicized identification	234	4.94	1.49	1.17	.858	1	.732**
Collective action	234	4.73	1.72	0.68	.816	.732**	1

### ***Assumption Checks***

Before the main analysis, we performed assumption checks to ensure that the analysis we carried out, namely the regression analysis, was suitable for the data (see Appendix 1). The data indicated that the multicollinearity assumption was met (Moral convictions, Tolerance = .825, VIF = 1.211; Politicized identification, Tolerance = .825, VIF = 1.211), meaning that moral convictions and politicized identification are not strongly correlated. Furthermore, we checked the assumption of independent errors which the data confirmed to be fulfilled (Durbin-Watson value = 2.105). By reviewing a normal probability plot, the assumption of normality was confirmed as well. Concerning the assumption of homoscedasticity and linearity, the scatterplot of standardized residuals illustrated that these two assumptions were met. Hereby, no assumptions were violated; thus, allowing us to draw inferences based on our chosen analysis and to answer the current study's research questions and hypotheses.

### **Hypotheses Testing**

In order to test our three hypotheses, we first centered the independent variable (i.e., moral convictions) and the moderator (i.e., politicized identification), and then computed the

interaction between moral convictions (centered) and politicized identification (centered). This enabled us to perform a regression analysis to test both moral convictions and politicized identification' role in collective action, as well as examining politicized identification as a moderator between moral convictions and collective action. We then conducted a multilinear regression.

The overall regression was statistically significant ( $R^2 = 0.539$ ,  $F(3, 230) = 89.63$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). In regards to the first hypothesis, stating that moral convictions are positively associated with collective action, we found no statistically significant association between moral convictions and collective action,  $\beta = .062$ ,  $t(233) = 1.224$ ,  $p = .222$ ,  $f^2 = .058$ , 95% CI = [-0.042, 0.178]. The second hypothesis of politicized identification being positively associated with collective action was supported. Indeed, we found a positive and statistically significant association between politicized identification and collective action,  $\beta = .714$ ,  $t(233) = 14.27$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $f^2 = 1.760$ , 95% CI = [0.712, 0.941]. This finding suggests that participants with a politicized identification were more willing to participate in collective action relative to participants with no politicized identification. Lastly, we tested the third hypothesis that states that politicized identification has a moderating role in the relationship between moral convictions and collective action. The interaction effect was not statistically significant,  $\beta = .028$ ,  $t(233) = .596$ ,  $p = .552$ ,  $f^2 = 0.028$ , 95% CI = [-0.045, 0.084]. Phrased differently, whether participants scored higher on politicized identification did not change the relationship between moral convictions and collective action

## **Discussion**

Based on the scarcity of research on the motivational factors to engage in collective action among advantaged group members, the overarching goal of this research was to expand our understanding of the conditions under which moral convictions predict collective action.

More specifically, this paper aimed at investigating the role of moral convictions and politicized identification in the engagement in collective action in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement. Here, we investigated whether politicized identification moderates the relationship between moral convictions and collective action. To inspect the variables of moral convictions and politicized identification, the present research conducted a correlational study. In line with previous research (Van Zomeren et al., 2012), we predicted that moral convictions are positively associated with engagement in collective action. Further, the study predicted that politicized identification was also positively associated with collective action. Finally, we predicted that politicized identification would act as moderator between moral convictions and engagement in collective action, such that politicized identification will strengthen this relationship.

Our analysis revealed support for some but not all of our hypotheses. In contrast with the first hypothesis, we did not find a positive association between moral convictions and collective action in our model. However, we must note that moral convictions were still significantly correlated with collective action. This finding does not support the existing literature which shows that moral convictions are associated with collective action (Skitka et al., 2010; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). However, this may be attributed to moral convictions and politicized identification being highly related, which may affect the relationship between moral convictions and collective action in ways that have not been anticipated or measured in previous research. Furthermore, our lack of evidence to support the hypothesis can be due to politicized identification being a stronger predictor of collective action relative to moral convictions. Our second hypothesis was confirmed as politicized identification was associated with willingness to engage in collective action. Again, previous studies showed similar findings, that is, politicized identification was a strong predictor of collective action (Kutlaca et al., 2022) which is consistent with the suggestion that values (of a movement) are a

motivator to act (Ganz, 2011, p.275). Lastly, our third hypothesis which assumed that politicized identification would moderate the relationship between moral convictions and engagement in collective action was not supported by the data.

### **Theoretical and Practical Implications**

The study enlightened our understanding of how moral convictions and politicized identification may influence the engagement of advantaged group members in collective action for the Black Lives Matter cause. For one, contrary to existing research and our expectation, our first hypothesis stating that moral convictions are positively associated with engagement in collective action was not supported by the data; however, they were correlated. The prediction built upon research suggesting that the violation of moral convictions often activates these convictions, and drives people to act and to fight for their fundamental beliefs about right or wrong (Van Zomeren et al., 2018). In this regard, it has also been suggested people may engage in collective action to express their moral convictions (Turner-Zwinkels and Van Zomeren, 2020). As we did not have enough evidence to support this association, we cannot predict whether people who have/hold moral convictions are more willing to engage in collective action as previous literature has done. Notably, however, we did find a positive correlation which adds to findings of the existing literature. The exact role of moral convictions in collective action should be further investigated based on our and previous findings.

Secondly, our data analysis supported research focusing on the role of politicized identification in the engagement in collective action. In our study, politicized identification appeared to be a strong predictor of collective action; thus, our data replicated existing findings of the role of politicized identification on collective action (Klavina and Van



Zomerer, 2020; Kutlaca et al., 2022; Mazzoni et al., 2015). This implies that people with a politicized identification, that is, people who identify the movement and its values, as well as those who feel committed to the goals of the movement would be more willing to engage in collective action. It also has a practical component in suggesting that creating a shared politicized identity within a given movement can be an important strategy to strengthen the movement (Kutlaca et al., 2022; Simon and Klandermans, 2001). It is essential to investigate the perspective of the advantaged group as it adds to current research by illustrating that motivational factors among this group go beyond ally-ship and personal and/or in-group gains (Radke et al., 2020). In addition to finding further support for this relationship among advantaged group members, our study is, to our knowledge, the first to investigate this relationship in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement.

More interestingly, the moderation hypothesis was not supported; meaning that people having strong moral convictions combined with higher scores on politicized identification are not found to be more willing to engage in collective action compared to people lower on politicized identification. Our moderation hypothesis built on the E-SIMCA model (Van Zomerer et al., 2018), stating that moral convictions overlap and are strongly linked with individuals' politicized identity. This overlap was linked with an awareness of what one should do in instances of (perceived) violation of one's moral convictions (Van Zomerer et al., 2018). Still, a relationship between the all three variables seems plausible: Firstly, politicized identification has been identified as a strong predictor for collective action – in our and previous studies (Kutlaca et al., 2022; Simon et al., 1998). Further, previous research identified collective action and moral convictions to be strongly associated (Van Zomerer et al., 2012), and have been identified as correlated in our study. Additionally, moral convictions and politicized identification have been theorized to be strongly linked (Van Zomerer et al.,

2018), and have been found to be positively correlated in our study. Finally, when taking politicized identification out of the regression model, moral convictions are significantly associated with collective action, indicating that the addition or omission of politicized identification does have an effect. Overall, considering these findings and E-SIMCA suggesting that politicized identification and moral convictions are not separate variables but are intertwined, another possibility is that the relationship between the three variables is different than anticipated. For example, one possibility may be that rather than politicized identification playing a moderating role, moral convictions may act as a moderator in the relationship between politicized identification.

### **Limitations and Directions for Future Research**

One potential limitation of the current study pertains to the fact that the study was conducted with first-year psychology students. This type of sample may be less likely to engage in collective action as this form of social activism requires time and effort to engage in. Thus, it could be argued that this sample is prone to exhibit other ways of taking a stand and expressing their moral convictions, for instance, through social media (e.g., share posts and/or personal opinions). Accordingly, future research should examine whether the results within this sample are more appropriate if we were to investigate other collective action behaviors such as spreading posts or the twitter hashtag #BlackLivesMatter which became a social movement on social media (Edrington and Lee, 2018). An additional limitation of the sample is the homogeneity of the sample; thus, future research might replicate the study using a more diverse sample to ensure the generalizability across samples.

Moreover, one could argue that the findings in this particular context might not be generalizable to other contexts. Considering previous research, it may be reasonable to

presume that the findings in fact are generalizable (Klavina Van Zomeren, 2020; Mazzoni et al., 2015; Kutlaca et al., 2022; Simon et al., 1998). Indeed, the Black Lives Matter movement was a suitable context in terms of studying what motivates advantaged groups to participate in collective action on behalf of the disadvantaged group. Yet, future research should examine whether these findings are context-dependent. More specifically, whether the explored variables in this study will show the same relationship in another context (e.g., feminism). However, it is a strength that our study used such a relevant real-life context which indeed added to the ecological validity of the study.

Furthermore, we did not find support for our first hypothesis assuming that there is a positive association between moral convictions and collective action contrary to E-SIMCA's prediction. As previously indicated, one possible explanation for this finding may be the conceptual overlap between moral convictions and politicized identification that may influence the relationship differently than anticipated. Given our observation that there is a positive, significant relationship between moral convictions and collective action without including politicized identification in the model, and that politicized identification was a stronger predictor either way, there seems to be an indication for a relationship between the three variables. This relationship is also implicated by previous research in which the definition of politicized identification included a moral content as an important feature (Van Zomeren et al., 2018), and other suggestions in regards to the content of politicized identity in which it always contains a unique moral fingerprint (Leal et al., 2020). Given that our moderation analysis was also insignificant, future research may focus on exploring different types of relationship models.

Another interesting research direction given the insignificant finding in our moderation hypothesis, might be the examination of other potential moderators. As many positive effects have been found in terms of intergroup contact (e.g. reduce bias; Pettigrew et

al., 2011), it could be postulated that positive intergroup contact would lead to increased willingness to engage in collective action. This postulation also builds on the finding that positive intergroup contact has been associated with collective action intentions among the advantaged group (Reimer et al., 2017). Moreover, Hässler et al. (2020) found that meaningful contact between the advantaged group and disadvantaged group promotes an out-group focus, thus, a motivation to take action. This implies that positive intergroup contact could be a condition under which the relationship between moral convictions and collective action would occur.

## **Conclusion**

Taken together, the present study advances our understanding of under which conditions advantaged group members are motivated to participate in social change efforts in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement. Besides the limited research on politicized identification in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement, this paper offers insight into what motivates individuals to support this political movement. With this objective, we utilized a correlational study to investigate the relationship between moral convictions, politicized identification and collective action. Our data revealed that; moral convictions were not associated but only correlated with collective action; politicized identification has a strong link to collective action; there was a lack of evidence that politicized identification would have a moderating role between moral convictions and collective action. This line of research lays the foundation for a broader understanding of the psychological motivation among advantaged groups which is beyond ally-ship and solidarity in the Black Lives Matter movement. In sum, it was found that politicized identification is a stronger driving force to collective action relative to moral convictions.

## References

- Agostini, M., & Van Zomeren, M. (2021, July 10). Towards a Comprehensive and Potentially Cross-Cultural Model of Why People Engage in Collective Action: A Quantitative Research Synthesis of Four Motivations and Structural Constraints. [Unpublished Research Paper]
- Alberici, A. I., & Milesi, P. (2018). Online Discussion and the Moral Pathway to Identity Politicization and Collective Action. *Europe's journal of psychology*, *14*(1), 143–158. <https://doi.org/10.5964/ejop.v14i1.1507>
- Chan, M. (2016). Psychological antecedents and motivational models of collective action: Examining the role of perceived effectiveness in political protest participation. *Social Movement Studies*, *15*(3), 305-321.
- Cole Wright, J., Cullum, J., & Schwab, N. (2008). The cognitive and affective dimensions of moral conviction: Implications for attitudinal and behavioral measures of interpersonal tolerance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *34*(11), 1461-1476.
- Edrington, C. L., & Lee, N. (2018). Tweeting a social movement: Black Lives Matter and its use of Twitter to share information, build community, and promote action. *The Journal of Public Interest Communications*, *2*(2), 289-289.
- Ganz, M. (2011). Public narrative, collective action, and power. *Accountability through public opinion: From inertia to public action*, 273-289
- Hässler, T., Ullrich, J., Bernardino, M., Shnabel, N., Laar, C. V., Valdenegro, D., & Ugarte, L. M. (2020). A large-scale test of the link between intergroup contact and support for social change. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *4*(4), 380-386
- IBM Corp. (2019). IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows, Version 26.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp. [computer software]

- Kende, A., Lantos, N. A., Belinszky, A., Csaba, S., & Lukács, Z. A. (2017). The politicized motivations of volunteers in the refugee crisis: Intergroup helping as the means to achieve social change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 5*(1), 260-281.
- Klavina, L., & Van Zomeren, M. (2020). Protesting to protect “us” and/or “them”? Explaining why members of third groups are willing to engage in collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 23*(1), 140-160.
- Kutlaca, M., Radke, H. R., & Becker, J. C. (2022). The impact of including advantaged groups in collective action against social inequality on politicized identification of observers from disadvantaged and advantaged groups. *Political Psychology, 43*(2), 297-315.
- Leal, A., van Zomeren, M., González, R., Gordijn, E., Tagar, M. R., Álvarez, B., Frigolett, C., & Halperin, E. (2020). How participation in collective action drives moralization. Paper presented at Justice and Morality Pre-conference, Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP), New Orleans, United States.
- Luttrell, A., & Togans, L. J. (2021). The stability of moralized attitudes over time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 47*(4), 551-564.
- Mazzoni, D., Van Zomeren, M., & Cicognani, E. (2015). The motivating role of perceived right violation and efficacy beliefs in identification with the Italian water movement. *Political Psychology, 36*(3), 315-330.
- Miller, D. A., Cronin, T., Garcia, A. L., & Branscombe, N. R. (2009). The Relative Impact of Anger and Efficacy on Collective Action is Affected by Feelings of Fear. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 12*(4), 445–462.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209105046>
- Montada, L., & Schneider, A. (1989). Justice and emotional reactions to the disadvantaged. *Social Justice Research, 3*, 313–344. doi:10.1007/BF01048081

- Moore, S. E., Robinson, M. A., Clayton, D. M., Adedoyin, A. C., Boamah, D. A., Kyere, E., & Harmon, D. K. (2018). A critical race perspective of police shooting of unarmed black males in the United States: Implications for social work. *Urban Social Work*, 2(1), 33-47.
- Ochoa, D., Manalastas, E., Deguchi, M., & Louis, W. (2019). Mobilising Men: Ally Identities and Collective Action in Japan and the Philippines. *Journal of Pacific Rim Psychology*, 13, E14. doi:10.1017/prp.2018.30
- Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. *International journal of intercultural relations*, 35(3), 271-280.
- Radke, H. R., Kutlaca, M., Siem, B., Wright, S. C., & Becker, J. C. (2020). Beyond allyship: Motivations for advantaged group members to engage in action for disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 24(4), 291-315.
- Reimer, N. K., Becker, J. C., Benz, A., Christ, O., Dhont, K., Klocke, U., ... & Hewstone, M. (2017). Intergroup contact and social change: Implications of negative and positive contact for collective action in advantaged and disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 43(1), 121-136.
- Ryan, T. J. (2017). No compromise: Political consequences of moralized attitudes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(2), 409-423.
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American psychologist*, 56(4), 319.
- Simon, B., Loewy, M., Stürmer, S., Weber, U., Freytag, P., Habig, C., et al. (1998). Collective identification and social movement participation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 646–658.

- Skitka, L. J. (2010). The psychology of moral conviction. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 4(4), 267-281.
- Skitka, L. J. (2012). Moral convictions and moral courage: Common denominators of good and evil. In M. Mikulincer & P. Shaver (Eds.), *Social psychology of morality: Exploring the causes of good and evil* (pp. 349-365). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Skitka, L. J., & Bauman, C. W. (2008). Moral conviction and political engagement. *Political Psychology*, 29(1), 29-54.
- Skitka, L. J., Bauman, C. W., & Sargis, E. G. (2005). Moral conviction: Another contributor to attitude strength or something more?. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 88(6), 895.
- Skitka, L. J., & Morgan, G. S. (2014). The Social and Political Implications of Moral Conviction. *Political Psychology*, 35, 95–110. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12166>
- Skitka, L. J., & Mullen, E. (2002). The dark side of moral conviction. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 2(1), 35-41.
- Skitka, L. J., & Wisneski, D. C. (2011). Moral conviction and emotion. *Emotion review*, 3(3), 328-330.
- Skitka, L. J., Hanson, B. E., Morgan, G. S., & Wisneski, D. C. (2021). The psychology of moral conviction. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 72, 347-366.
- Teixeira, C. P., Spears, R., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2020). Is Martin Luther King or Malcolm X the more acceptable face of protest? High-status groups' reactions to low-status groups' collective action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 118(5), 919.
- Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., & Mavor, K. I. (2009). Aligning identities, emotions, and beliefs to create commitment to sustainable social and political action. *Personality and social psychology review*, 13(3), 194-218.



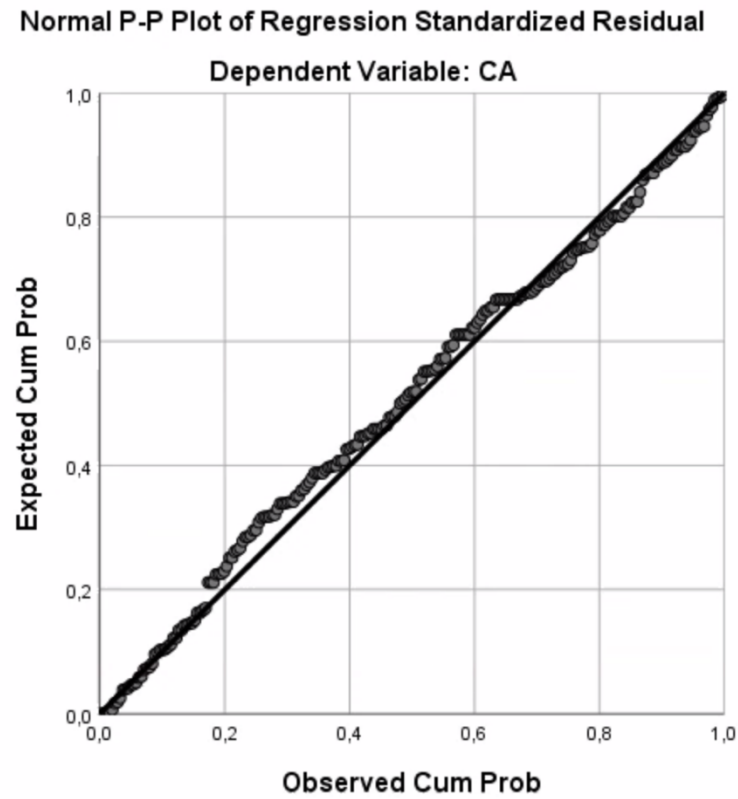
- Thomas, E. F., Zubielevitch, E., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2020). Testing the social identity model of collective action longitudinally and across structurally disadvantaged and advantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 46(6), 823-838.
- Turner-Zwinkels, F. M., & van Zomeren, M. (2021). Identity expression through collective action: How identification with a politicized group and its identity contents differently motivated identity-expressive collective action in the US 2016 presidential elections. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 47(3), 499-513.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220933406>
- Turner-Zwinkels, F., van Zomeren, M., & Postmes, T. (2015). Politicization during the 2012 US presidential elections: Bridging the personal and the political through an identity content approach. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(3), 433-445.
- Turner-Zwinkels, F. M., van Zomeren, M., & Postmes, T. (2017). The moral dimension of politicized identity: Exploring identity content during the 2012 Presidential Elections in the USA. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 56(2), 416-436.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12171>
- Van Zomeren, M., Kutlaca, M., & Turner-Zwinkels, F. (2018). Integrating who “we” are with what “we”(will not) stand for: A further extension of the Social Identity Model of Collective Action. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 29(1), 122-160.
- Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2011). The return of moral motivation in predicting collective action against collective disadvantage. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 26(2), 163-176.
- Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2012). On conviction's collective consequences: Integrating moral conviction with the social identity model of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51(1), 52-71.

- Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Bettache, K. (2011). Can moral convictions motivate the advantaged to challenge social inequality? Extending the social identity model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *14*(5), 735-753.
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *58*(6), 994.
- Zaal, M. P., Laar, C. Van, Ståhl, T., Ellemers, N., & Derks, B. (2011). By any means necessary: The effects of regulatory focus and moral conviction on hostile and benevolent forms of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *50*(4), 670–689. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02069>.

## Appendix A

Figure 1

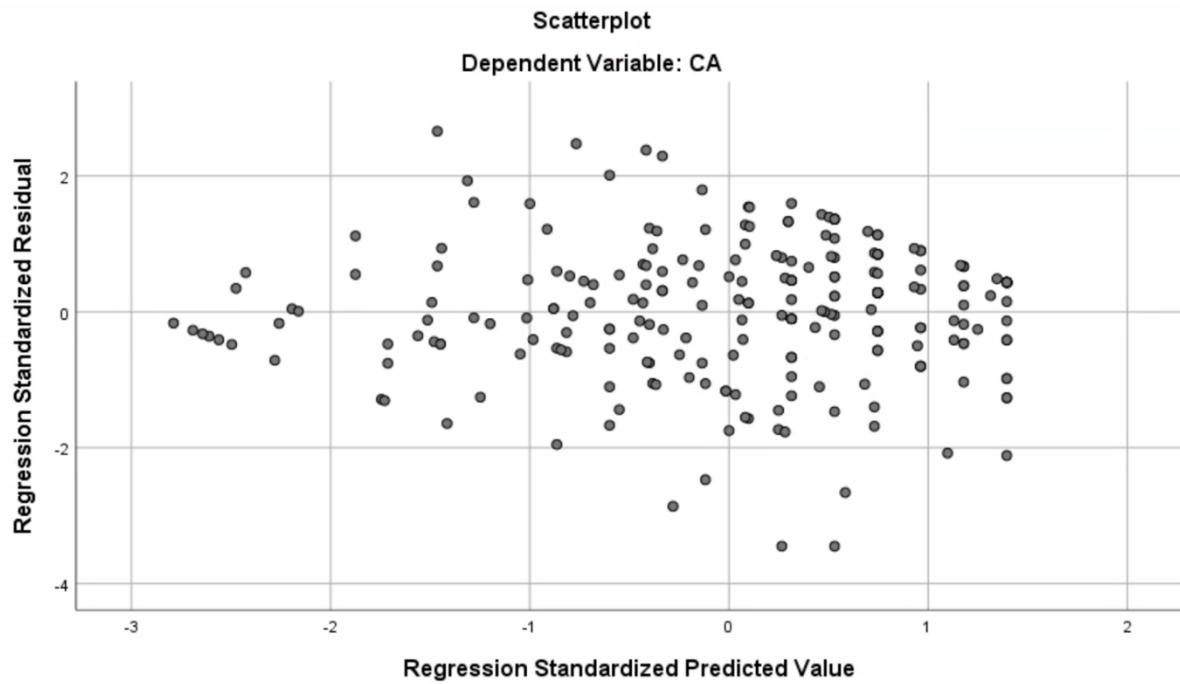
*This normal P-P plot of standardized residuals illustrates that the assumption of normal distribution was met.*



*Note.* CA\_BLM for collective action in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement

**Figure 2**

*This scatterplot of standardized residuals illustrates that the assumption of homoscedasticity and linearity are met.*



*Note.* CA\_BLM stands for collective action in the context of the Black Lives Matter movement