

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/266968547>

# International Support for the Arab Uprisings: Understanding Sympathetic Collective Action Using Theories of Social Dominance and Social Identity

ARTICLE *in* GROUP PROCESSES & INTERGROUP RELATIONS · JANUARY 2015

Impact Factor: 1.24 · DOI: 10.1177/1368430214558310

---

READS

53

17 AUTHORS, INCLUDING:



**Morselli Davide**

University of Lausanne

43 PUBLICATIONS 119 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE



**Antonio Aiello**

Università di Pisa

24 PUBLICATIONS 202 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE



**li Liu**

Beijing Normal University

28 PUBLICATIONS 76 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE



**Francesca Prati**

University of Bologna

14 PUBLICATIONS 19 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

**International Support for the Arab Uprisings: Understanding Sympathetic Collective Action Using Theories of Social Dominance and Social Identity**

Journal:	<i>Group Processes &amp; Intergroup Relations</i>
Manuscript ID:	GPIR-13-036.R2
Manuscript Type:	Original Manuscript
Keywords:	collective action, ideology, identity, social dominance, social change
Abstract:	Inspired by the popular Arab protests against oppressive regimes that began in 2010, people around the world protested in sympathy with the Arab peoples. The present research draws on two major theories of intergroup relations to develop an initial integrative model of sympathetic collective action. We incorporate social dominance theory's (SDT) concept of (rejectionist) legitimizing myths with the solidarity and emotional mediation concept of the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) to understand motivations for sympathetic collective action among bystanders. Using data from 12 nations (N=1480), we tested three models: (a) SIMCA (i.e., solidarity, anger, and efficacy), (b) a social dominance theory model of collective action (i.e., social dominance orientation and ideologies concerning Arab competence), and (c) an integrated model of sympathetic collective action combining both theories. Results find the greatest support for an integrated model of collective action. Discussion focuses on theoretical pluralism and suggestions for future research.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

1

## Abstract

Inspired by the popular Arab protests against oppressive regimes that began in 2010, people around the world protested in sympathy with the Arab peoples. The present research draws on two major theories of intergroup relations to develop an initial integrative model of sympathetic collective action. We incorporate social dominance theory's (SDT) concept of (rejectionist) legitimizing myths with the solidarity and emotional mediation concept of the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) to understand motivations for sympathetic collective action among bystanders. Using data from 12 nations ( $N=1480$ ), we tested three models: (a) SIMCA (i.e., solidarity, anger, and efficacy), (b) a social dominance theory model of collective action (i.e., social dominance orientation and ideologies concerning Arab competence), and (c) an integrated model of sympathetic collective action combining both theories. Results find the greatest support for an integrated model of collective action. Discussion focuses on theoretical pluralism and suggestions for future research.

*Keywords:* collective action, ideology, identity, social dominance, social change

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

2

International Support for the Arab Uprisings: Understanding Sympathetic Collective Action  
Using Theories of Social Dominance and Social Identity

On December 17, 2010, Mohammed Bouazizi set himself on fire, inspiring mass protests across Tunisia and other Arab nations in the subsequent months (Abouzeid, 2011). Many Arab people who were similarly situated by oppressive regimes identified with Bouazizi's economic and political frustrations, and his dramatic act bared the illegitimacy of their oppressive regimes. With the hasty retreat of Ben Ali, people's sense of efficacy in changing those regimes increased, prompting more protest and active opposition (e.g., Lynch, 2012). One theoretical understanding of these events is that the perceived illegitimacy and instability of status differences between Arab peoples and their rulers provoked collective protests against the peoples' disadvantaged position (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). In addition to the Arab people's protests within their societies, many international observers engaged in *sympathetic* collective action in support of the Arab people's collective action (Strenger, 2011). The explanation derived from social identity theory may provide an adequate theoretical account of why the Arab people protested, but we may need to expand our theoretical understanding to explain the motivations of bystanders who protested in support of the Arab popular protests.

Using the 2010-2011 Arab uprisings as a case in point, this paper integrates two major theories of intergroup relations to understand what motivates *sympathetic collective action*, that is, *political participation on behalf of people in other groups*. One major missing part of the story is that to analyze significant social and political protests against oppression, we must acknowledge what enabled oppression to exist in the first place. Simply understanding what motivates people to work against oppression does not address what enabled oppression.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

3

Therefore this paper considers aspects of oppression, using social dominance theory and social identity theory, to address more deeply motivations for sympathetic collective action.

**Social Dominance Theory and Collective Action**

Violence and its threat are major tools of repression; the near-monopolization of economic resources is another (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Both these methods are practiced by several repressive Arab (and other) regimes. However, the nation-state is not an adequate unit of analysis for understanding this oppression and the struggles against it because many Arab political factions are intertwined across borders, and also entangled with, challenged or supported by agents outside those nations, including, notably, the U.S., Russia, Iran, Israel, Turkey and the EU (Pratto, Sidanius, Bou Zeineddine, Kteily, & Levin, 2013). Hence, we should also consider why people in those nations and others tolerate or support the oppression of Arabs and/or tolerate or support ways their governments support domestic oppression of Arabs.

*Sympathetic collective action* by outsiders or third-party publics, whose social categories and fates are not tied to the primary oppression victims, may also be a significant aspect of power struggles (Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, in press; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011). In fact, Pratto, Stewart, and Bou Zeineddine (2013) have extended social dominance theory to analyze such complexities in intergroup power dynamics.

Another missing part of the story of the contemporary popular Arab uprisings is that pro-regime protests immediately followed anti-regime protests. Although the plethora of research on collective action considers collective action towards “progressive” goals, it is a fact that all collective action is not counter-dominant. More importantly, pro- and anti- do not always come in different age cohorts or eras. Rather, as social dominance theory has emphasized, all large

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

4

collectives contain elements of both pro- and anti-hierarchical forces and ideologies, and they are in a struggle for predominance. Further, as social identity theory has emphasized, the very boundaries of groups also change; for example, the new coalitions within Syria and Arab nations changing relationships to Turkey, Iran, and the West, and those nations changing relationships to each other. Both these facts necessitate a different way of categorizing political groups and ideologies that is linked to particular times and places.

For this reason we draw on social dominance theory and consider that some political movements may be intended to or serve to maintain hierarchies (called hierarchy-enhancing) whereas others may be intended to or serve to attenuate or eliminate hierarchies (called hierarchy-attenuating). In the case under study, the initial popular uprisings were largely perceived to be hierarchy-attenuating and the counter (pro-regime) protests as hierarchy-enhancing. The more people prefer group hierarchy in general, the more we would expect them to favor pro-regime protests, despite the fact that those protests are also collective action. Conversely, the lower outsiders are on social dominance orientation, the more they should support the popular Arab uprisings (Pratto et al., 2014).

Social dominance theory's distinction between forces that mitigate against oppression and those that maintain it is also useful for understanding how legitimizing myths play into power struggles. Legitimizing myths are widely-known ideologies, stereotypes, world-views, moral philosophies or other frames that serve to legitimize social orders. For example, scholars have persuaded Western political leaders that oppressing Arab nations makes the world more safe and stable (e.g., Little, 2002, pp. 118-155). Further, the stereotype of Arab incompetence is widely promulgated by scholars who influence U.S. Presidents (e.g., Patai, 1973), in Western mass media and in political commentary, including from prominent politicians (e.g., Friedman,

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

1  
2  
3 1989, 2006; Little, 2002, pp. 9-42, Jackson, 2003; Parker & Opal, 2012; Said, 2002; Zogby,  
4  
5 2010, p. 39). Such legitimizing myths likely persuade publics against the agenda of the Arab  
6  
7 uprisings.  
8  
9

10  
11 However, people do sometimes reject myths that legitimize hierarchy and oppression,  
12  
13 and eventually invent rejectionist legitimizing myths to be used for progressive changes (see  
14  
15 Pratto et al., 2013 for a discussion). Rejection of hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths may  
16  
17 not only lead to opposition to hierarchy-maintaining policies (e.g., Pratto, Stallworth, &  
18  
19 Conway-Lanz, 1998), but to collective action intended to reduce or eliminate oppression. Prior  
20  
21 studies have shown that endorsement of legitimizing myths can statistically predict preferences  
22  
23 about political factions and vote choices (Pratto, Sidanius, et al., 2013; Pratto et al., 1998).

24  
25  
26  
27 Extending social dominance theory's reasoning to a new outcome measure, rejecting stereotypes  
28  
29 of Arabs as incompetent can be expected to be associated with sympathetic collective action on  
30  
31 their behalf. Moreover, social dominance theory hypothesizes that endorsement of legitimizing  
32  
33 myths should mediate the statistical influence of the more general social dominance orientation  
34  
35 on political action and attitudes. We tested both of these predictions in the present study.  
36  
37

38  
39 Social dominance theory's broad conception of legitimizing myths includes conceptions  
40  
41 of ideology. In a comprehensive review, Klandermans (2003, p. 697) advocated for integrating  
42  
43 ideology along with identity and instrumentality to understand why people engage in collective  
44  
45 action. The present study contributes to such integration by also considering how identity issues  
46  
47 and perceived instrumentality (efficacy) as well as ideology and social dominance orientation  
48  
49 might motivate sympathetic collective action (see also van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van  
50  
51 Dijk, 2011).  
52  
53

**Social Identity Theory and Collective Action**

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

6

Using social identity theory to understand sympathetic collective action requires careful consideration. The social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) is a prominent model of collective action inspired by social identity approaches (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). SIMCA focuses primarily on people who experience collective disadvantage and who can categorize themselves as members of disadvantaged groups. When people are highly identified with their disadvantaged social group, they are more likely to experience anger at perceived injustices (Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) and feel efficacy in participating in political processes (Van Zomeren, Saguy, & Schellhaus, 2013) to address their group's disadvantaged position. These feelings increase people's willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of their disadvantaged group.

Social identity theory has always allowed that there is both fluid individual subjectivity in one's own definition of one's ingroup, and more consensual changes in collective definitions of group boundaries. Self-categorization is said to occur when a particular social category becomes a salient basis for self-definition (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Contemporary work has further emphasized that the basis for self-categorization can be broad, including opinion-based groups (Thomas & McGarty, 2009) and multiple group memberships at different levels of analysis (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Given the right context, virtually any social category can form the basis for self-categorization and therefore motivate collective action (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Thus, although many people around the globe who demonstrated in support of the Arab uprisings did not share the same fate, ethnicity, or nationality as the Arab protestors, their protests may have been motivated by their sense of solidarity with the (non-elite) Arab peoples.



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

7

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47

In fact, SIMCA suggests that when people feel connection to or solidarity with a disadvantaged group, they are more likely to engage in collective action on the group's behalf (see also Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). Solidarity causes feelings of anger at the group's collective disadvantage, and this anger motivates them to engage in collective action (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Recent research has extended SIMCA to understand why people in advantaged group positions may engage in collective action on behalf of other low power groups. This research examines actions done on behalf of another group, which has been largely ignored by social identity approaches. In one line of research, Van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, and Bettache (2011) argue that "moral convictions" are an important variable for understanding collective action among the advantaged. Moral convictions are conceptualized and operationalized as how strongly people feel about their support or opposition to social inequality. They found that advantaged group members who rejected inequality and then felt strongly about their opinions toward discrimination (regarding Dutch Muslims) were more likely to engage in collective action on behalf of the disadvantaged group. Research on opinion-based groups (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007) argues that when people form groups on the basis of opinions (e.g., political attitudes as a basis for political party membership), people are likely to engage in political behavior. This research demonstrates the importance of intergroup beliefs in motivating collective action from a social identity theory perspective.

48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

When people feel solidarity with their disadvantaged group, they also feel that they can be successful at correcting the perceived injustice and are more likely to engage in collective action (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010). Although the original research on SIMCA examined group efficacy as a predictor of collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2004), recent research points to

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

8

1  
2  
3 the importance of examining other forms of efficacy (Hornsey, Blackwood, Louis, Fielding,  
4 Mavor, Morton, O'Brien, Paasonen, Smith, & White, 2006). Because our study examines  
5 collective action willingness among international bystanders to the Arab uprisings, a form of  
6 participative efficacy may be most relevant. For international observers, it may be difficult if not  
7 impossible to change the contentious Arab political systems, but international observers may  
8 believe that they can affect their own political systems in order to rally support for the Arab  
9 popular protests. The general belief that people's collective action participation can affect their  
10 own political system to correct the perceived injustice can be an important predictor of collective  
11 action (Van Zomeren, Saguy, & Schellhaus, 2012). Thus, we use political efficacy to predict  
12 collective action in the present study. In sum, SIMCA proposes that anger at perceived injustice  
13 (i.e., affective injustice; Van Zomeren et al., 2008) and efficacy are two routes through which  
14 solidarity can lead to collective action. SIMCA predicts that, for example, if Syrians identify  
15 strongly with Syrians, they are more likely to become angry when the group is oppressed and  
16 disadvantaged, and to feel that they can successfully do something about their collective  
17 disadvantage, viz., to engage in collective action to protest against their oppressive regime.

**An Integrated Model of Collective Action**

18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41 The social identity model of collective action and the social dominance theory model of  
42 collective action can be integrated to understand the dynamics of collective action (e.g., Cameron  
43 & Nickerson, 2009) when one considers the *meanings* of social identities and considers *ideology*.  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
The developers of the SIMCA model state "Ultimately, it may not necessarily be social identity  
or identity per se that prepares people for collective action, but rather the content of social  
identity" (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008, p. 522). Likewise, social dominance theory  
implies that social representations of other groups, such as stereotypes, could also be important

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

9

1  
2  
3 in motivating sympathetic collective action (e.g., Pratto, 1999). Thus, shared stereotypes  
4  
5 constitute the meaning of social groups, and the particular kind of contents relates to the kinds of  
6  
7 expectations people have for the group and how one's own group should respond to or treat them  
8  
9 (e.g., Alexander, Brewer, & Livingstone, 2005; Alexander, Levin, & Henry, 2005). These beliefs  
10  
11 can prescribe behavior or support for behavior that is consistent with these ideologies (e.g., "I  
12  
13 support the Arab uprisings because the Arab people are competent to govern themselves").  
14  
15 Competence stereotypes can sometimes increase active facilitation to help the stereotype target  
16  
17 (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007), so beliefs in Arab competence may increase collective action on  
18  
19 behalf of Arabs. Integrating intergroup ideologies such as stereotypes alongside the SIMCA  
20  
21 predictors can give a more comprehensive understanding of sympathetic collective action.  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26

27 Further, although it is the social dominance theory tradition that has highlighted the  
28  
29 importance of legitimizing myths, including political and cultural ideologies, in the practices that  
30  
31 increase or decrease group power differentials (e.g., Green & Auer, 2013; Gutierrez, Unzueta,  
32  
33 2013; Lee, 2013; Pratto et al, 1998; Rosenthal, Levy, & Earnshaw, 2012), work on collective  
34  
35 action from the social identity perspective has also highlighted the importance of ideology  
36  
37 (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For example, one study found that ideology  
38  
39 (versus identity and instrumentality) was the strongest reason that people engage in protest (van  
40  
41 Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2011). Thus, this body of research also points to the  
42  
43 content of collective ideologies or legitimizing myths as the central mediators of motivation to  
44  
45 participate in collective action.  
46  
47  
48  
49

50 There are also a number of studies that lead us to expect that SDO will be negatively  
51  
52 associated with identification with disadvantaged groups. In numerous samples in the U.S.,  
53  
54 Pratto and Stewart (2012) showed that people tended to differentially identify with low (versus  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

10

1  
2  
3 high) powered social categories for race, gender, and sexual orientation to the extent they were  
4  
5 low on SDO. Likewise, Cameron and Nickerson (2009) conducted a field study during actual  
6  
7 social protests associated with the Americas Summit. Their results revealed that social  
8  
9 dominance orientation, in particular anti-SDO disposition, lead individuals to identify with social  
10  
11 movement groups challenging intergroup inequality, which in turn motivated them to engage in  
12  
13 collective action. Further, Green and Auer (2013) also found that union identification mediates  
14  
15 the relationship between SDO and active union participation. This study offers an encouraging  
16  
17 first exploration of the presently proposed integration.  
18  
19  
20  
21

22 We therefore see social identity theory and social dominance theory approaches to  
23  
24 collective action as complementary in that the SIMCA highlights the importance of the collective  
25  
26 self and how the collective self feels about collective disadvantage, whereas social dominance  
27  
28 theory approaches highlight the importance of belief systems about outgroups that can compel  
29  
30 people to engage in sympathetic collective action. The integrated model of collective action we  
31  
32 present unites these two perspectives as follows. People's general opposition to inequality (e.g.,  
33  
34 low social dominance orientation, Pratto et al., 1994; moral convictions about opposing  
35  
36 inequality, Van Zomeren et al., 2011) should increase their solidarity with oppressed other  
37  
38 groups (i.e., Arab people) and also their endorsement of hierarchy-attenuating beliefs about  
39  
40 oppressed groups (i.e., belief in Arab competence). Then, as in the social identity model of  
41  
42 collective action, solidarity-based identification should increase anger at injustice and political  
43  
44 efficacy to engage in collective action, and all three of these variables should then increase  
45  
46 willingness to engage in sympathetic collective action. Simultaneously, according to the social  
47  
48 dominance theory approach to collective action, the beliefs in Arab competence can increase  
49  
50 collective action willingness and also increase group-based anger. This integrated model  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

incorporates social dominance theory's analysis of ideologies with the SIMCA's analysis of group solidarity, emotion, and efficacy to understand the psychology of sympathetic collective action.

### Overview of the Present Study

The present study tests a theoretical integration of social dominance theory and the SIMCA as applied to sympathetic collective action. We test our model with an international sample where we predict willingness to engage in a sympathetic collective action in support of the Arab uprisings from solidarity with the Arab people, anger, efficacy, beliefs concerning Arab competence, and social dominance orientation. We test the fit of these models and attempt to explain sympathetic collective action from this theoretical integration. As we used members of the public as participants, we used very few items to assess each construct.

### Method

#### Participants

Participants were 1480 people from 12 nations: Belgium ( $N = 113$ ; Francophones), Canada ( $N = 90$ ; Québécois), China ( $N = 90$ ), Greece ( $N = 150$ ), Italy ( $N = 228$ ), Lebanon<sup>1</sup> ( $N = 132$ ), Netherlands ( $N = 60$ ), Poland ( $N = 62$ ), Switzerland ( $N = 50$ ), Turkey ( $N = 124$ ), the United Kingdom ( $N = 228$ ), and the United States ( $N = 153$ ). Demographic information and descriptive statistics for each nation are displayed in Table 1. Participants were 676 men, 732 women, and 82 had unreported gender. Participants also self-reported their socioeconomic status (SES) relative to others within their own countries: wealthy ( $N = 31$ ), better than most ( $N = 255$ ), good ( $N = 543$ ), so so ( $N = 416$ ), poor ( $N = 143$ ), or destitute ( $N = 18$ ) with 74 missing or unreported SES. Participants were 36 years old on average ( $SD = 14.42$ ,  $Min = 14$ ,  $Max = 78$ ).

#### Procedure

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

12

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Data were collected from late July through September 2011. For data collected by interviews and self-administered questionnaires, adults were approached by the researchers in public places (e.g., at coffee shops) and were invited to participate in a study called “International Social and Political Life.” Data from Belgium, Canada, China, Switzerland, Turkey, the UK, and the U.S. were collected online. Data from Italy were collected using self-administered questionnaires. Most data from Lebanon ( $N = 86$ ) were completed using self-administered questionnaires. Three participants in Lebanon were interviewed, and the rest were recruited online.

**Measures**

The original questionnaire was written in English, Arabic and Spanish simultaneously, and all items were written so that they were short and straightforward to make them easy to translate. After the original questionnaire was written, it was sent to and translated by native speakers who are social scientists of each other language (i.e., Chinese, Dutch, French, Italian, German, Polish, Greek, and Turkish). All translations were back-translated by a different set of native speakers and refined in discussion with the second and third authors. The final questionnaire was then administered to all participants in their native languages. Only measures relevant to the present study are reported here, but the full survey is available from the authors. Because of time constraints, we sometimes used one item to measure certain constructs as described below.

All participants were given the following introduction to the survey: “We have an international team of scholars doing research about how people in your country feel about social and political changes that have happened recently or may happen.” The survey was also titled “International Survey on Social and Political Life.” Thus, the survey made it clear that

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

1  
2  
3 participants were to think of their nation in relation to other nations, so participants answered the  
4  
5 survey items with the international context in mind. For all measures, except for anger and  
6  
7 political efficacy, participants read a short description about the Arab uprisings. This description  
8  
9 stated: “We have a few questions about the Arab protests that have received global attention  
10  
11 starting in December 2010. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below?”  
12  
13

14  
15 **Collective Action Willingness.** To measure willingness to engage in sympathetic  
16  
17 collective action, participants indicated how much they agreed or disagreed with the item, “I  
18  
19 would join a sympathy protest in support of the Arab uprisings” on a scale from 1 (*strongly*  
20  
21 *disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*).  
22  
23

24  
25 **Solidarity with the Arab People.** To measure solidarity with the Arab people,  
26  
27 participants rated the item “I feel solidarity with the Arab people” on a scale from 1 (*strongly*  
28  
29 *disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). This item was taken from the multi-dimensional identity  
30  
31 measure reported by Leach et al. (2008). Because our participants did not include Arabs living  
32  
33 under the contested regimes, the other dimensions of identity, including centrality, satisfaction,  
34  
35 ingroup homogeneity, or individual self-stereotyping were not relevant forms of identification  
36  
37 for our participants. Solidarity, however, is a form of identification that can be felt by people  
38  
39 who are not a part of the social group in question (Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008).  
40  
41  
42

43  
44 **Arab Competence Beliefs.** Participants rated the item “The Arab people are competent  
45  
46 enough to govern themselves” on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). This  
47  
48 competence stereotype is typical of groups with high social status (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, &  
49  
50 Xu, 2002) and is a rejection of the long-standing stereotype of Arabs that Western elites have  
51  
52 used to justify backing oppression within Arab nations. As such, we view endorsement of this  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

14

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

assertion of Arab competence as a hierarchy-attenuating legitimizing myth (see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

**Social Dominance Orientation.** Social dominance orientation was measured using a new short 4-item measure ( $\alpha = .67$ ; Pratto, Cidam, et al., 2013). The items were “In setting priorities, we must consider all groups” (reversed), “We should not push for equality between groups,” “Group equality should be our ideal” (reversed), and “Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.” The items were rated on a scale from 1 (*extremely oppose*) to 10 (*extremely favor*). This short measure was shown to be valid across a variety of nations by its correlations with attitudinal support for the poor, women, and ethnic minorities (Pratto, Cidam, et al., 2013).

**Anger Regarding the Counter Protests.** Participants read the following about the counter-protesters who protested in favor of the government and against the popular uprisings: “The Arab protests also evoked some counter-protests. When you hear Arab counter-protestors say ‘We must maintain the rule of government to have stability,’ how much do you feel each emotion about the counter-protests?” They then indicated how much they feel outrage and resentment toward these counter-protests on a scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 10 (*extremely intensely*). These two emotion terms were averaged to create an anger scale ( $\alpha = .74$ ). This measure captures participants’ emotional experience of injustice committed by oppressive Arab regimes and their supporters.

**Political Efficacy.** Political efficacy was measured by one original item, “It doesn’t matter what I do, I can’t affect anything that happens in politics” (reversed), and was rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). This measure captures people’s belief in whether they can make a difference in politics.

## Results



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

15

1  
2  
3 Our data come from participants in 12 nations, so we adopt both an etic and emic  
4 approach to our analyses (see Cheung, Vijver, & Leong, 2011). Using multilevel structural  
5 equation modeling (MSEM), we test the proposed models *controlling for between nation*  
6 *differences*. Thus, this approach attempts to identify a single model that fits the data best across  
7 nations, while treating national differences as error variance, just as traditional statistical analysis  
8 (e.g., ANOVA) treats individuals as error variance. After identifying the best *general* model of  
9 sympathetic collective action, we then conduct multiple groups analyses to identify the best  
10 fitting model for each nation individually. Because no research study (to our knowledge) has  
11 examined beliefs in Arab competence cross-nationally, we have no specific predictions about  
12 how these models should work within individual nations. The multiple groups analyses are  
13 therefore exploratory and attempt to document cross-national differences in sympathetic  
14 collective action. However, social dominance theory and social identity theory approaches to  
15 collective action argue that their respective models would work equally well across cultures, so  
16 we are not expecting much cross-cultural variability in the models. The MSEM analyses treat  
17 nations as random effects and estimate the model parameters while controlling for national  
18 differences. The multiple groups analyses treat nations as fixed effects where we can examine  
19 each nation individually and how they contribute to the overall model. We believe that these two  
20 approaches to analyzing the data allow for us to find a general best fitting model while also  
21 examining cultural nuances.

**Multilevel Structural Equation Models**

22  
23  
24 We tested three path models: the social identity model of collective action, the social  
25 dominance model of collective action, and an integrated model of collective action (Figure 1).  
26  
27 Our data have a multilevel data structure because participants are nested within nations. We  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

16

1  
2  
3 therefore used multilevel structural equation modeling in MPlus v.6.12 to control for between  
4  
5 nation variance. Our models include variables that exist only at the individual level, so no nation  
6  
7 level variables were included. Table 2 displays the means, standard deviations, and correlation  
8  
9 matrix for all of our variables, calculated at the within-nation level.  
10  
11

12  
13 Our goal with the analyses was to assess the adequacy of each of the three models (Figure  
14  
15 1) and to select the best fitting model given the data. First, we tested the adequacy of a model  
16  
17 using only the parameters from the social identity model of collective action. We then tested the  
18  
19 adequacy of a model using only the parameters from the social dominance theory model of  
20  
21 collective action. Third, we tested the full, saturated, integrated model of collective action using  
22  
23 all parameters specified by both social identity theory and social dominance theory. Then, we  
24  
25 built a final reduced model, trimming non-significant paths from the saturated model. A  
26  
27 comparison of all of the tested models is displayed in Table 3.  
28  
29  
30

31  
32 Because the data are multilevel data, we used Monte Carlo simulations conducted in R  
33  
34 version 3.0.2 to estimate indirect effects in all models presented (Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006).  
35  
36 A Monte Carlo simulation uses the parameter estimates and associated standard errors to create  
37  
38 thousands of random distributions of the indirect effects (the product of two paths, namely  
39  
40 estimates from the predictor to the mediator and from the mediator to the outcome). From these  
41  
42 random distributions, we can estimate the overall standard error in the indirect effect and  
43  
44 compute accompanying confidence intervals (Bauer et al., 2006). In the present analyses, we  
45  
46 drew 20000 random distributions given the parameter estimates in order to calculate the standard  
47  
48 error of the indirect effect. We also present the percent of the total effect that that is mediated by  
49  
50 the mediator variables to assess partial or full mediation (Preacher & Kelley, 2011).  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

17

1  
2  
3           **Social Identity Model of Collective Action.** In the SIMCA model, solidarity (i.e., a form  
4 of identification with a disadvantaged group) should statistically predict anger and efficacy, and  
5 all three variables should reliably predict willingness to engage in sympathetic collective action  
6 (see Table 3). Results from the multilevel path analysis support the SIMCA model. Solidarity  
7 significantly predicted anger, efficacy, and collective action. In other words, participants who felt  
8 more solidarity with the Arab people were angrier about the counter-protests, felt more  
9 politically efficacious themselves, and were more willing to engage in sympathetic protests.  
10 Anger and efficacy significantly predicted collective action in the hypothesized ways. Monte  
11 Carlo simulations revealed statistically significant indirect effects from solidarity to collective  
12 action through anger,  $IE = .04$ , 95% CI [.02, .06], and through efficacy,  $IE = .01$ , 95% CI [.0001,  
13 .02]. Anger and efficacy mediated 7% and 1% of the total effect from solidarity to collective  
14 action, indicating partial mediation. This model, however, had worse fit than the integrated  
15 model of collective action, as demonstrated in poor values for all of the fit indices shown in  
16 Table 3.

17  
18           **Social Dominance Theory Model of Collective Action.** According to the social  
19 dominance theory approach to collective action, social dominance orientation should statistically  
20 predict belief in Arab competence. Arab competence beliefs should then predict anger and  
21 collective action, and anger predicts collective action. Results from the multilevel path analysis  
22 support the social dominance theory model of collective action. Social dominance orientation  
23 significantly predicted disbelief in Arab competence. Belief in Arab competence significantly  
24 predicted anger and collective action, and anger predicted collective action. Monte Carlo  
25 simulations revealed statistically significant indirect effects from social dominance orientation to  
26 collective action through belief in Arab competence,  $IE = -.12$ , 95%CI [-.16, -.08]. Belief in Arab  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

18

1  
2  
3 competence mediated 58% of the total effect from SDO to collective action, indicating partial  
4 mediation. However, this model had worse fit than the SIMCA only model than the integrated  
5 model of collective action, as demonstrated in poor values for all of the fit indices (Table 3).  
6  
7

8  
9  
10 **Integrated Model of Collective Action.** For the integrated model of collective action,  
11 we first tested the saturated model, which of necessity had perfect fit. We then deleted four non-  
12 significant paths (SDO→Anger, SDO→Efficacy, SDO→Collective Action, and  
13 Competence→Efficacy), which were not predicted by any theory, and reran the reduced model<sup>2</sup>  
14 without these deleted paths. This model is the actual integrated model we developed  
15 theoretically. Figure 2 displays our final specified model along with standardized regression  
16 coefficients. Our final model demonstrated exceptional fit,  $\chi^2(4) = 6.53, p = .16, CFI = 1.00,$   
17  $RMSEA = .02, SRMR_{within} = .01, SRMR_{between} < .001.$  There were significant direct effects of SDO  
18 on solidarity and beliefs in Arab competence. Solidarity also had significant effects on anger and  
19 efficacy. Beliefs in Arab competence had a significant effect on anger. Solidarity, anger,  
20 efficacy, and beliefs in Arab competence were all significant predictors of collective action  
21 willingness. Thus, all the theoretically derived paths were statistically significant and in the  
22 predicted directions. This integrated model had better fit than either the proposed SIMCA or  
23 SDT models alone.  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42

43 Again, Monte Carlo simulations revealed some statistically significant indirect effects.  
44 Solidarity ( $IE = -.25, 95\% CI [-.30, -.19]$ ) and belief in Arab competence ( $IE = -.05, 95\% CI [-$   
45  $.08, -.03]$ ) mediated the path from SDO to sympathetic collective action. Anger ( $IE = .04, 95\%$   
46  $CI [.02, .06]$ ) but not efficacy ( $IE = .01, 95\% CI [-.001, .02]$ ) mediated the path from solidarity to  
47 sympathetic collective action. Neither anger ( $IE = .01, 95\% CI [-.001, .02]$ ) or efficacy ( $IE =$   
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

.002, 95% CI [-.002, .01]) mediated the path from belief in Arab competence and sympathetic collective action.

**Multiple Groups Analyses**

After identifying a good-fitting integrated model in the MSEM analyses, we then conducted a multiple groups analysis on the integrated model (see Table 4 for the results of these analyses). In this analysis, we run several path models for each nation<sup>3</sup>. The first model we tested was a test for structural invariance among the path estimates for the integrated model across all nations, so we fixed all path estimates to be equal across all nations. This model demonstrated adequate to good fit,  $\chi^2(133) = 255.04, p < .001, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .09$  (90%CI: .07-.10),  $SRMR = .09$ . However, if we compare this structural invariance model to a completely unconstrained model (where all estimates can vary freely), model fit is better,  $\chi^2(33) = 55.09, p < .01, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .07$  (90%CI: .04-.11),  $SRMR = .03$ . A chi square difference test revealed that the constrained model was a statistically worse fitting model than the unconstrained model,  $\Delta\chi^2(100) = 199.95, p < .001$ . This analysis suggests that there are cross-national differences in the structural model, but because the fit statistics indicate that the constrained model is not substantially worse than the unconstrained model, the cross-national differences may not be large.

Our next step was to identify which paths in the integrated model differed across nations. We systematically set all estimates to vary freely for each structural path in the model one by one and compared the model with one unconstrained path to the fully constrained model. If model fit became significantly better by unconstraining a specific path, we would then conclude that cross-national differences existed for that structural path. Consequently, we identified four (out of 10) structural paths that varied significantly across nations. Compared to the fully constrained model,

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

20

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

model fit improved when unconstraining the path from social dominance orientation to solidarity ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 30.79, p < .001$ ), the path from belief in Arab competence to anger ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 18.17, p = .05$ ), the path from solidarity to anger ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 25.029, p < .01$ ), and the path from solidarity to collective action willingness ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 42.11, p < .001$ ). There was no evidence for cross-national variability in the other six structural paths, all  $ps > .05$ .

We then identified which nation's path estimate differed from the other path estimates. For the SDO to solidarity path, China and the United Kingdom's path varied from other nations, so we set these two paths to vary freely while constraining the other nations' path estimates to be equal. For the belief in Arab competence to anger path, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom's path was in opposite direction from the other nations, so we allowed these nations' paths to vary freely while constraining the other nations' paths to be equal. For the solidarity to anger path, Turkey, Poland, and Greece's path estimates were statistically zero, so we free the path estimates from these nations while constraining the other nations' paths to be equal. For the solidarity to collective action willingness path, China, Italy, the United States, and Turkey's path estimates were the smallest (though in the same direction) than the other nations' path estimates, so these three nations' estimates were allowed to freely vary while constraining the other nations' path estimates to zero. Freeing these 11 path estimates while constraining all other path estimates across nations yielded a good fitting model,  $\chi^2(122) = 166.69, p < .01, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .05$  (90%CI: .03-.07),  $SRMR = .06$ . This final model fit better than the fully constrained model,  $\Delta\chi^2(11) = 88.35, p < .001$ , and the final model demonstrated statistically equivalent fit to the fully unconstrained model,  $\Delta\chi^2(89) = 111.60, p > .05$ . Because our final model was more parsimonious than the equally fitting unconstrained model, the final model is the preferred model.

### Discussion

Heretofore, the vast majority of collective action research has been conducted within democratic societies or societies with democratic pretensions. Within democratic nations, by which we mean nations that are compelled to show some responsiveness to the desires of the people (e.g., Bou Zeineddine & Pratto, in press), the social-political and psychological factors that lead to collective action include identifying with causes, identification with people's own disadvantaged groups, and a sense of political efficacy. In an increasingly globalized and interdependent world, however, understanding the political influence of "outsiders"—both elites and publics and what influences *their* political actions is increasingly important. Although it is possible that greater knowledge of the world increases universalism and concern with people in other nations (e.g., McFarland, 2010), the history of colonization and the rift between the developed and developing world remain not only political and economic chasms, but social-psychological chasms between peoples as well. Nonetheless, although peoples' social contexts differ substantially, social psychological processes may be widespread in many peoples, just as values and ideologies may be somewhat shared across nations (Inglehart & Norris, 2003).

The present study tested an integrated model of collective action using the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren et al., 2008) and social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) to predict people's willingness to participate in sympathetic collective action in support of the popular Arab uprisings. Using an international sample of participants from 12 nations, we found strong support for the proposed integrated model of collective action. We also found support for both the social identity and social dominance models of collective action but the integrated model of collective action was the best model in terms of model fit. While SIMCA focuses on how individuals interpret and feel about the disadvantaged group and

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

22

1  
2  
3 while SDT model focuses on beliefs about outgroup members, an integrated model of collective  
4  
5 action involves both perspectives (i.e., perceptions of the self and the other), providing a more  
6  
7 comprehensive and integrative analysis of why people engage in sympathetic collective action.  
8  
9  
10 Further, the multiple groups analyses demonstrated that the integrated model was cross-culturally  
11  
12 general. Only 11 of the 110 path estimates had to be freed in order to obtain acceptable model fit,  
13  
14 and only 3 path estimates (out of 110) were in the opposite direction predicted by the theories of  
15  
16 intergroup relations. These results demonstrate the cross-cultural generality of models of  
17  
18 collective action we have tested.  
19  
20  
21

22 Our study has several strengths that contribute to the understanding of collective action.  
23  
24 First, our study was conducted in the context of the ongoing Arab uprisings, which have changed  
25  
26 the lives and socio-political situations of millions of people and foretell further change. Rather  
27  
28 than pertaining to a given locale or polity, these uprisings have such broad consequences (across  
29  
30 millions, across nations) and deep consequences (e.g., a million Syrian refugees) that they invite  
31  
32 considering more complexity about collective action given the complexity of some socio-  
33  
34 political contexts. Second and related, because outside interference in Arab politics is so  
35  
36 common and influential (e.g., Fund for Peace, 2011), the sympathetic collective action supported  
37  
38 by some of our participants may be important in instigating socio-political change within and  
39  
40 between several nations, including non-Arab states. This line of research suggest that as more  
41  
42 substantial relations between people and nations occurs, theories of collective action might need  
43  
44 to be developed to incorporate both more proximal and more distal socio-political processes.  
45  
46  
47 Third, this study draws attention to the fact that unlike many of the collective action movements  
48  
49 studied so far, movements such as the Arab uprisings, anti-globalization, student movements,  
50  
51 and some environmental movements are cross-national and target a number of different political  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

1  
2  
3 systems. This not only suggests that more attention be paid to sympathetic collective action in  
4  
5 social psychological approaches, but to expanding our conceptions of “collective” and the targets  
6  
7 of collective action. Fourth, our study included data from a diverse international sample of  
8  
9 participants, so we had a breadth of perspectives from a variety of cultural regions, ages, and  
10  
11 both genders. Such samples remain uncommon in social and personality psychological research  
12  
13 (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Fourth, the present study explicitly integrates constructs  
14  
15 from two theories of intergroup relations. Thus, we demonstrate the utility of theoretical  
16  
17 pluralism in understanding important intergroup behaviors, such as sympathetic collective action.  
18  
19 In the remaining sections, we describe the implications of our study for social identity theory and  
20  
21 social dominance theory, along with general comments on theoretical pluralism and the utility of  
22  
23 multilevel analyses.  
24  
25  
26  
27

**Social Identity Processes in Collective Protest**

28  
29  
30  
31 We found strong support for the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; Van  
32  
33 Zomeren et al., 2008), applied to *sympathetic collective action* in the present study. When people  
34  
35 feel connected to a social group, they are willing to help that social group improve its quality of  
36  
37 life (Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). The Arab uprisings have involved many people  
38  
39 standing up to their oppressive leaders and regimes in order to improve their economic  
40  
41 conditions, health, and freedom. Our results showed that international observers who feel a bond  
42  
43 with the Arab people are willing to engage in sympathetic collective action to support the Arab  
44  
45 uprisings. Feelings of efficacy about political participation and anger toward counter-protests  
46  
47 that support the oppressive regimes also increase people’s willingness to join sympathetic  
48  
49 collective action. When people feel capable and their emotional experience motivates them to  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

24

1  
2  
3 take action, they will be more willing to take action. In all, SIMCA provides an important  
4  
5 analysis to understanding why people engage in sympathetic collective action.  
6  
7

8         However, SIMCA focuses primarily on the collective self and does not include  
9  
10 intergroup beliefs as a predictor of collective action, which is a limitation of the SIMCA as  
11  
12 general model of collective action. Recent extensions of SIMCA have sought to include  
13  
14 intergroup beliefs in order to address this shortcoming (e.g., Van Zomeren et al., 2011). Initial  
15  
16 theorizing in social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) placed an emphasis on ideological  
17  
18 beliefs (e.g., meritocracy and upward mobility in the United States, p. 35), so models of  
19  
20 intergroup behavior based in social identity theory, such as SIMCA, can incorporate ideological  
21  
22 beliefs and outgroup attitudes in those models (see also Abrams & Hogg, 1988, pp. 64-91).  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27 SIMCA's omission of ideological beliefs and intergroup attitudes as predictors of collective  
28  
29 action does not follow from social identity theory and its long history of examining stereotypes  
30  
31 and other intergroup beliefs (Brown, 2000).  
32  
33

**Improving Intergroup Relations with Social Dominance Theory**

34  
35  
36         Social dominance theory provides an alternative theoretical view that complements the  
37  
38 social identity model of collective action. Traditionally, however, social dominance theory has  
39  
40 been used to understand intergroup behaviors that exacerbate unequal intergroup relations (e.g.,  
41  
42 individual and institutional discrimination; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Despite its empirical  
43  
44 attention to discrimination and similar intergroup behaviors, social dominance theory has always  
45  
46 acknowledged the role of hierarchy-attenuating intergroup behaviors, such as protests. However,  
47  
48 the present study is among the first studies within the social dominance theory tradition to  
49  
50 examine intergroup behaviors, like sympathetic collective action, which improve intergroup  
51  
52 relations. Because social dominance theory focuses on the ways in which intergroup ideologies  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

(e.g., competence stereotypes of Arab people) inform intergroup behaviors (e.g., sympathetic collective action), it can add another dimension of explanation to the social identity model of collective action. Social dominance theory argues and the present study found empirical support for the role of intergroup beliefs in increasing willingness to engage in sympathetic collective action. Therefore, social identity theory and social dominance theory can both uniquely contribute to an understanding of collective action, as we have demonstrated in the present study.

**Limitations**

The present study has several limitations. First, for many of the measures, only one item was used, so the reliability of the measures cannot be assessed. This likely weakened the relationships among the variables (Cole & Preacher, 2013). Second, although we used an international sample to test our hypotheses, the sample was not nationally representative. Therefore, the results from and interpretation of the multiple groups analysis may not generalize or represent the perspectives of the nations surveyed. The results of our analysis should be interpreted with this limitation in mind. Although we found cross-national similarity in the models tested, we cannot be certain that these results would replicate in another international sample or with nationally representative data. In spite of this, we purposely sought to include demographic diversity in our data collection, and the data we did collect is a marked improvement of most social psychological studies on collective action. Third, we have portrayed a somewhat simplistic labelling to whether the popular protests and counter-protests were hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing. At the time the study was conducted, these labels would be widespread, and the fact that the signs of the relevant paths in our model were the same demonstrates that participants interpreted them in the same way. However, it is not always possible to cleanly label a given set of actions, political movement, or ideology as either

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

26

1  
2  
3 hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating. As Pratto, Stewart, and Bou Zeineiddine (2013)  
4  
5 illustrate, some movements (e.g., repressive liberation movements) may be hierarchy-enhancing  
6  
7 within one collective but hierarchy-attenuating in the world. Similarly, a given movement may  
8  
9 be considered both hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating, depending on which actions  
10  
11 one focuses and on one's vantage point. For example, admitting the Muslim Brotherhood to legal  
12  
13 participation in Egyptian politics could be considered a hierarchy-attenuating change against the  
14  
15 decades of repression of this organization. On the other hand, to the extent that the new Egyptian  
16  
17 government under their leadership promoted its own acolytes and not people of other religions or  
18  
19 political persuasions, this group was being hierarchy-enhancing. Although social dominance  
20  
21 theory does prescribe an empirical tool for testing whether particular political attitudes are  
22  
23 functioning as hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing, it has not addressed in detail how  
24  
25 the meanings of actions and ideologies are created.  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30

**Conclusion**

31  
32  
33  
34 In this paper, we have argued that social identity theory and social dominance theory can  
35  
36 be integrated to understand why international observers would engage in sympathetic collective  
37  
38 action to support the Arab uprisings. Using data from a large international sample, we found  
39  
40 empirical support for both the social identity model of collective action and the social dominance  
41  
42 theory approach to collective action. An integrated model of social identity and social dominance  
43  
44 yielded the best model fit, and parameters from both theories uniquely contributed to an  
45  
46 understanding of sympathetic collective action. The present study highlights the importance of  
47  
48 theoretical pluralism and cross-cultural methods in analyzing sympathetic collective action.  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

27

## References

- Abouzeid, R. (2011, January 21). Bouazizi: The man who set himself and Tunisia on fire. *Time Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2044723,00.html>.
- Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (1988). *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Alexander, M. G., Brewer, M. B., & Livingston, R. W. (2005). Putting stereotype content in context: Image theory and interethnic stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 31*, 781-794. doi:10.1177/0146167204271550
- Alexander, M. G., Levin, S., & Henry, P. J. (2005). Image theory, social identity, and social dominance: Structural characteristics and individual motives underlying international images. *Political Psychology, 26*, 27-45. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00408.x
- Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin, 130*, 80-114.
- Bauer, D. J., Preacher, K. J., & Gil, K. M. (2006). Conceptualizing and testing random indirect effects and moderated mediation in multilevel models: New procedures and recommendations. *Psychological Methods, 11*, 142-163.
- Bou Zeineddine, F. & Pratto, F. (in press). Political distrust: The advocate of the dispossessed. In Prooijen, J. van & Lange, P. A. M. van (Eds), *Power, politics, and paranoia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, R. (2000). Social identity theory: Past achievements, current problems and future challenges. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 30*, 745-778. doi: 10.1002/1099-

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

28

0992(200011/12)30:6<745::AID-EJSP24>3.0.CO;2-O

Cameron, J. E., & Nickerson, S. L. (2009). Predictors of protest among anti-globalization demonstrators. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 38*, 734-761.

Cheung, F. M., van de Vijver, F. R., & Leong, F. L. (2011). Toward a new approach to the study of personality in culture. *American Psychologist, 66*, 593-603. doi:10.1037/a0022389

Cole, D. A., & Preacher, K. J. (2013). Manifest variable path analysis: Potentially serious and misleading consequences due to uncorrected measurement error. *Psychological Methods*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1037/a0033805

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS Map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*, 631-648.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social perception: The stereotype content model and the BIAS map. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 40*, 61-149.

Fund for Peace. (2011). The Failed States Index 2011. Retrieved June 30, 2012 from <http://www.fundforpeace.org/global/?q=fsi2011>

Giguère, B. & Lalonde, R. N. (2010). Why do student strike? Direct and indirect determinants of participation in collective actions. *Political Psychology, 31*, 227-247.

Green, E. T., & Auer, F. (2013). How social dominance orientation affects union participation: The role of union identification and perceived union instrumentality. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 23*, 143-156.

Gutiérrez, A. S., & Unzueta, M. M. (2013). Are admissions decisions based on family ties fairer than those that consider race? Social dominance orientation and attitudes toward legacy vs. affirmative action policies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 49*, 554-558.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

29

1  
2  
3 doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2012.10.011  
4

5  
6 Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world?

7  
8 *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33, 61-135. doi: 10.1017/S0140525X0999152X  
9

10  
11 Hornsey, M. J., Blackwood, L., Louis, W., Fielding, K., Mavor, K., Morton, T., O'Brien, A.,

12  
13 Paasonen, K., Smith, J., & White, K. M. (2006). Why do people engage in collective  
14  
15 action? Revisiting the role of perceived effectiveness. *Journal of Applied Social*  
16

17  
18 *Psychology*, 36, 1701-1722.  
19

20  
21 Huntington, S. (1993.) The clash of civilizations. *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 22-49.

22  
23 Hutter, S., & Kriesi, H. (2013). Movements of the left, movements of the right reconsidered. In J.

24  
25 van Stekelenburg, C. M. Roggeband, & B. Klandermans (Eds.), *The Future of Social*  
26  
27 *Movement Research: Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes* (pp. 281-298). Minneapolis,  
28  
29 MN: University of Minnesota Press.  
30

31  
32 Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the*  
33  
34 *world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.  
35

36  
37 Jost, J. T., Chaikalis-Petritsis, V., Abrams, D., Sidanius, J., van der Toorn, J., & Bratt, C. (2012).

38  
39 Why men (and women) do and don't rebel: Effects of system justification on willingness  
40  
41 to protest. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 197-208.  
42

43  
44 Klandermans, B. (2003). Collective political action. In D. O. Sears, L. Huddy, & R. Jervis (Eds.),

45  
46 *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (pp. 670-709). New York: Oxford University  
47  
48 Press.  
49

50  
51 Leach, C. W., Iyer, A., & Pedersen, A. (2006). Anger and guilt about ingroup advantage explain  
52  
53 the willingness for political action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 1232-  
54  
55 1245.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

30

- 1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60
- Leach, C. W., Van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B.,...,Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*, 144-165.
- Lee, I. (2013). Endorsement of sexist ideology in Taiwan and the United States: Social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and deferential family norms. *International Journal of Psychology, 48*, 254-262. doi:10.1080/00207594.2011.645485
- Lewis, B. (2002). *What went wrong?: Western impact and Middle Eastern response*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lynch, M. (2012). *The Arab uprisings: The unfinished revolutions of the new Middle East*. New York: Public Affairs.
- McFarland, S. (2010). Authoritarianism, social dominance, and other roots of generalized prejudice. *Political Psychology, 31*, 453-477.
- Patai, R. (1973). *The Arab mind*. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York.
- Pratto, F. (1999). The puzzle of continuing group inequality: Piecing together psychological, social, and cultural forces in social dominance theory. In M. P. Zanna, *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 31, pp. 191-263). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Pratto, F., Cidam, A., Stewart, A. L., Bou Zeineddine, F., Aranda, M., Aiello, A.,...Henkel, K. E. (2013). Social dominance in context and in individuals: Contextual moderation of robust effects of social dominance orientation in 15 languages and 20 countries. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 4*, 587-599.



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

31

- 1  
2  
3 Pratto, F., Saguy, T., Stewart, A. L., Morselli, D., Aiello, A., Aranda, M.,...Sweetman, J. (in  
4  
5 press). Attitudes toward Arab ascendance: Israeli and global perspectives. *Psychological*  
6  
7  
8 *Science*.  
9
- 10 Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Bou Zeineddine, F., Kteily, N., & Levin, S. (in press). When domestic  
11  
12 politics and international relations intermesh: subordinated publics' factional support  
13  
14 within layered power structures. *Foreign Policy Analysis*.  
15  
16
- 17 Pratto, F., Stallworth, L. M., & Conway-Lanz, S. (1998). Social dominance orientation and the  
18  
19 ideological legitimization of social policy. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28,  
20  
21 1853-1875.  
22  
23
- 24 Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A  
25  
26 personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and*  
27  
28 *Social Psychology*, 67, 741-763.  
29  
30
- 31 Preacher, K. J., & Kelley, K. (2011). Effect size measures for mediation models: Quantitative  
32  
33 strategies for communicating indirect effects. *Psychological Methods*, 16, 93-115.  
34  
35  
36 doi:10.1037/a0022658  
37
- 38 Rosenthal, L., Levy, S. R., & Earnshaw, V. A. (2012). Social dominance orientation relates to  
39  
40 believing men should dominate sexually, sexual self-efficacy, and taking free female  
41  
42 condoms among undergraduate women and men. *Sex Roles*, 67, 659-669.  
43  
44  
45  
46 doi:10.1007/s11199-012-0207-6  
47
- 48 Russell, D., Van Sickle, A., & Weldon, S. (2010). The individual-institutional nexus of protest  
49  
50 behavior. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40, 51-73. doi:  
51  
52  
53 10.1017/S000712340999038X  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

32

- 1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60
- Saab, R., Tausch, N., Spears, R., & Cheung, W. Y. (in press). Acting in solidarity: Testing an extended dual-pathway model of collective action by bystander group members. *British Journal of Social Psychology*.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, *56*, 319-331.
- Strenger, C. (2011, March 24). The Arab uprisings: The beginning of a new solidarity? *Psychology Today*. Retrieved from <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/homoglobalis/201103/the-arab-uprisings-the-beginning-new-solidarity>
- Subasic, E., Reynolds, K. J., & Turner, J. C. (2008). The political solidarity model of social change: Dynamics of self-categorization in intergroup power relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *12*, 330-352.
- Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *1*, 149-178.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. A. (2009). The role of efficacy and moral outrage norms in creating the potential for international development activism through group-based interaction. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*, 115-134.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

33

- 1  
2  
3 Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., & Mavor, K. I. (2009). Aligning identities, emotions, and beliefs to  
4  
5 create commitment to sustainable social and political action. *Personality and Social*  
6  
7 *Psychology Review, 13*, 194-218.  
8  
9
- 10 Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering*  
11  
12 *the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.  
13  
14
- 15 Van der Meer, T. W. G., van Deth, J. W., & Scheepers, P. L. H. (2009). The politicized  
16  
17 participant: Ideology and political action in 20 democracies. *Comparative Political*  
18  
19 *Studies, 42*, 1426-1457. doi: 10.1177/0010414009332136  
20  
21
- 22 Van Stekelenburg, J., Klandermans, B., & van Dijk, W. W. (2011). Combining motivations and  
23  
24 emotion: The motivational dynamics of protest participation. *Revista de Psicologia*  
25  
26 *Social, 26*, 91-104.  
27  
28
- 29 Van Zomeren, M., Leach, C. W., & Spears, R. (2012). Protestors as “passionate economists”: A  
30  
31 dynamic dual pathway model of approach coping with collective disadvantage.  
32  
33 *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 16*, 180-199.  
34  
35
- 36 Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model  
37  
38 of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological  
39  
40 perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin, 134*, 504-535.  
41  
42
- 43 Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Bettache, K. (2011). Can moral convictions  
44  
45 motivate the advantaged to challenge social inequality? Extending the social identity  
46  
47 model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*, 735-753.  
48  
49
- 50 Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where  
51  
52 your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

34

group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 646-664. doi:

10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649

For Peer Review

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

35

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Lebanon, though an Arab nation, was not undergoing mass protests against oppressive regimes, so the participants from Lebanon were not directly involved in the popular Arab uprisings, which were only occurring in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia at the time of data collection. Although higher on collective action willingness and solidarity (along with Switzerland), Lebanon's data do not appear to be an outlier among the nations sampled, and the variances in the measures are similar to other nations. Further, upon further inspection of subgroup differences within Lebanon, there were no statistically significant differences between Maronite Christians and Druze participants on any of the variables, and subgroup sample sizes were too small for Sunni ( $N = 6$ ) and Shiite ( $N = 18$ ) participants to make conclusions. The Lebanese participants were third party observers to the Arab uprisings at the time. Finally, omission of the Lebanese participants in the analyses presented do not change the results presented and interpreted.

<sup>2</sup>A separate model was estimated including political orientation as a covariate. Participants read the following instructions: "In politics, people talk of 'left' and 'right.' Circle a number from 0 to 10 to show how left or right you are." Political orientation was specified as an exogenous variable, correlating with SDO and predicting all other variables in the reduced model. Inclusion of political orientation does not substantially change the effects presented in the model without this covariate. However, political orientation was a statistically significant predictor of collective action willingness,  $\beta = -.59$ ,  $SE(\beta) = .07$ ,  $p < .001$ . In this model, the effects from SDO to solidarity and belief in Arab competence do not differ from the effects displayed in Table 3.

Although beyond the scope of the present study, inclusion of political orientation as a predictor of collective action is warranted. One finds such a 'left-wing accent' of protest politics from the mid-1970s onward. Opting for collective action as social change strategy this strategy is linked

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

36

1  
2  
3 to the basic *value-orientations* characterizing the left and the right, respectively. Rebels on the  
4  
5 right tend to have authoritarian and materialist values, and prefer (orderly) conventional political  
6  
7 action over (disorderly) protest politics, while rebels on the left tend to share libertarian and  
8  
9 postmaterialist values, which predispose them for unconventional protest politics (Hutter &  
10  
11 Kriesi, 2013). Authoritarians are joiners of ‘conventional’ groups, such as political parties or  
12  
13 professional associations, in essentially equal proportions with libertarians. However, they are  
14  
15 not as likely to join political action-oriented groups. Based on more recent data, van der Meer et  
16  
17 al. (2009) once again show that left-wing citizens are more likely to turn to protest activities than  
18  
19 their counterparts on the right in all twenty Western democracies that they study during the early  
20  
21 2000s. Dalton et al. (2010) find also a significant effect of postmaterialism and left ideology on  
22  
23 protest behavior in their 87 nations study based on World Value Survey (WVS) (wave 1999-  
24  
25 2002). Using multi-level models, the authors show that both the effects of left-right self-  
26  
27 placement and postmaterialist attitudes are magnified by the democratic and economic  
28  
29 development of a country. More specifically, the effects are most pronounced in established and  
30  
31 affluent democracies – that is, the countries which we focus on here.

32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39 <sup>3</sup>Because collective action willingness was not measured for Canadian participants, their data  
40  
41 were removed from the multiple groups analysis. In the MSEM analyses, we could use full  
42  
43 information maximum likelihood estimation to estimate the parameters given the implied values  
44  
45 on the collective action variable for Canada. In multiple groups analyses, we cannot use these  
46  
47 modern missing data analyses, so they are omitted from this analysis.  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

Table 1

Demographic information and descriptive statistics for each nation

Nation	N	Female	SES	Age	SDO	Efficacy	Solid	Comp	CA	Anger
Belgium	113	85	3.12 (.78)	20.79 (3.81)	2.57 (1.31)	4.70 (2.48)	4.95 (2.88)	6.46 (2.32)	3.55 (2.99)	4.57 (2.85)
Canada	90	37	2.52 (.55)	42.03 (15.83)	3.43 (1.57)	5.73 (2.63)	4.53 (2.58)	5.95 (2.51)	N/A	4.73 (1.85)
China	90	41	3.90 (.89)	26.10 (2.95)	2.88 (1.45)	4.52 (2.68)	3.98 (2.41)	6.71 (2.01)	2.94 (2.19)	3.13 (2.01)
Greece	150	61	3.47 (1.19)	36.25 (14.34)	2.49 (1.26)	5.66 (2.83)	6.25 (2.52)	7.73 (2.03)	4.96 (2.97)	2.85 (2.01)
Italy	228	50	2.97 (.88)	40.00 (12.63)	2.79 (1.53)	5.90 (2.57)	6.04 (2.86)	6.03 (2.67)	3.73 (2.83)	4.23 (2.01)
Lebanon	132	41	3.36 (.82)	31.89 (12.59)	3.00 (1.53)	5.07 (3.44)	7.31 (2.70)	6.58 (2.99)	5.32 (3.57)	4.95 (3.01)
Netherlands	60	52	2.92 (.94)	22.98 (5.25)	3.11 (1.31)	5.53 (2.52)	5.91 (2.77)	7.39 (2.17)	4.68 (3.45)	2.62 (2.01)
Poland	62	68	3.10 (.65)	21.47 (1.73)	3.22 (1.76)	6.26 (2.64)	3.66 (2.95)	5.79 (2.69)	3.13 (2.59)	2.93 (2.01)
Switzerland	50	54	3.36 (1.03)	37.62 (12.87)	3.37 (2.14)	6.22 (2.45)	7.25 (2.75)	7.67 (2.68)	5.18 (3.53)	5.33 (2.01)
Turkey	124	38	3.07 (.99)	38.41 (11.77)	3.12 (1.57)	5.49 (2.75)	4.23 (3.13)	7.54 (2.97)	3.19 (3.05)	3.63 (3.01)
United Kingdom	228	49	3.76 (.91)	45.31 (13.88)	3.96 (1.64)	4.58 (2.37)	3.99 (2.52)	5.97 (3.00)	3.45 (2.40)	4.13 (2.01)
United States	153	46	3.59 (1.11)	38.08 (15.14)	3.80 (2.06)	5.40 (2.54)	3.68 (2.54)	6.79 (2.67)	3.29 (2.63)	3.46 (2.01)

Note. Means are presented with standard deviations in parentheses (except for % female, which is the percentage of female respondents in the survey). N/A = data were unavailable for these nations. CA = collective action, SDO = social dominance orientation, Comp = belief in Arab competence, and Solid = Solidarity with the Arab people.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

38

Table 2

*Estimated descriptive statistics and within nation correlation matrix (k = 12; N = 1480)*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	ICC	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. SDO	3.25	1.71	.06	-.06 <sup>ns</sup>	-.19***	-.19***	-.12***	-.09*
2. Efficacy	5.20	2.67	.03	--	.10*	.16***	.15***	.02 <sup>ns</sup>
3. Arab Competence	6.83	2.64	.06		--	.46***	.39***	.22***
4. Solidarity	5.07	3.01	.21			--	.61***	.32***
5. Collective Action	3.73	2.95	.09				--	.33***
6. Anger	4.56	2.43	.08					--

Note. <sup>ns</sup>*p* > .10, <sup>+</sup>*p* < .10, \**p* < .05, \*\**p* < .01, \*\*\**p* < .001. *M* = mean, *SD* = standard deviation,

ICC = intraclass correlation, SDO = social dominance orientation.



SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

Table 3

Path estimates for integrated model of collective action from multilevel structural equation modeling analysis

Paths	SIMCA Only			SDT Only			Reduced Model			Saturated Model		
	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )
SDO→Solidarity	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.26***	-.47	.05	-.26***	-.47	.05
SDO→Competence	--	--	--	-.19***	-.36	.05	-.13***	-.37	.04	-.23***	-.37	.05
Solidarity → Anger	.32***	.30	.03	--	--	--	.30***	.29	.03	.30***	.29	.03
Solidarity → Efficacy	.17***	.16	.03	--	--	--	.16***	.15	.03	.15***	.14	.03
Solidarity → CA	.57***	.57	.02	--	--	--	.52***	.52	.03	.53***	.52	.02
Competence → Anger	--	--	--	--	--	--	.04	.05	.03	.04	.05	.03
Competence → Efficacy	--	--	--	--	--	--	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03
Competence → CA	--	--	--	.34***	.34	.03	.13***	.14	.03	.13***	.13	.02
Anger → CA	.14***	.14	.03	--	--	--	.13***	.13	.03	.13***	.14	.03
Efficacy → CA	.05*	.06	.03	--	--	--	.05*	.05	.03	.05*	.05	.02
SDO → Anger	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.01	.01	.05
SDO → Efficacy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.03	-.05	.04
SDO → CA	--	--	--	-.09**	-.17	.05	--	--	--	.02	.04	.04
Correlations		<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )	<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )	<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )	<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )	<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )	
Competence ↔ Solidarity		--	--	--	--	--	--	.36***	.02	.36***	.02	
Anger ↔ Efficacy		.25***	.03	--	--	--	--	-.04	.03	-.04	.03	
Model Fit												
$\chi^2$ (df)		375.88*** (9)			919.92*** (12)			2.16 (3)			--	
CFI		.68			.21			1.00			--	
RMSEA		.17			.23			.00			--	
SRMR <sub>within</sub>		.15			.21			.01			--	
SRMR <sub>between</sub>		<.001			<.001			<.001			--	

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

40

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .  $\beta$  = standardized regression coefficient,  $b$  = unstandardized regression coefficient,  $SE(b)$  = standard error of the unstandardized estimate, CA = collective action, SDO = social dominance orientation, and Competence = belief in Arab competence. The saturated model is a perfect model, so fit statistics are unavailable.

For Peer Review

SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

Table 4

Standardized path estimates for integrated model in multiple groups analysis

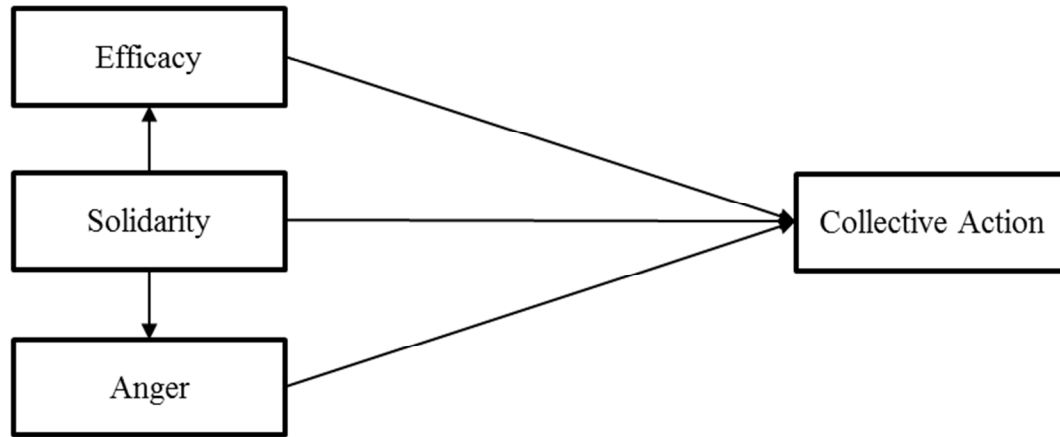
Nation	SDO→S	SDO→C	S→A	C→A	S→E	C→E	A→CA	E→CA	C→CA	S→CA
Unconstrained										
Turkey	-.33 (.21)	-.20 (.23)	.08 <sup>a</sup> (.10)	.30 (.09)	.26 (.09)	-.11 (.08)	.31 (.09)	.06 (.09)	.03 (.08)	.44 <sup>a</sup> (.08)
Lebanon	-.48 (.15)	-.25 (.17)	.40 (.11)	.21 (.09)	.12 (.12)	.06 (.10)	.13 (.11)	-.01 (.08)	.31 (.10)	.50 (.12)
United States	-.30 (.10)	-.56 (.11)	.35 (.09)	.13 (.08)	.18 (.08)	-.01 (.07)	.29 (.06)	-.04 (.06)	.12 (.05)	.48 <sup>a</sup> (.07)
Poland	-.27 (.21)	-.15 (.20)	.05 <sup>a</sup> (.13)	.12 (.15)	-.17 (.12)	.26 (.13)	.09 (.08)	-.06 (.08)	-.01 (.09)	.67 (.09)
Netherlands	-.69 (.26)	-.54 (.20)	.42 (.14)	-.09 <sup>a</sup> (.20)	-.15 (.14)	.19 (.18)	-.22 (.17)	.11 (.14)	.26 (.18)	.80 (.16)
Greece	-.81 (.20)	-.70 (.21)	-.03 <sup>a</sup> (.10)	.22 (.10)	.32 (.09)	-.03 (.09)	.01 (.08)	.19 (.07)	.06 (.09)	.60 (.09)
Italy	-.46 (.12)	-.23 (.12)	.41 (.07)	.10 (.08)	.21 (.07)	.00 (.07)	.24 (.06)	.09 (.06)	.05 (.07)	.37 <sup>a</sup> (.07)
China	.15 <sup>a</sup> (.20)	-.31 (.26)	.29 (.11)	-.01 (.08)	.12 (.11)	.08 (.08)	.18 (.09)	.10 (.08)	.16 (.06)	.16 <sup>a</sup> (.09)
Switzerland	-.58 (.16)	-.22 (.17)	.53 (.17)	.10 (.16)	.06 (.15)	.11 (.15)	.01 (.17)	.19 (.17)	.24 (.18)	.58 (.20)
Belgium	-.62 (.20)	-.19 (.18)	.26 (.08)	.06 (.10)	.07 (.09)	.04 (.11)	.23 (.09)	.14 (.08)	.07 (.09)	.71 (.07)
UK	-.07 <sup>a</sup> (.11)	-.36 (.14)	.45 (.11)	-.15 <sup>a</sup> (.08)	.02 (.07)	.03 (.06)	.09 (.06)	.07 (.05)	.08 (.04)	.63 (.06)
Constrained										
Preferred	-.17 (.03)	-.16 (.03)	.32 (.04)	.08 (.04)	.16 (.04)	.03 (.03)	.15 (.03)	.05 (.02)	.11 (.03)	.56 (.04)

Note. Standardized path estimates presented with standard errors in parentheses. The estimates from the fully unconstrained model are presented for each nation, and the second to last row displays the path estimates from the fully constrained model. The preferred model's estimates are presented in the final row. <sup>a</sup>Path estimate was allowed to freely vary in the preferred model. SDO=social dominance orientation. S=solidarity with the Arab people. C=belief in Arab competence. A=anger toward counter protests. E=political efficacy. CA=collective action.

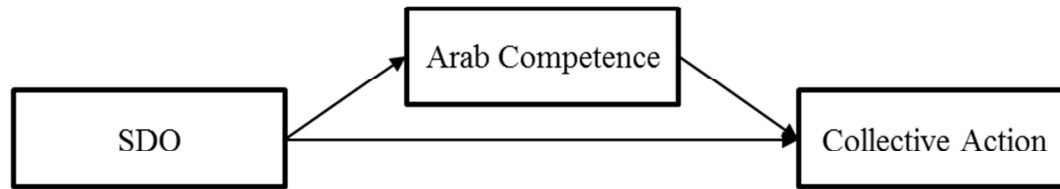
1 SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

3 Figure 1. Three models of collective action tested in the present study.

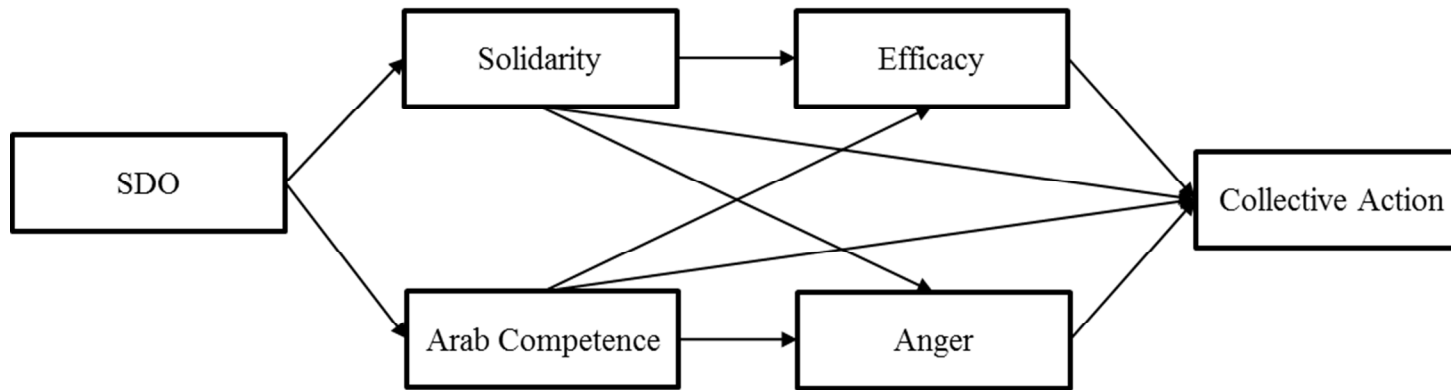
4  
5  
6 Social Identity Model of Collective Action



23  
24  
25 Social Dominance Theory

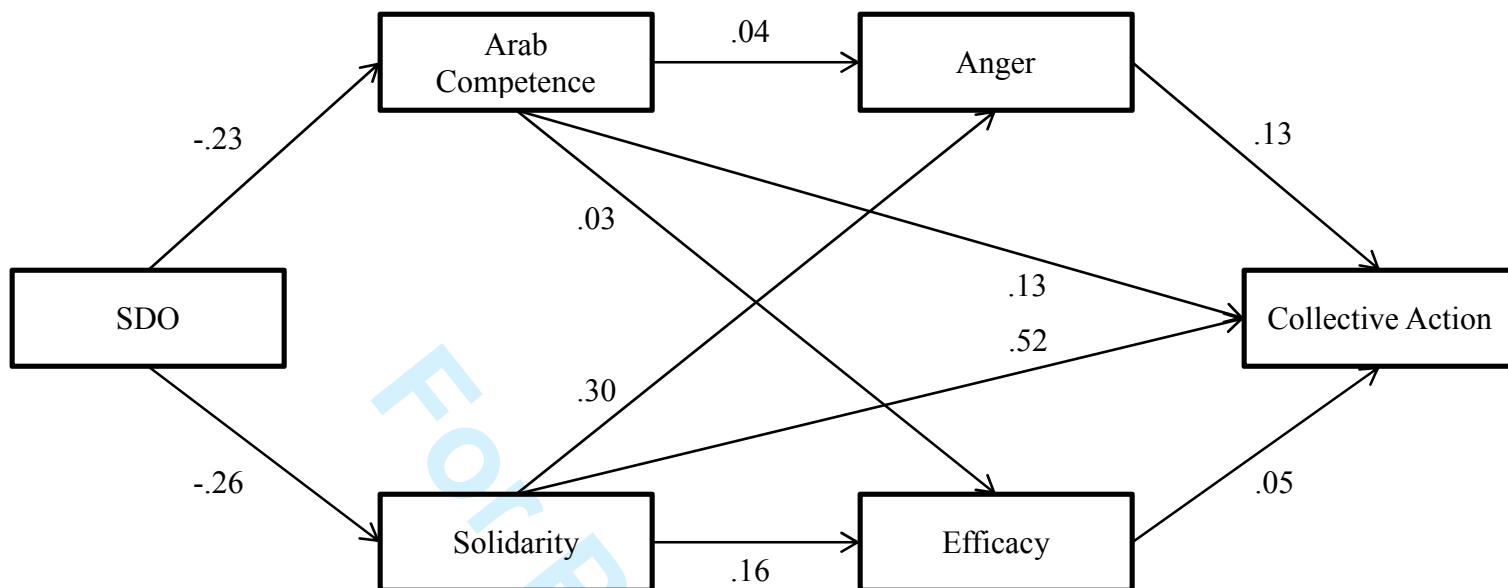


33  
34  
35 Integrated Model of Sympathetic Collective Action



SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

Figure 2. Multilevel path model of the integrated model of sympathetic collective action



Note. SDO = social dominance orientation

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Running head: SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

1

## Abstract

Inspired by the popular Arab protests against oppressive regimes that began in 2010, people around the world protested in sympathy with the Arab peoples. The present research draws on two major theories of intergroup relations to develop an initial integrative model of sympathetic collective action. We incorporate social dominance theory's (SDT) concept of (rejectionist) legitimizing myths with the solidarity and emotional mediation concept of the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) to understand motivations for sympathetic collective action among bystanders. Using data from 12 nations ( $N=1480$ ), we tested three models: (a) SIMCA (i.e., solidarity, anger, and efficacy), (b) a social dominance theory model of collective action (i.e., social dominance orientation and ideologies concerning Arab competence), and (c) an integrated model of sympathetic collective action combining both theories. Results find the greatest support for an integrated model of collective action. Discussion focuses on theoretical pluralism and suggestions for future research.

*Keywords:* collective action, ideology, identity, social dominance, social change

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

2

International Support for the Arab Uprisings: Understanding Sympathetic Collective Action  
Using Theories of Social Dominance and Social Identity

On December 17, 2010, Mohammed Bouazizi set himself on fire, inspiring mass protests across Tunisia and other Arab nations in the subsequent months (Abouzeid, 2011). Many Arab people who were similarly situated by oppressive regimes identified with Bouazizi's economic and political frustrations, and his dramatic act bared the illegitimacy of their oppressive regimes. With the hasty retreat of Ben Ali, people's sense of efficacy in changing those regimes increased, prompting more protest and active opposition (e.g., Lynch, 2012). One theoretical understanding of these events is that the perceived illegitimacy and instability of status differences between Arab peoples and their rulers provoked collective protests against the peoples' disadvantaged position (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). In addition to the Arab people's protests within their societies, many international observers engaged in *sympathetic* collective action in support of the Arab people's collective action (Strenger, 2011). The explanation derived from social identity theory may provide an adequate theoretical account of why the Arab people protested, but we may need to expand our theoretical understanding to explain the motivations of bystanders who protested in support of the Arab popular protests.

Using the 2010-2011 Arab uprisings as a case in point, this paper integrates and expands two major theories of intergroup relations to understand what motivates *sympathetic collective action*, that is, *political participation on behalf of people in other groups*. One major missing part of the story is that to analyze significant social and political protests against oppression, we must acknowledge what enabled oppression to exist in the first place. Simply understanding what motivates people to work against oppression does not address what enabled oppression.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

3

Therefore this paper considers aspects of oppression, using social dominance theory and social identity theory, to address more deeply motivations for sympathetic collective action.

**Social Dominance Theory and Collective Action**

Violence and its threat are major tools of repression; the near-monopolization of economic resources is another (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Both these methods are practiced by several repressive Arab (and other) regimes. However, the nation-state is not an adequate unit of analysis for understanding this oppression and the struggles against it because many Arab political factions are intertwined across borders, and also entangled with, challenged or supported by agents outside those nations, including, notably, the U.S., Russia, Iran, Israel, Turkey and the EU (Pratto, Sidanius, Bou Zeineddine, Kteily, & Levin, 2013). Hence, we should also consider why people in those nations and others tolerate or support the oppression of Arabs and/or tolerate or support ways their governments support domestic oppression of Arabs.

*Sympathetic collective action* by outsiders or third-party publics, whose social categories and fates are not tied to the primary oppression victims, may also be a significant aspect of power struggles (Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, in press; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011). In fact, Pratto, Stewart, and Bou Zeineddine (2013) have extended social dominance theory to analyze such complexities in intergroup power dynamics.

Another missing part of the story of the contemporary popular Arab uprisings is that pro-regime protests immediately followed anti-regime protests. Although the plethora of research on collective action considers collective action towards “progressive” goals, it is a fact that all collective action is not counter-dominant. More importantly, pro- and anti- do not always come in different age cohorts or eras. Rather, as social dominance theory has emphasized, all large



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

4

collectives contain elements of both pro- and anti-hierarchical forces and ideologies, and they are in a struggle for predominance. Further, as social identity theory has emphasized, the very boundaries of groups also change; for example, the new coalitions within Syria and Arab nations changing relationships to Turkey, Iran, and the West, and those nations changing relationships to each other. Both these facts necessitate a different way of categorizing political groups and ideologies that is linked to particular times and places.

For this reason we draw on social dominance theory and consider that some political movements may be intended to or serve to maintain hierarchies (called hierarchy-enhancing) whereas others may be intended to or serve to attenuate or eliminate hierarchies (called hierarchy-attenuating). In the case under study, the initial popular uprisings are hierarchy-attenuating and the counter (pro-regime) protests are hierarchy-enhancing. The more people prefer group hierarchy in general, the more we would expect them to favor pro-regime protests, despite the fact that those protests are also collective action. Conversely, the lower outsiders are on social dominance orientation, the more they should support the popular Arab uprisings (Pratto et al., 2014).

Social dominance theory's distinction between forces that mitigate against oppression and those that maintain it is also useful for understanding how legitimizing myths play into power struggles. Legitimizing myths are widely-known ideologies, stereotypes, world-views, moral philosophies or other frames that serve to legitimize social orders. For example, scholars have persuaded Western political leaders that oppressing Arab nations makes the world more safe and stable (e.g., Little, 2002, pp. 118-155). Further, the stereotype of Arab incompetence is widely promulgated by scholars who influence U.S. Presidents (e.g., Patai, 1973), in Western mass media and in political commentary, including from prominent politicians (e.g., Friedman,

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

5

1  
2  
3 1989, 2006; Little, 2002, pp. 9-42, Jackson, 2003; Parker & Opal, 2012; Said, 2002; Zogby,  
4  
5 2010, p. 39). Such legitimizing myths likely persuade publics against the agenda of the Arab  
6  
7 uprisings.  
8  
9

10  
11 However, people do sometimes reject myths that legitimize hierarchy and oppression,  
12  
13 and eventually invent rejectionist legitimizing myths to be used for progressive changes (see  
14  
15 Pratto et al., 2013 for a discussion). Rejection of hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing myths may  
16  
17 not only lead to opposition to hierarchy-maintaining policies (e.g., Pratto, Stallworth, &  
18  
19 Conway-Lanz, 1998), but to collective action intended to reduce or eliminate oppression. Prior  
20  
21 studies have shown that endorsement of legitimizing myths can statistically predict preferences  
22  
23 about political factions and vote choices (Pratto, Sidanius, et al., 2013; Pratto et al., 1998).  
24  
25

26  
27 Extending social dominance theory's reasoning to a new outcome measure, rejecting stereotypes  
28  
29 of Arabs as incompetent can be expected to be associated with sympathetic collective action on  
30  
31 their behalf. Moreover, social dominance theory hypothesizes that endorsement of legitimizing  
32  
33 myths should mediate the statistical influence of the more general social dominance orientation  
34  
35 on political action and attitudes. We tested both of these predictions in the present study.  
36  
37

38  
39 Social dominance theory's broad conception of legitimizing myths includes conceptions  
40  
41 of ideology. In a comprehensive review, Klandermans (2003, p. 697) advocated for integrating  
42  
43 ideology along with identity and instrumentality to understand why people engage in collective  
44  
45 action. The present study contributes to such integration by also considering how identity issues  
46  
47 and perceived instrumentality (efficacy) as well as ideology and social dominance orientation  
48  
49 might motivate sympathetic collective action (see also van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van  
50  
51 Dijk, 2011).  
52  
53

**Social Identity Theory and Collective Action**

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

6

Using social identity theory to understand sympathetic collective action requires careful consideration. The social identity model of collective action (SIMCA) is a prominent model of collective action inspired by social identity approaches (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). SIMCA focuses primarily on people who experience collective disadvantage and who can categorize themselves as members of disadvantaged groups. When people are highly identified with their disadvantaged social group, they are more likely to experience anger at perceived injustices (Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) and feel efficacy in participating in political processes (Van Zomeren, Saguy, & Schellhaus, 2013) to address their group's disadvantaged position. These feelings increase people's willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of their disadvantaged group.

Social identity theory has always allowed that there is both fluid individual subjectivity in one's own definition of one's ingroup, and more consensual changes in collective definitions of group boundaries. Self-categorization is said to occur when a particular social category becomes a salient basis for self-definition (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987).

Contemporary work has further emphasized that the basis for self-categorization can be broad, including opinion-based groups (Thomas & McGarty, 2009) and multiple group memberships at different levels of analysis (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Given the right context, virtually any social category can form the basis for self-categorization and therefore motivate collective action (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Thus, although many people around the globe who demonstrated in support of the Arab uprisings did not share the same fate, ethnicity, or nationality as the Arab protestors, their protests may have been motivated by their sense of solidarity with the (non-elite) Arab peoples.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

7

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45

In fact, SIMCA suggests that when people feel connection to or solidarity with a disadvantaged group, they are more likely to engage in collective action on the group's behalf (Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). Solidarity causes feelings of anger at the group's collective disadvantage, and this anger motivates them to engage in collective action (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Recent research has extended SIMCA to understand why people in advantaged group positions may engage in collective action on behalf of other low power groups. This research examines actions done on behalf of another group, which has been largely ignored by social identity approaches. In one line of research, Van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, and Bettache (2011) argue that "moral convictions" are an important variable for understanding collective action among the advantaged. Moral convictions are conceptualized and operationalized as how strongly people feel about their support or opposition to social inequality. They found that advantaged group members who rejected inequality and then felt strongly about their opinions toward discrimination (regarding Dutch Muslims) were more likely to engage in collective action on behalf of the disadvantaged group. Research on opinion-based groups (Blüch, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007) argues that when people form groups on the basis of opinions (e.g., political attitudes as a basis for political party membership), people are likely to engage in political behavior. This research demonstrates the importance of intergroup beliefs in motivating collective action.

46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

When people feel solidarity with their disadvantaged group, they also feel that they can be successful at correcting the perceived injustice and are more likely to engage in collective action (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010). Although the original research on SIMCA examined group efficacy as a predictor of collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2004), recent research points to the importance of examining other forms of efficacy (Hornsey, Blackwood, Louis, Fielding,

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

8

Mavor, Morton, O'Brien, Paasonen, Smith, & White, 2006). Because our study examines collective action willingness among international bystanders to the Arab uprisings, a form of participative efficacy may be most relevant. For international observers, it may be difficult if not impossible to change the contentious Arab political systems, but international observers may believe that they can affect their own political systems in order to rally support for the Arab popular protests. The general belief that people's collective action participation can affect their own political system to correct the perceived injustice can be an important predictor of collective action (Van Zomeren, Saguy, & Schellhaus, 2012). Thus, we use political efficacy to predict collective action in the present study. In sum, SIMCA proposes that anger at perceived injustice (i.e., affective injustice; Van Zomeren et al., 2008) and efficacy are two routes through which solidarity can lead to collective action. SIMCA predicts that, for example, if Syrians identify strongly with Syrians, they are more likely to become angry when the group is oppressed and disadvantaged, and to feel that they can successfully do something about their collective disadvantage, viz., to engage in collective action to protest against their oppressive regime.

**An Integrated Model of Collective Action**

The social identity and social dominance approaches can be integrated to understand the dynamics of collective action (e.g., Cameron & Nickerson, 2009) when one considers the *meanings* of social identities and considers *ideology*. The developers of the SIMCA model state "Ultimately, it may not necessarily be social identity or identity per se that prepares people for collective action, but rather the content of social identity" (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008, p. 522). Likewise, social dominance theory implies that social representations of other groups, such as stereotypes, could also be important in motivating sympathetic collective action (e.g., Pratto, 1999). Thus, shared stereotypes constitute the meaning of social groups, and the

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

9

1  
2  
3 particular kind of contents relates to the kinds of expectations people have for the group and how  
4  
5 one's own group should respond to or treat them (e.g., Alexander, Brewer, & Livingstone, 2005;  
6  
7 Alexander, Levin, & Henry, 2005). These beliefs can prescribe behavior or support for behavior  
8  
9 that is consistent with these ideologies (e.g., "I support the Arab uprisings because the Arab  
10  
11 people are competent to govern themselves"). Competence stereotypes can sometimes increase  
12  
13 active facilitation to help the stereotype target (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007), so beliefs in Arab  
14  
15 competence may increase collective action on behalf of Arabs. Integrating intergroup ideologies  
16  
17 such as stereotypes alongside social identities can give a more comprehensive understanding of  
18  
19 sympathetic collective action.  
20  
21  
22  
23

24  
25 Further, although it is the social dominance theory tradition that has highlighted the  
26  
27 importance of legitimizing myths, including political and cultural ideologies, in the practices that  
28  
29 increase or decrease group power differentials (e.g., Green & Auer, 2013; Gutierrez, Unzueta,  
30  
31 2013; Lee, 2013; Pratto et al, 1998; Rosenthal, Levy, & Earnshaw, 2012), work on collective  
32  
33 action from the social identity perspective has also discovered the importance of ideology. For  
34  
35 example, one study found that ideology (versus identity and instrumentality) was the strongest  
36  
37 reason that people engage in protest (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2011). Thus,  
38  
39 this body of research also points to the content of collective ideologies or legitimizing myths as  
40  
41 the central mediators of motivation to participate in collective action.  
42  
43  
44

45  
46 There are also a number of studies that lead us to expect that SDO will be negatively  
47  
48 associated with identification with disadvantaged groups. In numerous samples in the U.S.,  
49  
50 Pratto and Stewart 2012 showed that people tended to differentially identify with low (versus  
51  
52 high) powered social categories for race, gender, and sexual orientation to the extent they were  
53  
54 low on SDO. Likewise, Cameron and Nickerson (2009) conducted a field study during actual  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

10

1  
2  
3 social protests associated with the Americas Summit. Their results revealed that social  
4  
5 dominance orientation, in particular anti-SDO disposition, lead individuals to identify with social  
6  
7 movement groups challenging intergroup inequality, which in turn motivated them to engage in  
8  
9 collective action. Further, Green and Auer (2013) also found that union identification mediates  
10  
11 the relationship between SDO and active union participation. This study offers an encouraging  
12  
13 first exploration of the presently proposed integration.  
14  
15

16  
17 We therefore see social identity theory and social dominance theory approaches to  
18  
19 collective action as complementary in that social identity theory approaches highlight the  
20  
21 importance of the self and how the self feels about collective disadvantage, whereas social  
22  
23 dominance theory approaches highlight the importance of belief systems about outgroups that  
24  
25 can compel people to engage in sympathetic collective action. The integrated model of  
26  
27 collective action we present unites these two perspectives as follows. People's general opposition  
28  
29 to inequality (e.g., low social dominance orientation, Pratto et al., 1994; moral convictions about  
30  
31 opposing inequality, Van Zomeren et al., 2011) should increase their solidarity with oppressed  
32  
33 other groups (i.e., Arab people) and also their endorsement of hierarchy-attenuating beliefs about  
34  
35 oppressed groups (i.e., belief in Arab competence). Then, as in the social identity model of  
36  
37 collective action, solidarity-based identification should increase anger at injustice and political  
38  
39 efficacy to engage in collective action, and all three of these variables should then increase  
40  
41 willingness to engage in sympathetic collective action. Simultaneously, according to the social  
42  
43 dominance theory approach to collective action, the beliefs in Arab competence can increase  
44  
45 collective action willingness and also increase group-based anger. This integrated model  
46  
47 incorporates social dominance theory's analysis of ideologies with social identity theory's  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

11

analysis of group solidarity, emotion, and efficacy to understand the psychology of sympathetic collective action.

### Overview of the Present Study

The present study tests a theoretical integration of social dominance and social identity approaches to sympathetic collective action. We test our model with an international sample where we predict willingness to engage in a sympathetic collective action in support of the Arab uprisings from solidarity with the Arab people, anger, efficacy, beliefs concerning Arab competence, and social dominance orientation. We test the fit of these models and attempt to explain sympathetic collective action from this theoretical integration. As we used members of the public as participants, we used very few items to assess each construct.

### Method

#### Participants

Participants were 1480 people from 12 nations: Belgium ( $N = 113$ ; Francophones), Canada ( $N = 90$ ; Québécois), China ( $N = 90$ ), Greece ( $N = 150$ ), Italy ( $N = 228$ ), Lebanon<sup>1</sup> ( $N = 132$ ), Netherlands ( $N = 60$ ), Poland ( $N = 62$ ), Switzerland ( $N = 50$ ), Turkey ( $N = 124$ ), the United Kingdom ( $N = 228$ ), and the United States ( $N = 153$ ). Demographic information and descriptive statistics for each nation are displayed in Table 1. Participants were 676 men, 732 women, and 82 had unreported gender. Participants also self-reported their socioeconomic status (SES) relative to others within their own countries: wealthy ( $N = 31$ ), better than most ( $N = 255$ ), good ( $N = 543$ ), so so ( $N = 416$ ), poor ( $N = 143$ ), or destitute ( $N = 18$ ) with 74 missing or unreported SES. Participants were 36 years old on average ( $SD = 14.42$ ,  $Min = 14$ ,  $Max = 78$ ).

#### Procedure



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

12

1  
2  
3 Data were collected from late July through September 2011. For data collected by  
4 interviews and self-administered questionnaires, adults were approached by the researchers in  
5 public places (e.g., at coffee shops) and were invited to participate in a study called  
6  
7  
8 “International Social and Political Life.” Data from Belgium, Canada, China, Switzerland,  
9  
10 Turkey, the UK, and the U.S. were collected online. Data from Italy were collected using self-  
11 administered questionnaires. Most data from Lebanon ( $N = 86$ ) were completed using self-  
12 administered questionnaires. Three participants in Lebanon were interviewed, and the rest were  
13 recruited online.  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21

**Measures**

22  
23  
24 The original questionnaire was written in English, Arabic and Spanish simultaneously,  
25 and all items were written so that they were short and straightforward to make them easy to  
26 translate. After the original questionnaire was written, it was sent to and translated by native  
27 speakers who are social scientists of each other language (i.e., Chinese, French, Italian, German,  
28 Polish, Greek, and Turkish). All translations were back-translated by a different set of native  
29 speakers and refined in discussion with the second and third authors. The final questionnaire was  
30 then administered to all participants in their native languages. Only measures relevant to the  
31 present study are reported here, but the full survey is available from the authors. Because of time  
32 constraints, we sometimes used one item to measure certain constructs as described below.  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44

45 All participants were given the following introduction to the survey: “We have an  
46 international team of scholars doing research about how people in your country feel about social  
47 and political changes that have happened recently or may happen.” The survey was also titled  
48  
49 “International Survey on Social and Political Life.” Thus, the survey made it clear that  
50 participants were to think of their nation in relation to other nations, so participants answered the  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

13

1  
2  
3 survey items with the international context in mind. For all measures, except for anger and  
4  
5 political efficacy, participants read a short description about the Arab uprisings. This description  
6  
7 stated: “We have a few questions about the Arab protests that have received global attention  
8  
9 starting in December 2010. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement below?”  
10  
11

12  
13 **Collective Action Willingness.** To measure willingness to engage in sympathetic  
14  
15 collective action, participants indicated how much they agreed or disagreed with the item, “I  
16  
17 would join a sympathy protest in support of the Arab uprisings” on a scale from 1 (*strongly*  
18  
19 *disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*).  
20  
21

22  
23 **Solidarity with the Arab People.** To measure solidarity with the Arab people,  
24  
25 participants rated the item “I feel solidarity with the Arab people” on a scale from 1 (*strongly*  
26  
27 *disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). This item was taken from the multi-dimensional identity  
28  
29 measure reported by Leach et al. (2008). Because our participants did not include Arabs living  
30  
31 under the contested regimes, the other dimensions of identity, including centrality, satisfaction,  
32  
33 ingroup homogeneity, or individual self-stereotyping were not relevant forms of identification  
34  
35 for our participants. Solidarity, however, is a form of identification that can be felt by people  
36  
37 who are not a part of the social group in question (Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, in press).  
38  
39  
40

41  
42 **Arab Competence Beliefs.** Participants rated the item “The Arab people are competent  
43  
44 enough to govern themselves” on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). This  
45  
46 competence stereotype is typical of groups with high social status (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, &  
47  
48 Xu, 2002) and is a rejection of the long-standing stereotype of Arabs that Western elites have  
49  
50 used to justify backing oppression within Arab nations. As such, we view endorsement of this  
51  
52 assertion of Arab competence as a hierarchy-attenuating legitimizing myth (see Sidanius &  
53  
54 Pratto, 1999).  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

**Social Dominance Orientation.** Social dominance orientation was measured using a new short 4-item measure ( $\alpha = .67$ ; Pratto, Cidam, et al., 2013). The items were “In setting priorities, we must consider all groups” (reversed), “We should not push for equality between groups,” “Group equality should be our ideal” (reversed), and “Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.” The items were rated on a scale from 1 (*extremely oppose*) to 10 (*extremely favor*). This short measure was shown to be valid across a variety of nations by its correlations with attitudinal support for the poor, women, and ethnic minorities (Pratto, Cidam, et al., 2013).

**Anger Regarding the Counter Protests.** Participants read the following about the counter-protesters who protested in favor of the government and against the popular uprisings: “The Arab protests also evoked some counter-protests. When you hear Arab counter-protestors say ‘We must maintain the rule of government to have stability,’ how much do you feel each emotion about the counter-protests?” They then indicated how much they feel outrage and resentment toward these counter-protests on a scale from 0 (*not at all*) to 10 (*extremely intensely*). These two emotion terms were averaged to create an anger scale ( $\alpha = .74$ ). This measure captures participants’ emotional experience of injustice committed by oppressive Arab regimes and their supporters.

**Political Efficacy.** Political efficacy was measured by one original item, “It doesn’t matter what I do, I can’t affect anything that happens in politics” (reversed), and was rated on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 10 (*strongly agree*). This measure captures people’s belief in whether they can make a difference in politics.

### Results

Our data come from participants in 12 nations, so we adopt both an etic and emic approach to our analyses (see Cheung, Vijver, & Leong, 2011). Using multilevel structural

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

15

1  
2  
3 equation modeling (MSEM), we test the proposed models *controlling for between nation*  
4  
5 *differences*. Thus, this approach attempts to identify a single model that fits the data best across  
6  
7 nations, while treating national differences as error variance, just as traditional statistical analysis  
8  
9 (e.g., ANOVA) treats individuals as error variance. After identifying the best *general* model of  
10  
11 sympathetic collective action, we then conduct multiple groups analyses to identify the best  
12  
13 fitting model for each nation individually. Because no research study (to our knowledge) has  
14  
15 examined beliefs in Arab competence cross-nationally, we have no specific predictions about  
16  
17 how these models should work within individual nations. The multiple groups analyses are  
18  
19 therefore exploratory and attempt to document cross-national differences in sympathetic  
20  
21 collective action. However, social dominance theory and social identity theory approaches to  
22  
23 collective action argue that their respective models would work equally well across cultures, so  
24  
25 we are not expecting much cross-cultural variability in the models. The MSEM analyses treat  
26  
27 nations as random effects and estimate the model parameters while controlling for national  
28  
29 differences. The multiple groups analyses treat nations as fixed effects where we can examine  
30  
31 each nation individually and how they contribute to the overall model. We believe that these two  
32  
33 approaches to analyzing the data allow for us to find a general best fitting model while also  
34  
35 examining cultural nuances.  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42

**Multilevel Structural Equation Models**

43  
44  
45 We tested three path models: the social identity model of collective action, the social  
46  
47 dominance model of collective action, and an integrated model of collective action (Figure 1).  
48  
49 Our data have a multilevel data structure because participants are nested within nations. We  
50  
51 therefore used multilevel structural equation modeling in MPlus v.6.12 to control for between  
52  
53 nation variance. Our models include variables that exist only at the individual level, so no nation  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

16

1  
2  
3 level variables were included. Table 2 displays the means, standard deviations, and correlation  
4  
5 matrix for all of our variables, calculated at the within-nation level.  
6  
7

8 Our goal with the analyses was to assess the adequacy of each of the three models (Figure  
9  
10 1) and to select the best fitting model given the data. First, we tested the adequacy of a model  
11  
12 using only the parameters from the social identity model of collective action. We then tested the  
13  
14 adequacy of a model using only the parameters from the social dominance theory model of  
15  
16 collective action. Third, we tested the full, saturated, integrated model of collective action using  
17  
18 all parameters specified by both social identity theory and social dominance theory. Then, we  
19  
20 built a final reduced model, trimming non-significant paths from the saturated model. A  
21  
22 comparison of all of the tested models is displayed in Table 3.  
23  
24  
25  
26

27 Because the data are multilevel data, we used Monte Carlo simulations conducted in R  
28  
29 version 3.0.2 to estimate indirect effects in all models presented (Bauer, Preacher, & Gil, 2006).  
30  
31 A Monte Carlo simulation uses the parameter estimates and associated standard errors to create  
32  
33 thousands of random distributions of the indirect effects (the product of two paths, namely  
34  
35 estimates from the predictor to the mediator and from the mediator to the outcome). From these  
36  
37 random distributions, we can estimate the overall standard error in the indirect effect and  
38  
39 compute accompanying confidence intervals (Bauer et al., 2006). In the present analyses, we  
40  
41 drew 20000 random distributions given the parameter estimates in order to calculate the standard  
42  
43 error of the indirect effect. We also present the percent of the total effect that that is mediated by  
44  
45 the mediator variables to assess partial or full mediation (Preacher & Kelley, 2011).  
46  
47  
48  
49

50 **Social Identity Model of Collective Action.** In the SIMCA model, solidarity (i.e., a form  
51  
52 of identification with a disadvantaged group) should statistically predict anger and efficacy, and  
53  
54 all three variables should reliably predict willingness to engage in sympathetic collective action  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

17

(see Table 3). Results from the multilevel path analysis support the SIMCA model. Solidarity significantly predicted anger, efficacy, and collective action. In other words, participants who felt more solidarity with the Arab people were angrier about the counter-protests, felt more politically efficacious themselves, and were more willing to engage in sympathetic protests. Anger and efficacy significantly predicted collective action in the hypothesized ways. Monte Carlo simulations revealed statistically significant indirect effects from solidarity to collective action through anger,  $IE = .04$ , 95% CI [.02, .06], and through efficacy,  $IE = .01$ , 95% CI [.0001, .02]. Anger and efficacy mediated 7% and 1% of the total effect from solidarity to collective action, indicating partial mediation. This model, however, had worse fit than the integrated model of collective action, as demonstrated in poor values for all of the fit indices shown in Table 3.

**Social Dominance Theory Model of Collective Action.** According to the social dominance theory approach to collective action, social dominance orientation should statistically predict belief in Arab competence. Arab competence beliefs should then predict anger and collective action, and anger predicts collective action. Results from the multilevel path analysis support the social dominance theory model of collective action. Social dominance orientation significantly predicted disbelief in Arab competence. Belief in Arab competence significantly predicted anger and collective action, and anger predicted collective action. Monte Carlo simulations revealed statistically significant indirect effects from social dominance orientation to collective action through belief in Arab competence,  $IE = -.12$ , 95%CI [-.16, -.08]. Belief in Arab competence mediated 58% of the total effect from SDO to collective action, indicating partial mediation. However, this model had worse fit than the SIMCA only model than the integrated model of collective action, as demonstrated in poor values for all of the fit indices (Table 3).

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

18

1  
2  
3       **Integrated Model of Collective Action.** For the integrated model of collective action,  
4  
5 we first tested the saturated model, which of necessity had perfect fit. We then deleted four non-  
6  
7 significant paths (SDO→Anger, SDO→Efficacy, SDO→Collective Action, and  
8  
9 Competence→Efficacy), which were not predicted by any theory, and reran the reduced model  
10  
11 without these deleted paths. This model is the actual integrated model we developed  
12  
13 theoretically. Figure 2 displays our final specified model along with standardized regression  
14  
15 coefficients. Our final model demonstrated exceptional fit,  $\chi^2(4) = 6.53, p = .16, CFI = 1.00,$   
16  
17  $RMSEA = .02, SRMR_{within} = .01, SRMR_{between} < .001.$  There were significant direct effects of SDO  
18  
19 on solidarity and beliefs in Arab competence. Solidarity also had significant effects on anger and  
20  
21 efficacy. Beliefs in Arab competence had a significant effect on anger. Solidarity, anger,  
22  
23 efficacy, and beliefs in Arab competence were all significant predictors of collective action  
24  
25 willingness. Thus, all the theoretically derived paths were statistically significant and in the  
26  
27 predicted directions. This integrated model had better fit than either the proposed SIMCA or  
28  
29 SDT models alone.  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35

36       Again, Monte Carlo simulations revealed some statistically significant indirect effects.  
37  
38 Solidarity ( $IE = -.25, 95\% CI [-.30, -.19]$ ) and belief in Arab competence ( $IE = -.05, 95\% CI [-$   
39  
40  $.08, -.03]$ ) mediated the path from SDO to sympathetic collective action. Anger ( $IE = .04, 95\%$   
41  
42  $CI [.02, .06]$ ) but not efficacy ( $IE = .01, 95\% CI [-.001, .02]$ ) mediated the path from solidarity to  
43  
44 sympathetic collective action. Neither anger ( $IE = .01, 95\% CI [-.001, .02]$ ) or efficacy ( $IE =$   
45  
46  $.002, 95\% CI [-.002, .01]$ ) mediated the path from belief in Arab competence and sympathetic  
47  
48 collective action.  
49  
50  
51

**Multiple Groups Analyses**

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

19

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35

After identifying a good-fitting integrated model in the MSEM analyses, we then conducted a multiple groups analysis on the integrated model (see Table 4 for the results of these analyses). In this analysis, we run several path models for each nation<sup>2</sup>. The first model we tested was a test for structural invariance among the path estimates for the integrated model across all nations, so we fixed all path estimates to be equal across all nations. This model demonstrated adequate to good fit,  $\chi^2(133) = 255.04, p < .001, CFI = .92, RMSEA = .09$  (90%CI: .07-.10),  $SRMR = .09$ . However, if we compare this structural invariance model to a completely unconstrained model (where all estimates can vary freely), model fit is better,  $\chi^2(33) = 55.09, p < .01, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .07$  (90%CI: .04-.11),  $SRMR = .03$ . A chi square difference test revealed that the constrained model was a statistically worse fitting model than the unconstrained model,  $\Delta\chi^2(100) = 199.95, p < .001$ . This analysis suggests that there are cross-national differences in the structural model, but because the fit statistics indicate that the constrained model is not substantially worse than the unconstrained model, the cross-national differences may not be large.

36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Our next step was to identify which paths in the integrated model differed across nations. We systematically set all estimates to vary freely for each structural path in the model one by one and compared the model with one unconstrained path to the fully constrained model. If model fit became significantly better by unconstraining a specific path, we would then conclude that cross-national differences existed for that structural path. C, we identified four (out of 10) structural paths that varied significantly across nations. Compared to the fully constrained model, model fit improved when unconstraining the path from social dominance orientation to solidarity ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 30.79, p < .001$ ), the path from belief in Arab competence to anger ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 18.17, p = .05$ ), the path from solidarity to anger ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 25.029, p < .01$ ), and the path from solidarity to



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

collective action willingness ( $\Delta\chi^2(10) = 42.11, p < .001$ ). There was no evidence for cross-national variability in the other six structural paths, all  $ps > .05$ .

We then identified which nation's path estimate differed from the other path estimates. For the SDO to solidarity path, China and the United Kingdom's path varied from other nations, so we set these two paths to vary freely while constraining the other nations' path estimates to be equal. For the belief in Arab competence to anger path, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom's path was in opposite direction from the other nations, so we allowed these nations' paths to vary freely while constraining the other nations' paths to be equal. For the solidarity to anger path, Turkey, Poland, and Greece's path estimates were statistically zero, so we free the path estimates from these nations while constraining the other nations' paths to be equal. For the solidarity to collective action willingness path, China, Italy, the United States, and Turkey's path estimates were the smallest (though in the same direction) than the other nations' path estimates, so these three nations' estimates were allowed to freely vary while constraining the other nations' path estimates to zero. Freeing these 11 path estimates while constraining all other path estimates across nations yielded a good fitting model,  $\chi^2(122) = 166.69, p < .01, CFI = .97, RMSEA = .05$  (90%CI: .03-.07),  $SRMR = .06$ . This final model fit better than the fully constrained model,  $\Delta\chi^2(11) = 88.35, p < .001$ , and the final model demonstrated statistically equivalent fit to the fully unconstrained model,  $\Delta\chi^2(89) = 111.60, p > .05$ . Because our final model was more parsimonious than the equally fitting unconstrained model, the final model is the preferred model.

### Discussion

Heretofore, the vast majority of collective action research has been conducted within democratic societies or societies with democratic pretentions. Within democratic nations, by

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

21

1  
2  
3 which we mean nations that are compelled to show some responsiveness to the desires of the  
4  
5 people (e.g., Bou Zeineddine & Pratto, in press), the social-political and psychological factors  
6  
7 that lead to collective action include identifying with causes, identification with people's own  
8  
9 disadvantaged groups, and a sense of political efficacy. In an increasingly globalized and  
10  
11 interdependent world, however, understanding the political influence of "outsiders"—both elites  
12  
13 and publics and what influences *their* political actions is increasingly important. Although it is  
14  
15 possible that greater knowledge of the world increases universalism and concern with people in  
16  
17 other nations (e.g., McFarland, 2010), the history of colonization and the rift between the  
18  
19 developed and developing world remain not only political and economic chasms, but social-  
20  
21 psychological chasms between peoples as well. Nonetheless, although peoples' social contexts  
22  
23 differ substantially, social psychological processes may be widespread in many peoples, just as  
24  
25 values and ideologies may be somewhat shared across nations (Inglehart & Norris, 2003).  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30

31  
32 The present study tested an integrated model of collective action using the social identity  
33  
34 model of collective action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren et al., 2008) and social dominance theory  
35  
36 (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) to predict people's willingness to participate in sympathetic collective  
37  
38 action in support of the popular Arab uprisings. Using an international sample of participants  
39  
40 from eight nations, we found strong support for the proposed integrated model of collective  
41  
42 action. We also found support for both the social identity and social dominance models of  
43  
44 collective action but the integrated model of collective action was the best model in terms of  
45  
46 model fit. While SIMCA focuses on how individuals interpret and feel about the disadvantaged  
47  
48 group and while SDT model focuses on beliefs about outgroup members, an integrated model of  
49  
50 collective action involves both perspectives (i.e., perceptions of the self and the other), providing  
51  
52 a more comprehensive and integrative analysis of why people engage in sympathetic collective  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

22

1  
2  
3 action. Further, the multiple groups analyses demonstrated that the integrated model was cross-  
4  
5 culturally general. Only 11 of the 110 path estimates had to be freed in order to obtain acceptable  
6  
7 model fit, and only 3 path estimates (out of 110) were in the opposite direction predicted by the  
8  
9 theories of intergroup relations. These results demonstrate the cross-cultural generality of models  
10  
11 of collective action we have tested.  
12  
13

14  
15 Our study has several strengths that contribute to the understanding of collective action.  
16  
17 First, our study was conducted in the context of the ongoing Arab uprisings, which have changed  
18  
19 the lives and socio-political situations of millions of people and foretell further change. Rather  
20  
21 than pertaining to a given locale or polity, these uprisings have such broad consequences (across  
22  
23 millions, across nations) and deep consequences (e.g., a million Syrian refugees) that they invite  
24  
25 considering more complexity about collective action given the complexity of some socio-  
26  
27 political contexts. Second and related, because outside interference in Arab politics is so  
28  
29 common and influential (e.g., Fund for Peace, 2011), the sympathetic collective action supported  
30  
31 by some of our participants may be important in instigating socio-political change within and  
32  
33 between several nations, including non-Arab states. This line of research suggest that as more  
34  
35 substantial relations between people and nations occurs, theories of collective action might need  
36  
37 to be developed to incorporate both more proximal and more distal socio-political processes.  
38  
39 Third, this study draws attention to the fact that unlike many of the collective action movements  
40  
41 studied so far, movements such as the Arab uprisings, anti-globalization, student movements,  
42  
43 and some environmental movements are cross-national and target a number of different political  
44  
45 systems. This not only suggests that more attention be paid to sympathetic collective action, but  
46  
47 to expanding our conceptions of “collective” and the targets of collective action. Fourth, our  
48  
49 study included data from a diverse international sample of participants, so we had a breadth of  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

23

1  
2  
3 perspectives from a variety of cultural regions, ages, and both genders. Such samples remain  
4  
5 uncommon in social and personality psychological research (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan,  
6  
7 2010). Fourth, the present study explicitly integrates constructs from two theories of intergroup  
8  
9 relations. Thus, we demonstrate the utility of theoretical pluralism in understanding important  
10  
11 intergroup behaviors, such as sympathetic collective action. In the remaining sections, we  
12  
13 describe the implications of our study for social identity theory and social dominance theory,  
14  
15 along with general comments on theoretical pluralism and the utility of multilevel analyses.  
16  
17  
18  
19

**Social Identity Processes in Collective Protest**

20  
21  
22 We found strong support for the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; Van  
23  
24 Zomeren et al., 2008), applied to *sympathetic collective action* in the present study. When people  
25  
26 feel connected to a social group, they are willing to help that social group improve its quality of  
27  
28 life (Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). The Arab uprisings have involved many people  
29  
30 standing up to their oppressive leaders and regimes in order to improve their economic  
31  
32 conditions, health, and freedom. Our results showed that international observers who feel a bond  
33  
34 with the Arab people are willing to engage in sympathetic collective action to support the Arab  
35  
36 uprisings. Feelings of efficacy about political participation and anger toward counter-protests  
37  
38 that support the oppressive regimes also increase people's willingness to join sympathetic  
39  
40 collective action. When people feel capable and their emotional experience motivates them to  
41  
42 take action, they will be more willing to take action. In all, SIMCA provides an important  
43  
44 analysis to understanding why people engage in sympathetic collective action.  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49

50  
51 However, SIMCA and other approaches to collective action using social identity theory  
52  
53 (e.g., dynamic dual pathway model of collective action; Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012)  
54  
55 focus primarily on the self and not on how people think about outgroups or people who do not  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

1  
2  
3 share the same self-categorization. Thus, a limitation of the SIMCA approach to collective action  
4  
5 is that it omits the role of intergroup beliefs into its model. Further, processes concerning  
6  
7 solidarity with outgroups are not thoroughly addressed as of yet. According to social identity  
8  
9 theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people first categorize themselves as members of a social group  
10  
11 and then identify with it (i.e., develop positive feelings toward the self-categorization) after this  
12  
13 categorization. Theoretically, solidarity can only occur after categorizing oneself as a group  
14  
15 member. It is therefore unclear whether the social identity model of collective action can apply to  
16  
17 outgroup members, for example, in explaining sympathetic collective action. This argument  
18  
19 necessitates an alternative theoretical view that incorporates beliefs about the outgroup and the  
20  
21 ability to cross intergroup boundaries.  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26

**Improving Intergroup Relations with Social Dominance Theory**

27  
28  
29 Social dominance theory provides an alternative theoretical view that complements the  
30  
31 social identity model of collective action. Traditionally, however, social dominance theory has  
32  
33 been used to understand intergroup behaviors that exacerbate unequal intergroup relations (e.g.,  
34  
35 individual and institutional discrimination; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Despite its empirical  
36  
37 attention to discrimination and similar intergroup behaviors, social dominance theory has always  
38  
39 acknowledged the role of hierarchy-attenuating intergroup behaviors, such as protests. However,  
40  
41 the present study is among the first studies within the social dominance theory tradition to  
42  
43 examine intergroup behaviors, like sympathetic collective action, which improve intergroup  
44  
45 relations. Because social dominance theory focuses on the ways in which intergroup ideologies  
46  
47 (e.g., competence stereotypes of Arab people) inform intergroup behaviors (e.g., sympathetic  
48  
49 collective action), it can add another dimension of explanation to the social identity model of  
50  
51 collective action. Social dominance theory argues and the present study found empirical support  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

25

1  
2  
3 for the role of intergroup beliefs in increasing willingness to engage in sympathetic collective  
4  
5 action Therefore, social identity theory and social dominance theory can both uniquely  
6  
7 contribute to an understanding of collective action, as we have demonstrated in the present study.  
8  
9

**Limitations**

10  
11  
12 The present study has several limitations. First, for many of the measures, only one item  
13  
14 was used, so the reliability of the measures cannot be assessed. This likely weakened the  
15  
16 relationships among the variables (Cole & Preacher, 2013). Second, although we used an  
17  
18 international sample to test our hypotheses, the sample was not nationally representative.  
19  
20 Therefore, the results from and interpretation of the multiple groups analysis may not generalize  
21  
22 or represent the perspectives of the nations surveyed. The results of our analysis should be  
23  
24 interpreted with this limitation in mind. Although we found cross-national similarity in the  
25  
26 models tested, we cannot be certain that these results would replicate in another international  
27  
28 sample or with nationally representative data. In spite of this, we purposely sought to include  
29  
30 demographic diversity in our data collection, and the data we did collect is a marked  
31  
32 improvement of most social psychological studies on collective action. Third, we have portrayed  
33  
34 a somewhat simplistic labelling to whether the popular protests and counter-protests were  
35  
36 hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing. At the time the study was conducted, these labels  
37  
38 would be consensual, and the fact that the signs of the relevant paths in our model were the same  
39  
40 demonstrates that participants interpreted them in the same way. However, it is not always  
41  
42 possible to cleanly label a given set of actions, political movement, or ideology as either  
43  
44 hierarchy-enhancing or hierarchy-attenuating. As Pratto, Stewart, and Bou Zeineiddine (2013)  
45  
46 illustrate, some movements (e.g., repressive liberation movements) may be hierarchy-enhancing  
47  
48 within one collective but hierarchy-attenuating in the world. Similarly, a given movement may  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

26

1  
2  
3 be considered both hierarchy-enhancing and hierarchy-attenuating, depending on which actions  
4  
5 one focuses and on one's vantage point. For example, admitting the Muslim Brotherhood to legal  
6  
7 participation in Egyptian politics could be considered a hierarchy-attenuating change against the  
8  
9 decades of repression of this organization. On the other hand, to the extent that the new Egyptian  
10  
11 government under their leadership promoted its own acolytes and not people of other religions or  
12  
13 political persuasions, this group was being hierarchy-enhancing. Although social dominance  
14  
15 theory does prescribe an empirical tool for testing whether particular political attitudes are  
16  
17 functioning as hierarchy-attenuating or hierarchy-enhancing, it has not addressed in detail how  
18  
19 the meanings of actions and ideologies are created.  
20  
21  
22  
23

**Conclusion**

24  
25  
26  
27 In this paper, we have argued that social identity theory and social dominance theory can  
28  
29 be integrated to understand why international observers would engage in sympathetic collective  
30  
31 action to support the Arab uprisings. Using data from a large international sample, we found  
32  
33 empirical support for both the social identity model of collective action and the social dominance  
34  
35 theory approach to collective action. An integrated model of social identity and social dominance  
36  
37 yielded the best model fit, and parameters from both theories uniquely contributed to an  
38  
39 understanding of sympathetic collective action. The present study highlights the importance of  
40  
41 theoretical pluralism and cross-cultural methods in analyzing sympathetic collective action.  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## References

- Abouzeid, R. (2011, January 21). Bouazizi: The man who set himself and Tunisia on fire. *Time Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2044723,00.html>.
- Alexander, M. G., Brewer, M. B., & Livingston, R. W. (2005). Putting stereotype content in context: Image theory and interethnic stereotypes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *31*, 781-794. doi:10.1177/0146167204271550
- Alexander, M. G., Levin, S., & Henry, P. J. (2005). Image theory, social identity, and social dominance: Structural characteristics and individual motives underlying international images. *Political Psychology*, *26*, 27-45. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00408.x
- Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, *130*, 80-114.
- Bauer, D. J., Preacher, K. J., & Gil, K. M. (2006). Conceptualizing and testing random indirect effects and moderated mediation in multilevel models: New procedures and recommendations. *Psychological Methods*, *11*, 142-163.
- Bou Zeineddine, F. & Pratto, F. (in press). Political distrust: The advocate of the dispossessed. In Prooijen, J. van & Lange, P. A. M. van (Eds), *Power, politics, and paranoia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cameron, J. E., & Nickerson, S. L. (2009). Predictors of protest among anti-globalization demonstrators. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *38*, 734-761.
- Cheung, F. M., van de Vijver, F. R., & Leong, F. L. (2011). Toward a new approach to the study of personality in culture. *American Psychologist*, *66*, 593-603. doi:10.1037/a0022389



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

- 1  
2  
3 Cole, D. A., & Preacher, K. J. (2013). Manifest variable path analysis: Potentially serious and  
4  
5 misleading consequences due to uncorrected measurement error. *Psychological Methods*.  
6  
7 Advance online publication. doi:10.1037/a0033805  
8  
9  
10 Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS Map: Behaviors from intergroup  
11  
12 affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 631-648.  
13  
14  
15 Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and competence as universal  
16  
17 dimensions of social perception: The stereotype content model and the BIAS map.  
18  
19 *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*, 61-149.  
20  
21  
22 Fund for Peace. (2011). The Failed States Index 2011. Retrieved June 30, 2012 from  
23  
24 <http://www.fundforpeace.org/global/?q=fsi2011>  
25  
26  
27 Giguère, B. & Lalonde, R. N. (2010). Why do student strike? Direct and indirect determinants of  
28  
29 participation in collective actions. *Political Psychology*, *31*, 227-247.  
30  
31  
32 Green, E. T., & Auer, F. (2013). How social dominance orientation affects union participation:  
33  
34 The role of union identification and perceived union instrumentality. *Journal of*  
35  
36 *Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *23*, 143-156.  
37  
38  
39 Gutiérrez, A. S., & Unzueta, M. M. (2013). Are admissions decisions based on family ties fairer  
40  
41 than those that consider race? Social dominance orientation and attitudes toward legacy  
42  
43 vs. affirmative action policies. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *49*, 554-558.  
44  
45 doi:10.1016/j.jesp.2012.10.011  
46  
47  
48 Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world?  
49  
50 *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *33*, 61-135. doi: 10.1017/S0140525X0999152X  
51  
52  
53 Hornsey, M. J., Blackwood, L., Louis, W., Fielding, K., Mavor, K., Morton, T., O'Brien, A.,  
54  
55 Paasonen, K., Smith, J., & White, K. M. (2006). Why do people engage in collective  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

29

- 1  
2  
3 action? Revisiting the role of perceived effectiveness. *Journal of Applied Social*  
4  
5  
6 *Psychology*, 36, 1701-1722.  
7
- 8 Huntington, S. (1993.) The clash of civilizations. *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 22-49.  
9
- 10 Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the*  
11  
12 *world*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.  
13
- 14 Jost, J. T., Chaikalis-Petritsis, V., Abrams, D., Sidanius, J., van der Toorn, J., & Bratt, C. (2012).  
15  
16 Why men (and women) do and don't rebel: Effects of system justification on willingness  
17  
18 to protest. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 197-208.  
19
- 20 Klandermans, B. (2003). Collective political action. In D. O. Sears, L. Huddy, & R. Jervis (Eds.),  
21  
22 *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (pp. 670-709). New York: Oxford University  
23  
24 Press.  
25  
26  
27
- 28 Leach, C. W., Iyer, A., & Pedersen, A. (2006). Anger and guilt about ingroup advantage explain  
29  
30 the willingness for political action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 1232-  
31  
32 1245.  
33  
34  
35
- 36 Leach, C. W., Van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje,  
37  
38 B.,...,Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical  
39  
40 (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social*  
41  
42 *Psychology*, 95, 144-165.  
43  
44  
45
- 46 Lee, I. (2013). Endorsement of sexist ideology in Taiwan and the United States: Social  
47  
48 dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and deferential family norms.  
49  
50 *International Journal of Psychology*, 48, 254-262. doi:10.1080/00207594.2011.645485  
51  
52
- 53 Lewis, B. (2002). *What went wrong?: Western impact and Middle Eastern response*. New York:  
54  
55 Oxford University Press.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

30

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
Lynch, M. (2012). *The Arab uprisings: The unfinished revolutions of the new Middle East*. New York: Public Affairs.

8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
McFarland, S. (2010). Authoritarianism, social dominance, and other roots of generalized prejudice. *Political Psychology*, 31, 453-477.

13  
14  
Patai, R. (1973). *The Arab mind*. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York.

15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
Pratto, F. (1999). The puzzle of continuing group inequality: Piecing together psychological, social, and cultural forces in social dominance theory. In M. P. Zanna, *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 31, pp. 191-263). San Diego: Academic Press.

24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
Pratto, F., Cidam, A., Stewart, A. L., Bou Zeineddine, F., Aranda, M., Aiello, A.,...Henkel, K. E. (2013). Social dominance in context and in individuals: Contextual moderation of robust effects of social dominance orientation in 15 languages and 20 countries. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 4, 587-599.

36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
Pratto, F., Saguy, T., Stewart, A. L., Morselli, D., Aiello, A., Aranda, M.,...Sweetman, J. (in press). Attitudes toward Arab ascendance: Israeli and global perspectives. *Psychological Science*.

43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Bou Zeineddine, F., Kteily, N., & Levin, S. (in press). When domestic politics and international relations intermesh: subordinated publics' factional support within layered power structures. *Foreign Policy Analysis*.

50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
Pratto, F., Stallworth, L. M., & Conway-Lanz, S. (1998). Social dominance orientation and the ideological legitimization of social policy. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28, 1853-1875.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

31

- 1  
2  
3 Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A  
4  
5 personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and*  
6  
7 *Social Psychology*, 67, 741-763.
- 8  
9  
10 Preacher, K. J., & Kelley, K. (2011). Effect size measures for mediation models: Quantitative  
11  
12 strategies for communicating indirect effects. *Psychological Methods*, 16, 93-115.  
13  
14 doi:10.1037/a0022658
- 15  
16  
17 Rosenthal, L., Levy, S. R., & Earnshaw, V. A. (2012). Social dominance orientation relates to  
18  
19 believing men should dominate sexually, sexual self-efficacy, and taking free female  
20  
21 condoms among undergraduate women and men. *Sex Roles*, 67, 659-669.  
22  
23 doi:10.1007/s11199-012-0207-6
- 24  
25  
26 Saab, R., Tausch, N., Spears, R., & Cheung, W. Y. (in press). Acting in solidarity: Testing an  
27  
28 extended dual-pathway model of collective action by bystander group members. *British*  
29  
30 *Journal of Social Psychology*.
- 31  
32  
33 Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and*  
34  
35 *oppression*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- 36  
37  
38 Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological  
39  
40 analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319-331.
- 41  
42  
43 Strenger, C. (2011, March 24). The Arab uprisings: The beginning of a new solidarity?  
44  
45 *Psychology Today*. Retrieved from [http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/homo-](http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/homo-globalis/201103/the-arab-uprisings-the-beginning-new-solidarity)  
46  
47 [globalis/201103/the-arab-uprisings-the-beginning-new-solidarity](http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/homo-globalis/201103/the-arab-uprisings-the-beginning-new-solidarity)
- 48  
49  
50 Subasic, E., Reynolds, K. J., & Turner, J. C. (2008). The political solidarity model of social  
51  
52 change: Dynamics of self-categorization in intergroup power relations. *Personality and*  
53  
54 *Social Psychology Review*, 12, 330-352.
- 55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1*, 149-178.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47).  
Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. A. (2009). The role of efficacy and moral outrage norms in creating the potential for international development activism through group-based interaction. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 48*, 115-134.

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*, 194-218.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Van Stekelenburg, J., Klandermans, B., & van Dijk, W. W. (2011). Combining motivations and emotion: The motivational dynamics of protest participation. *Revista de Psicologia Social, 26*, 91-104.

Van Zomeren, M., Leach, C. W., & Spears, R. (2012). Protestors as “passionate economists”: A dynamic dual pathway model of approach coping with collective disadvantage. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 16*, 180-199.

Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin, 134*, 504-535.

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

33

1  
2  
3 Van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Bettache, K. (2011). Can moral convictions  
4 motivate the advantaged to challenge social inequality? Extending the social identity  
5 model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14, 735-753.  
6  
7

8  
9  
10 Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where  
11 your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and  
12 group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 646-664. doi:  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18 10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

34

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Lebanon, though an Arab nation, was not undergoing mass protests against oppressive regimes, so the participants from Lebanon were not directly involved in the popular Arab uprisings, which were only occurring in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia at the time of data collection. Although higher on collective action willingness and solidarity (along with Switzerland), Lebanon's data do not appear to be an outlier among the nations sampled, and the variances in the measures are similar to other nations. Further, upon further inspection of subgroup differences within Lebanon, there were no statistically reliable differences between Maronite Christians and Druze participants on any of the variables. The Lebanese participants were third party observers to the Arab uprisings at the time. Finally, omission of the Lebanese participants in the analyses presented do not change the results presented and interpreted.

<sup>2</sup>Because collective action willingness was not measured for Canadian participants, their data were removed from the multiple groups analysis. In the MSEM analyses, we could use full information maximum likelihood estimation to estimate the parameters given the implied values on the collective action variable for Canada. In multiple groups analyses, we cannot use these modern missing data analyses, so they are omitted from this analysis.

Running head: SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

35

Table 1

*Demographic information and descriptive statistics for each nation*

Nation	<i>N</i>	Female	SES	Age	SDO	Efficacy	Solid	Comp	CA	Anger
Belgium	113	85	3.12 (.78)	20.79 (3.81)	2.57 (1.31)	4.70 (2.48)	4.95 (2.88)	6.46 (2.32)	3.55 (2.99)	4.57 (2.85)
Canada	90	37	2.52 (.55)	42.03 (15.83)	3.43 (1.57)	5.73 (2.63)	4.53 (2.58)	5.95 (2.51)	N/A	4.73 (1.85)
China	90	41	3.90 (.89)	26.10 (2.95)	2.88 (1.45)	4.52 (2.68)	3.98 (2.41)	6.71 (2.01)	2.94 (2.19)	3.13 (2.19)
Greece	150	61	3.47 (1.19)	36.25 (14.34)	2.49 (1.26)	5.66 (2.83)	6.25 (2.52)	7.73 (2.03)	4.96 (2.97)	2.85 (2.19)
Italy	228	50	2.97 (.88)	40.00 (12.63)	2.79 (1.53)	5.90 (2.57)	6.04 (2.86)	6.03 (2.67)	3.73 (2.83)	4.23 (2.19)
Lebanon	132	41	3.36 (.82)	31.89 (12.59)	3.00 (1.53)	5.07 (3.44)	7.31 (2.70)	6.58 (2.99)	5.32 (3.57)	4.95 (3.13)
Netherlands	60	52	2.92 (.94)	22.98 (5.25)	3.11 (1.31)	5.53 (2.52)	5.91 (2.77)	7.39 (2.17)	4.68 (3.45)	2.62 (2.19)
Poland	62	68	3.10 (.65)	21.47 (1.73)	3.22 (1.76)	6.26 (2.64)	3.66 (2.95)	5.79 (2.69)	3.13 (2.59)	2.93 (2.19)
Switzerland	50	54	3.36 (1.03)	37.62 (12.87)	3.37 (2.14)	6.22 (2.45)	7.25 (2.75)	7.67 (2.68)	5.18 (3.53)	5.33 (2.19)
Turkey	124	38	3.07 (.99)	38.41 (11.77)	3.12 (1.57)	5.49 (2.75)	4.23 (3.13)	7.54 (2.97)	3.19 (3.05)	3.63 (3.13)
United Kingdom	228	49	3.76 (.91)	45.31 (13.88)	3.96 (1.64)	4.58 (2.37)	3.99 (2.52)	5.97 (3.00)	3.45 (2.40)	4.13 (2.19)
United States	153	46	3.59 (1.11)	38.08 (15.14)	3.80 (2.06)	5.40 (2.54)	3.68 (2.54)	6.79 (2.67)	3.29 (2.63)	3.46 (2.19)

*Note.* Means are presented with standard deviations in parentheses (except for % female, which is the percentage of female respondents in the survey). N/A = data were unavailable for these nations. CA = collective action, SDO = social dominance orientation, Comp = belief in Arab competence, and Solid = Solidarity with the Arab people.



Running head: SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

36

Table 2

*Estimated descriptive statistics and within nation correlation matrix (k = 12; N = 1480)*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	ICC	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. SDO	3.25	1.71	.06	-.06 <sup>ns</sup>	-.19***	-.19***	-.12***	-.09*
2. Efficacy	5.20	2.67	.03	--	.10*	.16***	.15***	.02 <sup>ns</sup>
3. Arab Competence	6.83	2.64	.06		--	.46***	.39***	.22***
4. Solidarity	5.07	3.01	.21			--	.61***	.32***
5. Collective Action	3.73	2.95	.09				--	.33***
6. Anger	4.56	2.43	.08					--

Note. <sup>ns</sup>*p* > .10, <sup>+</sup>*p* < .10, \**p* < .05, \*\**p* < .01, \*\*\**p* < .001. *M* = mean, *SD* = standard deviation,

ICC = intraclass correlation, SDO = social dominance orientation.

Running head: SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

37

Table 3

*Path estimates for integrated model of collective action from multilevel structural equation modeling analysis*

Paths	SIMCA Only			SDT Only			Reduced Model			Saturated Model		
	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )	SE( <i>b</i> )	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE( <i>b</i> )
SDO→Solidarity	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.26***	-.47	.05	-.26***	-.47	.05
SDO→Competence	--	--	--	-.19***	-.36	.05	-.13***	-.37	.04	-.23***	-.37	.05
Solidarity → Anger	.32***	.30	.03	--	--	--	.30***	.29	.03	.30***	.29	.03
Solidarity → Efficacy	.17***	.16	.03	--	--	--	.16***	.15	.03	.15***	.14	.03
Solidarity → CA	.57***	.57	.02	--	--	--	.52***	.52	.03	.53***	.52	.02
Competence → Anger	--	--	--	--	--	--	.04	.05	.03	.04	.05	.03
Competence → Efficacy	--	--	--	--	--	--	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03
Competence → CA	--	--	--	.34***	.34	.03	.13***	.14	.03	.13***	.13	.02
Anger → CA	.14***	.14	.03	--	--	--	.13***	.13	.03	.13***	.14	.03
Efficacy → CA	.05*	.06	.03	--	--	--	.05*	.05	.03	.05*	.05	.02
SDO → Anger	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.01	.01	.05
SDO → Efficacy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.03	-.05	.04
SDO → CA	--	--	--	-.09**	-.17	.05	--	--	--	.02	.04	.04
Correlations		<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )		<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )		<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )		<i>r</i>	SE( <i>r</i> )
Competence ↔ Solidarity		--	--		--	--		.36***	.02		.36***	.02
Anger ↔ Efficacy		.25***	.03		--	--		-.04	.03		-.04	.03
Model Fit												
$\chi^2$ (df)		375.88*** (9)			919.92*** (12)			2.16 (3)			--	
CFI		.68			.21			1.00			--	
RMSEA		.17			.23			.00			--	
SRMR <sub>within</sub>		.15			.21			.01			--	
SRMR <sub>between</sub>		<.001			<.001			<.001			--	

SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

*Note.* \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .  $\beta$  = standardized regression coefficient,  $b$  = unstandardized regression coefficient,  $SE(b)$  = standard error of the unstandardized estimate, CA = collective action, SDO = social dominance orientation, and Competence = belief in Arab competence. The saturated model is a perfect model, so fit statistics are unavailable.

For Peer Review

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49

Running head: SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

39

Table 4

*Standardized path estimates for integrated model in multiple groups analysis*

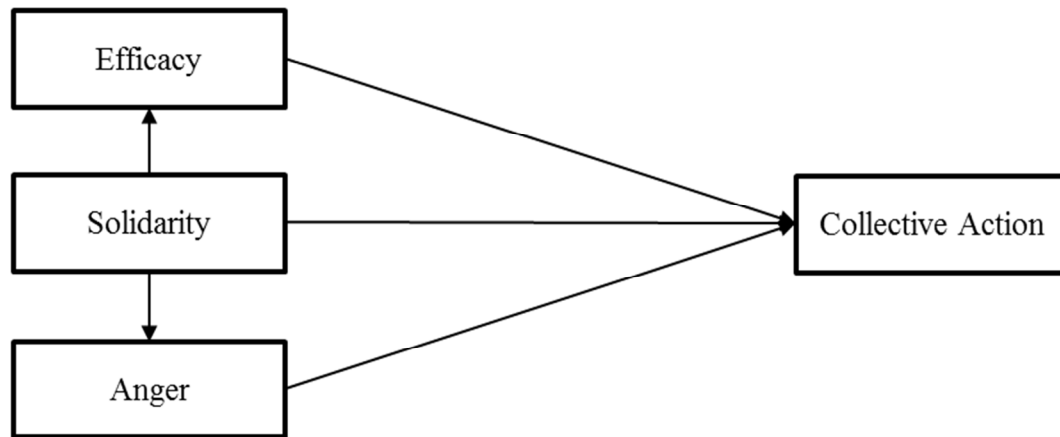
Nation	SDO→S	SDO→C	S→A	C→A	S→E	C→E	A→CA	E→CA	C→CA	S→CA
Unconstrained										
Turkey	-.33 (.21)	-.20 (.23)	.08 <sup>a</sup> (.10)	.30 (.09)	.26 (.09)	-.11 (.08)	.31 (.09)	.06 (.09)	.03 (.08)	.44 <sup>a</sup> (.08)
Lebanon	-.48 (.15)	-.25 (.17)	.40 (.11)	.21 (.09)	.12 (.12)	.06 (.10)	.13 (.11)	-.01 (.08)	.31 (.10)	.50 (.12)
United States	-.30 (.10)	-.56 (.11)	.35 (.09)	.13 (.08)	.18 (.08)	-.01 (.07)	.29 (.06)	-.04 (.06)	.12 (.05)	.48 <sup>a</sup> (.07)
Poland	-.27 (.21)	-.15 (.20)	.05 <sup>a</sup> (.13)	.12 (.15)	-.17 (.12)	.26 (.13)	.09 (.08)	-.06 (.08)	-.01 (.09)	.67 (.09)
Netherlands	-.69 (.26)	-.54 (.20)	.42 (.14)	-.09 <sup>a</sup> (.20)	-.15 (.14)	.19 (.18)	-.22 (.17)	.11 (.14)	.26 (.18)	.80 (.16)
Greece	-.81 (.20)	-.70 (.21)	-.03 <sup>a</sup> (.10)	.22 (.10)	.32 (.09)	-.03 (.09)	.01 (.08)	.19 (.07)	.06 (.09)	.60 (.09)
Italy	-.46 (.12)	-.23 (.12)	.41 (.07)	.10 (.08)	.21 (.07)	.00 (.07)	.24 (.06)	.09 (.06)	.05 (.07)	.37 <sup>a</sup> (.07)
China	.15 <sup>a</sup> (.20)	-.31 (.26)	.29 (.11)	-.01 (.08)	.12 (.11)	.08 (.08)	.18 (.09)	.10 (.08)	.16 (.06)	.16 <sup>a</sup> (.09)
Switzerland	-.58 (.16)	-.22 (.17)	.53 (.17)	.10 (.16)	.06 (.15)	.11 (.15)	.01 (.17)	.19 (.17)	.24 (.18)	.58 (.20)
Belgium	-.62 (.20)	-.19 (.18)	.26 (.08)	.06 (.10)	.07 (.09)	.04 (.11)	.23 (.09)	.14 (.08)	.07 (.09)	.71 (.07)
UK	-.07 <sup>a</sup> (.11)	-.36 (.14)	.45 (.11)	-.15 <sup>a</sup> (.08)	.02 (.07)	.03 (.06)	.09 (.06)	.07 (.05)	.08 (.04)	.63 (.06)
Constrained	-.17 (.03)	-.16 (.03)	.32 (.04)	.08 (.04)	.16 (.04)	.03 (.03)	.15 (.03)	.05 (.02)	.11 (.03)	.56 (.04)
Preferred	-.26 (.04)	-.17 (.03)	.32 (.04)	.12 (.03)	.10 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.14 (.02)	.06 (.02)	.08 (.02)	.45 (.03)

*Note.* Standardized path estimates presented with standard errors in parentheses. The estimates from the fully unconstrained model are presented for each nation, and the second to last row displays the path estimates from the fully constrained model. The preferred model's estimates are presented in the final row. <sup>a</sup>Path estimate was allowed to freely vary in the preferred model. SDO=social dominance orientation. S=solidarity with the Arab people. C=belief in Arab competence. A=anger toward counter protests. E=political efficacy. CA=collective action.

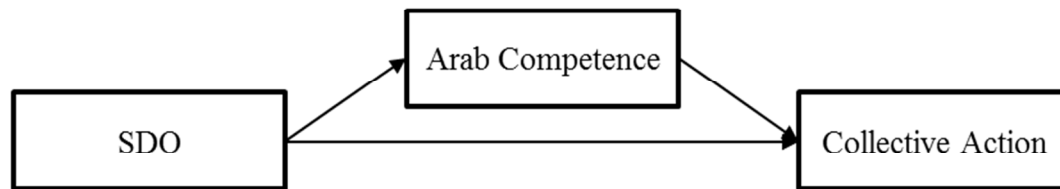
Running head: SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

Figure 1. Three models of collective action tested in the present study.

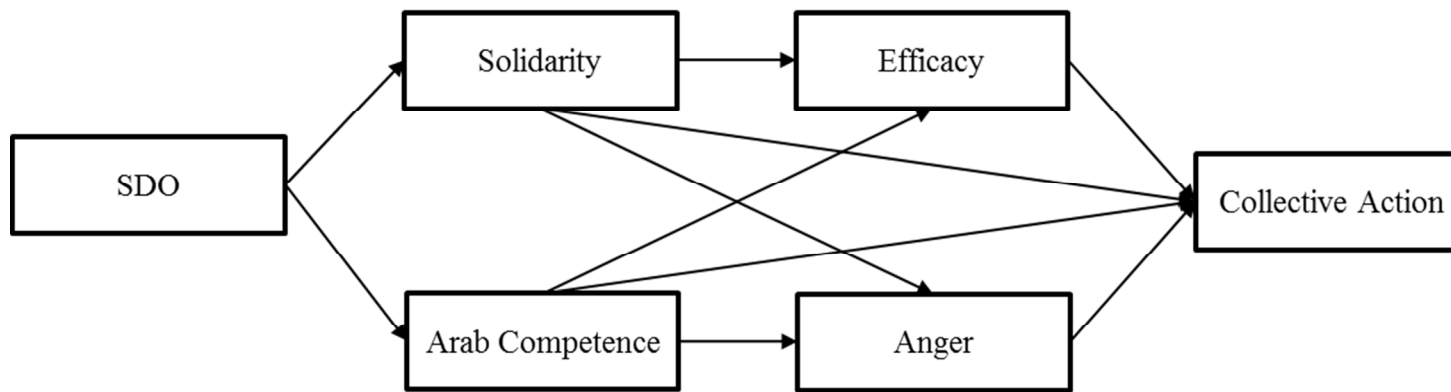
Social Identity Model of Collective Action



Social Dominance Theory



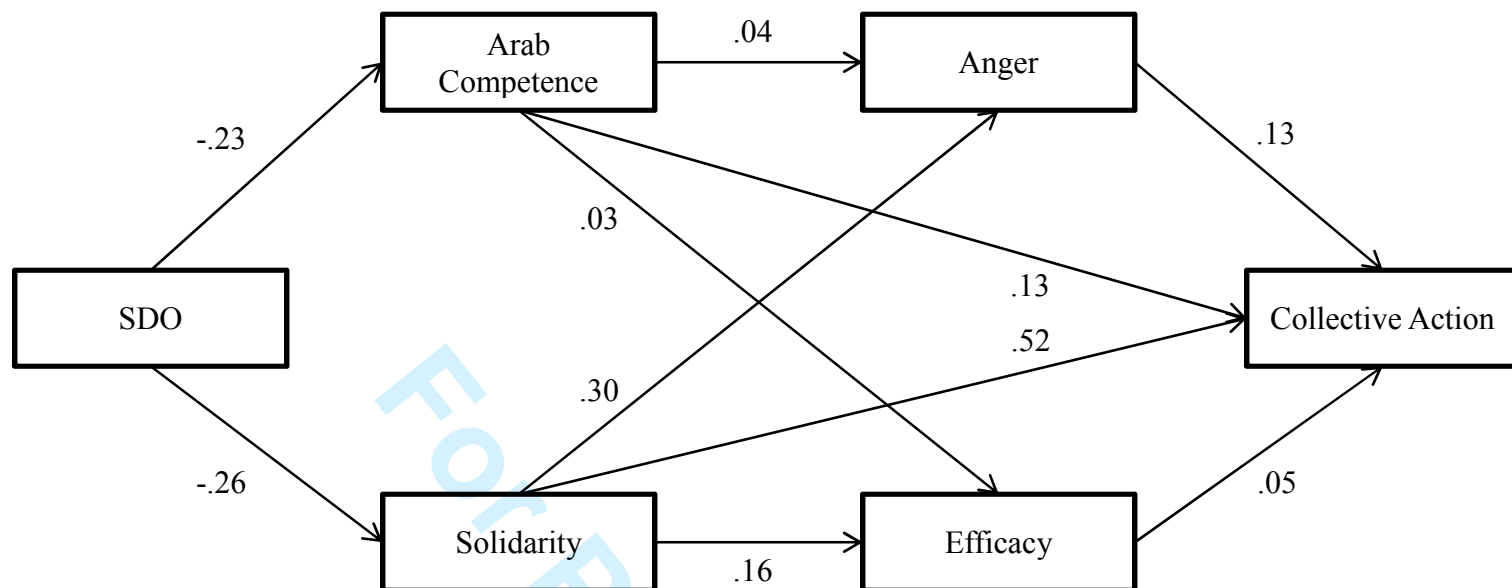
Integrated Model of Sympathetic Collective Action



## SYMPATHETIC COLLECTIVE ACTION

41

Figure 2. Multilevel path model of the integrated model of sympathetic collective action



Note. SDO = social dominance orientation