



UTRECHT UNIVERSITY

Power to the people

Looking at the barriers and facilitators in the relation
between perceived discrimination and political
activism

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Abstract

This quantitative study investigates to what extent feelings of efficacy, social identity and system justification are barriers or facilitators towards the relation between perceived discrimination and political activism. Previous models on political activism illustrate relative deprivation, efficacy and social identity as predictors for political activism. On the other end, research shows system justification as a barrier in the relation of perceived discrimination on political activism. These factors were never combined in relation to perceived discrimination. This is important to investigate because activism is an effective way for marginalized groups to strive for social equality.

To test the hypotheses, data from the Dutch sample of the European Social Survey round 9 was used (N=1673). Hierarchical linear regression was used to analyze the data. From the results can be concluded that perceiving discrimination and feelings of efficacy are positive predictors and system justification and social identity are negative predictors of engaging in political activism. Interaction-effects were not significant, meaning that no variables influences the relation between perceived discrimination and political activism. Additional analyses show that efficacy increases the likelihood to engage in political activism for people who feel discriminated against. Placement on the left-right scale, level of education, justice of the status quo and belonging to a religion are predictors to engage in political activism for people who do not feel discriminated against.

To strive for equality, efficacy could be stimulated, for example by having more representative politicians in politics. Since this study shows that not only those who feel discriminated against engage in political activism, more research should be done on how to get allies for the group who feels discriminated against to strive for change.

Political activism – perceived discrimination - social identity – efficacy – system justification

Problem statement

“Angry Dutch farmers swarm The Hague to protest green rules” (Politico, 2019)

“Dutch antiracism activists protest over blackface character” (The Guardian, 2019).

These are headlines in newspapers from the last months. Different groups are protesting for diverse causes. Dutch farmers are protesting against the new law that should reduce nitrogen emission. These farmers are most affected by this law and therefore object. They mobilized to stand up against the new law, which was the start of the ‘farmers protests’. The protests against black Pete are led by people who argue that Black Pete is a racist character and therefore should be banned as a helper of Sinterklaas. What these groups have in common is that they feel disadvantaged and show their dissatisfaction with the status quo, to demand changes, or stop the intended change (Sabucedo et al., 2017).

The popularity of protesting and engaging in political activism has grown over the years (Sabucedo et al., 2017). The goal of activism is to strive for change and improve society through political activities (Klar & Kasser, 2009). Everyone has the right to become an activist, but not everyone engages in political activism. According to Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2013), the question in social movement research “is not so much whether people who engage in protest are aggrieved, but whether aggrieved people engage in protest” (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013, p. 887).

In the Netherlands, experiencing discrimination is common amongst marginalized groups. In 2018, 27% of the Dutch citizens indicated being discriminated against (SCP, 2020). Many studies show the (psychological) consequences of experiencing discrimination. Perceiving discrimination is associated with psychological distress and health problems (Mays & Cochran, 2001; Harrell, 2000; Kwate, Valdimarsdottir, Guevarra & Bovb-jerg, 2003). Studies found that engaging in political activism promotes well-being through increasing personal agency (Friedman & Leaper, 2010) and coping with discrimination (Szymanski & Owens, 2009). Besides a positive impact on the negative consequences of experiencing discrimination, political activism is the most effective way for people from disadvantaged groups to bring social change (Calogero, 2013). Therefore, it is important to empower members of these groups to break the oppressive systems by promoting the facilitators and reducing the barriers to engage in political activism. Clarity on the processes behind political activism helps institutions and organizations to empower these groups, to achieve equality.

Over the years, within different fields, a lot of research has been done on when, why, and

how people engage in political activism. Different frameworks have been established to explain the facets of political activism (Drury & Reicher, 2009; Tausch et al., 2011; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Concepts that come back in those frameworks are perceived discrimination and injustice, beliefs of efficacy and social identification (e.g., the SIMCA model by Van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, these models do not explain why people who experience discrimination, have a strong social identity and feelings of efficacy do not engage in political activism. System justification can help explain why people do not become activists, even when they feel disadvantaged. People who are motivated to defend the status quo, are less likely to strive for change (Jost & Banaji, 1994), even when they are members of the disadvantaged group (Hässler et al., 2019).

In this study, system justification will be combined with previous models to help explain when and why people who experience discrimination engage in political activism. While studies have combined these two opposing theoretical frameworks to explain the link between injustice and political activism (Jost et al., 2012), research has not focused on perceived discrimination and political activism specifically. Current study aims to fill that gap. This is an important addition to existing research in this field because it shows what elements are either a barrier or facilitator in the relation between perceived discrimination and political activism. The current research can be the start of creating a new framework that combines different aspects of the existing research to further develop the literature on perceived discrimination and political activism.

Perceived discrimination

This study focuses on perceived discrimination: the extent to which citizens of the Netherlands feel that they have been discriminated against (SCP, 2020). Individuals perceive discrimination when they attribute negative events to injustices and associate this with prejudice and stereotypes of the group they belong to. There are many grounds that could cause someone to be discriminated against, for example, ethnicity, gender or religion (Gerards, 2013). The experience of discrimination does not have to match with actual discrimination. Actual discrimination refers to actions by individuals or institutions that harm members of marginalized groups (Faegin, 2000). Discrimination operates on an individual, institutional and structural level (Pincus, 1996), by individual prejudice, policies of the dominant institutions, the implementors of policies and the ones controlling these institutions. Negative events which people attribute to their own failure, as well as situations in which differences between groups are legitimized, do not fall under the experience of discrimination.

Engaging in political activism functions as a strategy to break down the structures that

uphold discrimination (Hope & Spencer, 2017). When a person's position is evaluated in relation to others, and if they perceive their position as disadvantaged compared to others, people are more motivated to engage in political activism in order to make changes to their position.

Support for this relationship was found in a study comparing disabled to able-bodied people (Mattila & Papageorgiou, 2017). This study found that disabled people are more likely than able-bodied people to engage in political activism, which is reinforced when disabled people feel discriminated against (Mattila & Papageorgiou, 2017). Another study among sexual minority female students shows that experiencing gendered, heterosexist discrimination predicts commitment to feminist and LGBTQ+ activism (Friedman & Leaper, 2010). The current study explores discrimination in a broader sense.

Activism

Based on the definition of Corning & Myer (2002), political activism is defined as “an individual's developed, relatively stable, yet changeable orientation to engage in various, collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviors spanning a range from low-risk, passive, and institutionalized acts to high-risk, active and unconventional behaviors” (p. 704). Political activism has the goal of improving society through political activities. This can include different political causes, for instance opposing abortion, new laws or racist institutions (Klar & Kasser, 2009).

For a long time, political activism was defined as political participation (citizen-oriented); the focus on how citizens can influence representative democracy and formal political processes and policies (Norris, 2004). This contains voting at elections, campaign work for candidates or parties and contacting the government or politicians. However, this conceptualization is too narrow to define political activism in contemporary times, since political activism goes beyond the political domain. Therefore, the distinction can be made with cause-oriented political activism, which “focuses attention upon specific issues and policy concerns, exemplified by consumer politics (buying or boycotting certain products for political or ethical reasons), petitioning, demonstrations, and protests.” (Norris, 2004, p. 4). Post-materialists values such as issues related to sexism and ethnicity are the core of today's activism. The focus is on reforming the law, affecting existing or new policies or to make changes in the systematic patterns of social behavior. Both citizen-oriented and cause-oriented activism are effective means for people who feel discriminated against to bring social and political change (Calogero, 2013). Discrimination and injustice happen in every society, therefore activism can be a conscious and strategic mean to force change on those in power (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). The focus in this paper will therefore

be both on citizen-oriented and on cause-oriented activities.

Social identity

According to the different models on political activism, social identity is an important factor for engaging in political activism. Social identity theory states that people derive part of their self-identity from the group they belong to, which can be different groups in different situations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). People define who they are in terms of 'we' (the group they belong to) instead of 'me'. People compare their group (the in-group) with other groups (out-groups) to strive for a better self-image for their group, and therefore for themselves. People benefit from positive social identities that are associated with the groups they identify with. By identifying with the groups they are categorized to, and comparing their groups with other groups to ensure they come off best, they obtain a positive social identity.

According to SIMCA (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), social identity predicts political activism in two ways. Firstly, by identifying with a group, discrimination based on specific characteristics of these groups become visible. Identification with a group means being aware of similarities and sharing the same ideals and standards with others in the group. Secondly, it gives individuals a feeling of collectiveness. Social identification is important because people strive for being 'good' group members. Norms of the group become norms of the individual, which results in an internal motivation to participate in collective action (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013). People who identify with a group derive a part of their identity from that group. The group becomes part of them, which in turn leads to people being more motivated to fight on behalf of the group.

Efficacy

Besides perceived discrimination and social identity, efficacy is an indicator of political activism. Efficacy is "the individual's expectation that it is possible to alter conditions or policies" (Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013, p. 889). This has similarities with the concept of agency, namely the belief that individual actions can influence and change social structures. Efficacy can be specified into political efficacy: the belief that actions will be effective when participating in the political domain, including activism (Corning & Myers, 2002). Efficacy gives people a sense of power in order to give them the belief that they can change the current situation. This is only useful when people believe that the relevant goals will be achieved and that they have the potential to shape and change the social structure. This means that the more efficacy people

experience, the more likely they are to engage in political activism. Thus, a person with a high feeling of political efficacy believes in their ability to achieve change in the political and social system with their behavior (Valdez et al., 2018)

Van Zomeren and colleagues (2008) found perceived efficacy to be a strong predictor for political activism. Results from Valdez and colleagues (2018) show that efficacy is one of the strongest predictors for engaging in protest behavior. Besides that, results from Hornsey and colleagues (2006) show that efficacy is a strong predictor for the long-term, which in terms of political activism means for example building an opposition or protest movement.

System justification

However, as is stated by Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2013), it is not about whether people who engage in political activism are aggrieved, but whether aggrieved people engage in political activism. The existing models on political activism do partly explain why and when people who feel discriminated against engage in political activism. System justification theory explains why people do not engage in political activism, even when they feel discriminated against. System justification is known as legitimizing the current system and the norms, rules and social structures that come from this system as well as defending and rationalizing the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994). According to this theory, defending the system is a psychological coping mechanism, to reduce threat and anxiety (Kay & Zanna, 2009). Therefore, people are highly motivated to see the system as fair and legitimate by rationalizing and justifying it.

System justification theory states that everyone is responsible for their own happiness and welfare, and by working hard people get higher positions in society (Jost & Banaji, 1994). According to this belief, successful people have rightfully obtained their privileged position and people with low socioeconomic status did not work hard enough for it. In this way, it is denied that injustice and inequality play a role in the ability of individuals and groups to reach higher positions in society (Kaiser et al., 2006).

One important aspect of system justification is that it does not only occur among the powerful majority to maintain their privileged position and the current hierarchy (Kay & Zanna, 2009). All people, regardless of group status, can uphold the tendencies to believe that the status quo is just. By holding on to this belief, disadvantaged groups try to forget their dissatisfaction with the current system. However, these system justifying beliefs limit people's awareness of alternatives to the existing social system and intergroup structures (Wright et al., 1990). This could hinder the efforts of people who perceive discrimination to engage in political activism to improve their disadvantaged position (Osborne & Sibley, 2013). When people believe they are

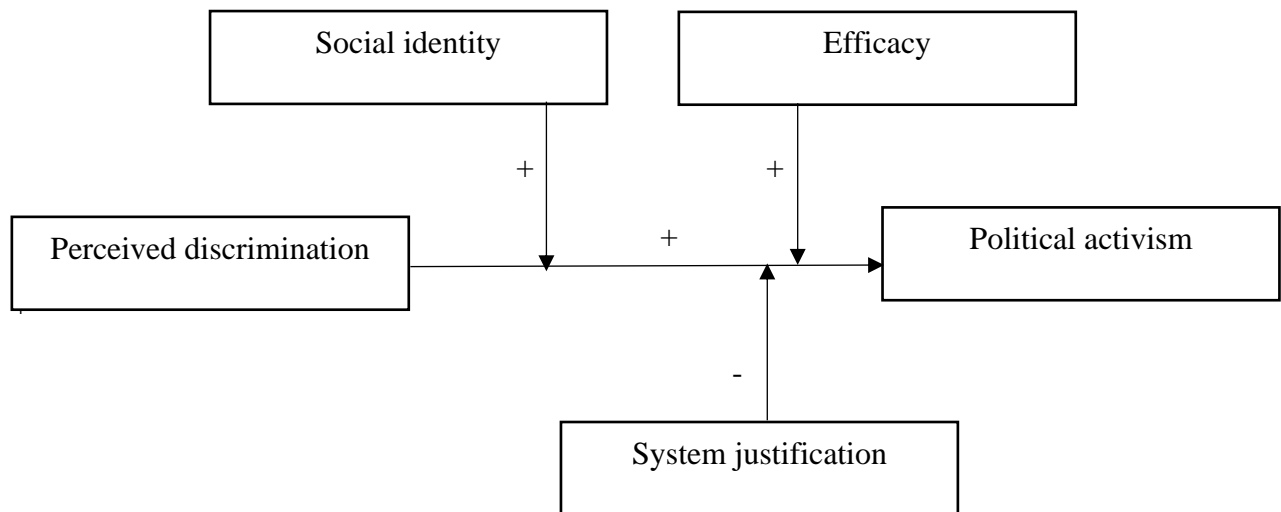
'suffering justly' (Osborne & Sibley, 2013) they are more likely than those who do not hold these beliefs to view their discriminated position as legitimate. This means that disadvantaged people support policies that undermine their self-interest because people believe that the system is fair (Osborne & Sibley, 2013). This indicates that the tendency to justify the system decreases the relation between feelings of perceived discrimination and the actions people undertake (Jost et al., 2012).

Osborne and Sibley (2013) found that system justification moderates the effects of perceived discrimination and the responses to this inequality through activism. The relationship between perceived discrimination and activism was weaker amongst people who scored high on system justification. Research from Jost and colleagues (2011) shows that system justification undermines the willingness to protest. Other research found that women who had the tendency to justify the system participated less in collective action to change the systems of sexism (Becker & Wright, 2011).

Research question

This study attempts to contribute to the existing research on political activism. A lot of research has been done on political activism, system justification and perceived discrimination. However, the combination of the different models to explain the relationship between perceived discrimination and political activism is understudied. Therefore, in this study, the influences of perceived discrimination on political activism in combination with efficacy, social identity and system justification will be analyzed. The research question will be: *Do efficacy, social identity and system justification strengthen or weaken the effects of perceived discrimination on political activism?*

For each factor, separate moderation models will be tested, after which all factors will be compared to see which has the strongest effect. Based on the existing models on political activism, it can be expected that perceiving discrimination predicts engaging in political activism (H1). Furthermore, efficacy and social identity reinforce the relationship between perceived discrimination and political activism (H2). Based on the system justification theory it can be expected that system justification suppresses the relation between perceived discrimination and political activism (H3).



Research methods

Design and procedure

Within this research, a quantitative design has been chosen, since the study is focused on testing the strength of the relationship between perceived discrimination, specific moderators and political activism. In this empirical research, data from the European Social Survey (ESS) round 9 (2018) was used. The ESS is a cross-national survey conducted by face-to-face interviews, every two years since 2001 in over 30 European countries, to measure and explain the interaction between changing institutions and beliefs, attitudes and behavior patterns of the different populations. Besides that, the ESS round 9 contains an extensive measure of political activism, perceived discrimination, self-efficacy and system justification.

Participants and sampling

In this analysis, only participants with a Dutch nationality were included (N=1673). National statistics agencies carried out the data collection by sampling and conducting the interviews. Every interviewer (111 for the Netherlands) has followed a training to conduct interviews according to ESS guidelines. All postal addresses in The Cendris file were used to do a random sample drawing to select households. Based on randomization, one member of the selected household was contacted to participate in the interview. These participants were reached through post, where participants were asked if they wanted to participate (ESS, 2018). Before the interview was conducted, a short briefing about the interview was given, including informed consent. Topics in the informed consent included voluntary participation, the risks involving participating and anonymity of the data. Besides that, every interviewer provided a contact form

with detailed information on the interview (ESS, 2018).

The total non-response rate of the Netherlands-specific data was 49,79%. Participants were aged between 15 and 90 years, with 49.8% men and 50.2% women.

Data collection instruments

Dependent variable – Political activism

As dependent variable in this analysis, eight items about political activism were combined. All questions started with: During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Have you...: contacted a politician, government or local government official?; worked in a political party or action group?; worked in another organization or association?; worn or displayed campaign batch/ sticker?; signed a petition; posted or shared anything about politics online?; taken part in a lawful public demonstration?; boycotted certain products? All variables are dichotomous, with yes=1 and no=0. To combine the eight variables into one continuous scale, the eight variables were aggregated with values ranging from 0 (no engagement in political activism) to 8 (engaged in all eight activities), as was done in prior research (Ejrnæs, 2017; Roets, Cornelis & Van Hiel, 2014; Besley, 2006).

Independent variable – Perceived discrimination

The independent variable is perceived discrimination. This was measured as: Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated against in this country?, with answer options: 'No', 'Yes' and 'I do not know'. The assumption was made that when participants do not know if they are discriminated against, this is because they are not discriminated against. This results in a dichotomous variable: not perceiving discrimination (0) and perceiving discrimination (1).

Moderators - Efficacy, social identity and system justification

Efficacy was measured with two items on a 5-points Likert scale, varying from 1 (not at all) to 5 (completely). The two items were: 'How able do you think you are to take an active role in a group involved with political issues?' and 'How confident are you in your own ability to participate in politics?'. The scale has proven to be reliable with a Cronbach's alpha of .816.

Social identity was measured with two separate items that are used as a proxy: 'Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination?' and 'Do you belong to a minority ethnic group in the Netherlands?' Answer options were: 'Yes' and 'No'. This was coded as dichotomous variables: not belonging (0) and belonging (1). Two steps have been

conducted to identify the relevant social identities. The first step concerned examining the grounds on which people feel most discriminated against, which appeared to be religion and ethnicity. Secondly, those demographic variables were added to the analysis.

System justification was measured with two subscales, namely ‘satisfaction with authorities’ and ‘justice of the status quo’, to measure the extent that people believe the system is fair. A factor analysis has been conducted with all eight items, which showed two different scales. Therefore, both scales were added separately to the analysis. The ‘justice of the status quo’-subscale is measured with three items: ‘I am confident that justice always prevails over injustice’, ‘I am convinced that in the long run people are compensated for injustices’ and ‘By and large, people get what they deserve’. This is measured with a 5-point Likert scale, varying from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). The answer options were reverse coded, to ensure that a high score means high feelings of system justification. The Cronbach’s alpha in current research equals .668.

The subscale ‘satisfaction with authorities’ was measured with five items. The participants were asked: ‘How much do you personally trust each of the institutions: politicians, country’s parliament and police?’ Answer options ranged from 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (complete trust). The other two items were: ‘Now thinking about the Dutch government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job?’ ranging from 0 (not satisfied at all) to 10 (completely satisfied) and ‘How much would you say that the government in the Netherlands takes into account the interests of all citizens?’ with answer options ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (a great deal). To combine these items, all items with answer options ranging from 0 to 10 were reduced to five answer options. This scale has proven to be reliable with a Cronbach’s alpha of .890.

Control variables

Some personality characteristics were included in the model as control variables to become aware of the relation between those variables and the dependent variable to prevent bias. These are gender (0=male/ 1=female), age in years, level of education, ranging from 1 (primary school not finished) to 18 (doctorate) and placement on the left-right scale, ranging from 1 (left) to 10 (right).

Analysis

The data were analyzed in IBM SPSS statistics 26. Within this study, a significance level of $\alpha=.05$ was used. First, a descriptive analysis was executed to measure differences between the variables. To test the hypothesis and to measure if perceived discrimination is a predictor for political activism, a hierarchical linear regression with perceived efficacy, social identity and

system justification as moderators were run.

Prior to the analyses, some assumptions were checked (Field, 2013). First, the histograms and P-P plots showed the distribution of the variables. Secondly, the normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of the residues were inspected based on the P-P plot and scatterplots of the standardized residues. Lastly, the vif scores show that there was no multicollinearity, meaning that the independent variables can be interpreted correctly.

Next, the model was run in four steps. Firstly, the model was run with only the control variables, to show whether the personality characteristics were significant predictors for engaging in activism. Secondly, perceived discrimination was added to the model, to measure the effect of the independent variable. In step 3, the model was run separately with either system justification or efficacy and social identity as main effects. In the last step, the interaction-effects of the variables were added. Afterward, this 4-step hierarchical regression was run again, with all moderators included in the model, to show which moderator had the strongest effect.

Data management

The data was be managed according to the official rules of European Social Survey. According to ESS: “The data are available without restrictions, for not-for-profit purposes” (ESS, 2018). This means that the data is available for everyone and that only registration by email is needed. Besides that, solely anonymous data was available to use. Every country that was included in the dataset had to check for anonymity. The researcher stored the dataset on the secured online environment of Utrecht University.

Results

Descriptive statistics

In Table 1, the range, means and standard deviation of the continuous variables and the frequencies of the categorical variables are presented. The sample includes 833 men and 840 women. The average age is 48,66. On average, people took part in 1,2 political activism activities, although scores ranged from zero to seven. Furthermore, people generally score low on the efficacy scale. In total, 144 people indicated being discriminated against ($N=144$). The correlations between the variables are presented in Table 2. This shows that efficacy is positively linked to engaging in political activism ($p<.001$). The higher people score on efficacy, the more political activities they participated in. These correlations are in line with what was expected. Justification of the status quo is significantly negatively correlated with political activism. Thus,

the more people believe the current system is just, the less they engage in political activism, which is in line with what was expected. However, the other subscale of system justification, satisfaction with authorities, is significantly positively correlated with activism. When people are more satisfied with authorities, they engage in more political activism activities. This is contrary to what was expected.

Table 1: *Range, mean and standard deviation or frequencies of all variables*

Variables	Range	M/ Frequencies	SD
Activism	0-7	1.24	1.37
Perceived discrimination (yes)	0/1	144 (8,6%)	-
Efficacy	1-5	2.04	.95
Belong to religion	0/1	523 (31,3%)	-
Belong to ethnic minority	0/1	136 (8,2%)	-
SJ: satisfaction with authorities	1-5	3.37	.66
SJ: justice of status quo	1-5	3.04	.74
Age in years	15-90	48.66	14.13
Level of education	1-18	9.58	5.20
Male	0/1	833 (49,8%)	-
Left and Right	0-10	5.12	1.97

Since perceived discrimination, belonging to an ethnic minority and religion and gender are binary variables, they are not included in the correlation matrix. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the average political activist activities in the different groups. There was a significant difference in the score of the perceived discriminated group ($M= 1.79$, $SD= 1.74$) and the group who do not feel discriminated against ($M= 1.18$, $SD= 1.32$); $t(155)=4.05$, $p<.001$. The average score of political activist activities was not significantly different between the two genders $t(1662)=1.07$, $p=.283$ and belonging or not belonging to an ethnic minority, $t(1657)=-1.06$, $p=.288$, or religion, $t(1660)=-0.61$, $p=.537$.

Table 2: *Correlation matrix of interval variables*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Activism	-					
2. Efficacy	.390**	-				
3. SJ: satisfaction	.082**	.218**	-			
4. SJ: justice	-.125**	-.002	.172**	-		
5. Age in years	-.023	-.187**	-.162**	-.088**	-	
6. Level of education	.288**	.307**	.270**	-.102**	-.044	-
7. Left and right	-.147**	-.027	.003	.138**	-.080	-.088**

*. Correlation is significant at $\alpha = .05$ (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at $\alpha = .01$ (2-tailed).

Hierarchical regression analysis

Three hierarchical regressions were run: one with efficacy and social identity as moderators (model 1), one with both subscales of system justification as moderators (model 2) and one with all of them combined (model 3). Because the interaction-effects are tested, efficacy and system justification are centered around their means to interpret the intercepts better. Before the regressions were run, the assumptions were tested. These assumptions were met except for the normality of the variable's political activism and efficacy (both right-skewed). A LOG transformation has been carried out, to normalize the distribution. This was effective for the distribution of efficacy, however not for the activism variable.

Table 3 shows the executed hierarchical regressions. Step 1 includes personal characteristics and shows that there is a significant effect of political orientation $p < .001$ and education $p < .001$ on political activism, which accounted for 7,9% of the variance in political activism ($R^2 = .08$, $F(4, 1432) = 30.60$, $p < .001$)¹. People who indicate being left engage in more political activist activities than people who indicate being right and the higher educated people are, the more often they engage in political activism activities. Adding perceived discrimination in the second step showed that perceiving discrimination is a significant predictor for becoming an activist $p < .001$, and accounted for an additional 1,6% of the variance in political activism ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F(1, 1431) = 25.06$, $p < .001$).

In step three, efficacy and social identity were added in model 1, while system justification was added in model 2. Efficacy ($p < .001$) and belonging to an ethnic minority ($p = .016$) are significant predictors for engaging in activism. This means that the more efficacy people experience, the more they engage in political activist activities. Belonging to an ethnic minority decreases the likelihood of engaging in political activism. Step three explains 10% more of the variance in political activism than step two of model 1 ($\Delta R^2 = .10$, $\Delta F(3, 1506) = 64.96$, $p < .001$). Step three in model 2 shows that satisfaction with authorities increases the likelihood of engaging in political activism ($p = .038$), while justification of the status decreases the likelihood of engaging in activism ($p = .001$). Adding these variables accounted for a significant increase in the explained variance in political activism ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F(2, 1432) = 7.90$, $p < .001$). In step 4, the interaction effects were added into the models. As can be seen in table 3, all interactions are not significant. Only in model 1 this accounted for a significant increase in the explained variance ($\Delta R^2 = .005$, $\Delta F(3, 1503) = 3.26$, $p = .021$)

In step 3 of model 3, all predictors were added. In this step, all predictors that were significant in the separate models remain significant, except for satisfaction with authorities. Belonging to an ethnic minority, justification of the status quo and political orientation (where a low score means left) decreases the likelihood of engaging in political activism, while perceiving discrimination, efficacy and level of education increases the likelihood. Adding these variables accounted for a significant increase of the variance in political activism ($\Delta R^2 = .11$, $\Delta F(5, 1426) = 39.63$, $p < .001$).

When looking at the standardized coefficients, it shows that efficacy is the strongest predictor for engaging in activism. People have to believe that they can influence politics to become activists. Level of education and perceiving discrimination are respectively the second and third strongest predictors. Belonging to an ethnic minority is the weakest significant predictor. In step 4, the interaction effects were added. All five of the interaction effects remain not significant. This model accounts for 20,9% of the variance, which is not a significant increase compared to the previous model ($\Delta R^2 = .005$, $\Delta F(5, 1421) = 1.885$, $p = .094$)

As an additional analysis, the model was separately run only with people who feel discriminated against and with people who do not (table 4 in appendix 2). Efficacy is the only significant predictor in the model with only people who feel discriminated against ($\beta = 0.42$, $p < .001$). This means that only efficacy is a significant predictor for engaging in activism for those who feel discriminated against. In the model with people who do not perceive discrimination, level of education ($\beta = 0.15$, $p < .001$) belonging to a religion ($\beta = 0.06$, $p = .028$) and efficacy ($\beta = 0.34$, $p < .001$) increases the likelihood of engaging in political activism, and

placement on the left-right scale ($\beta = -0.11$, $p < .001$) and justification of the status quo ($\beta = -0.09$, $p = .001$) decreases the likelihood.

Table 3: Results of hierarchical regression analysis of predictors on political activism ^a

Independent variables	<i>Model 1: Efficacy and social identity</i>	<i>Model 2: System justification</i>	<i>Model 3: Efficacy, social identity and system justification</i>
<i>Step 1: control variables</i>			
Age	-.027	-.013	-.017
Level of education	.255**	.241**	.244**
Placement on left - right	-.118**	-.124**	-.118**
Gender	.024	.071	.023
R ²	.086	.078	.079
F	35.553**	30.512**	30.599**
<i>Step 2: Addition of perceived discrimination</i>			
Age	-.010	.005	.000
Level of education	.256**	.241**	.244**
Placement on left - right	-.110**	-.115**	-.109**
Gender	.030	.025	.028
Perceived discrimination	.132**	.126**	.128**
R ²	.103	.094	.095
ΔR^2	.017	.016	.016
ΔF	28.477**	24.655**	25.060**
<i>Step 3: Addition of main effects</i>			
Age	.042	.004	.044
Level of education	.162**	.217**	.142**
Placement on left - right	-.113**	-.104**	-.099**
Gender	-.032	.020	-.038
Perceived discrimination	.134**	.126**	.123**
Efficacy	.334**	-	.342**
SI: minority	-.060*	-	-.053*

SI: Religion	.035	-	.041
SJ: Justice status quo	-	-.096**	-.092**
SJ: satisfaction authorities	-	.058*	.013
R ²	.206	.104	.205
ΔR^2	.103	.010	.110
ΔF	64.956**	7.902**	39.634**
<i>Step 4: Addition of interactions</i>			
Age	.040	.003	.040
Level of education	.165**	.217**	.145**
Placement on left - right	-.106**	-.104**	-.093**
Gender	-.034	.019	-.040
Perceived discrimination	.172**	.120**	.165**
Efficacy	.328**	-	.327**
SI: minority	-.029	-	-.026
SI: religion	.045	-	.054*
SJ: justice status quo	-	-.087**	-.088**
SJ: satisfaction with authorities	-	.060*	.011
Dis x efficacy	.048	-	.047
Dis x minority	-.057	-	-.045
Dis x religion	-.043	-	-.057
Dis x justice stat quo	-	-.028	.002
Dis x satisfaction auth	-	.000	.003
R ²	.211	.105	.210
ΔR^2	.005	.001	.005
ΔF	3.264*	.534	1.885

^a Standardized regression coefficients

*p<.05, **p<.01

Discussion

In this study, the barriers and facilitators of the relation between perceived discrimination and political activism have been explored. The goal of the current study was to investigate whether

feelings of efficacy, social identity and the tendency to justify the system influences the relation between perceived discrimination and political activism, and which predictor is the strongest. This contributes to the existing research, since existing models on political activism, which show the relation between inequality, efficacy and social identity (Drury & Reicher, 2009; Tausch et al., 2011; Van Zomeren et al., 2008) and the influence of system justification (Jost & Banaji, 1994), have not been applied to perceived discrimination. To bring social change, activism is one of the most effective ways for disadvantaged groups (Calagero, 2013), therefore, it is important to know which factors suppress or facilitates this relation.

The first hypothesis, stating that perceived discrimination is positively related to engaging in political activism, can be accepted. People who feel discriminated against engage in more political activist activities than people who do not feel discriminated against. This is in line with previous studies, that have shown that inequality is a predictor for engaging in political activism (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). In the current research, the focus was on perceived discrimination, but different forms of inequality were included in previous models to explain political activism. The experience of discrimination can be seen as part of perceived inequality because both include seeing disadvantages when the group is compared to others, and perceiving those disadvantages as unfair (Smith & Pettigrew, 2015). Even people who feel discriminated against engage in more political activism than those who do not feel discriminated against, amount of political activism activities people engage in is relatively low. Efficacy and social identity do not strengthen the relationship between perceived discrimination and political activism and justifying the system does not suppress this relation.

Regardless of the non-significant interaction-effects, efficacy, belonging to a religion and ethnic minority and system justification are significant main effects of engaging in political activism. The main effects of both sub-scales of system justification are significant predictors of engaging in political activism. However, those two subscales show different relations. People who justify the status quo and see the current situation as just, are less willing to engage in activist activities to change the system. This corresponds with what was expected, because people who justify the current structural and social economic and political norms are in need for stability, and therefore are resistant for change (Jost & Banaji, 1994). On the contrary, the more satisfied people are with the current authorities, the more political activities they engage in. A possible explanation for this positive relation could be that those people engaged in system-supporting activism. For example, the All Lives Matter protests as a reaction to the Black Lives Matter protests. The current research focuses on progressive social movement with the aim to reduce inequality, which does not include conservative or reactionary protests that support the

status quo (Osborne et al., 2019). Research has shown that system justification is positively related to system-supporting collective action, and negatively related to system-challenging collective action. (Osborne et al., 2019). This distinction was not specified in this study. Items used in current research can indicate both system-supporting as well as system-challenging activism. It is therefore recommended for future research to specify between system-challenging and system-supporting activism.

In line with previous models (Van Zomeren et al., 2008), it was also found that efficacy and belonging to a religion and an ethnic minority (as a proxy for social identity) were significant predictors for engaging in political activism. The more feelings of efficacy people have, the more they engage in political activist activities. However, contrary to what was expected, when people indicate that they belong to an ethnic minority, they engage less in political activism than people who belong to the majority. An explanation for this is that they might not recognize discrimination. People can fail to notice discrimination, underestimate it, or deny that they are targets of discrimination (Kaiser & Miller, 2001). Not recognizing this discrimination can be due to system justification, which assumes that people are motivated to justify and maintain the current social systems and worldviews (Jost & Banaji, 1994). By acknowledging that they are victims of discrimination, they have to relinquish their fundamental beliefs that the social world is fair, controllable and legitimate, which is psychologically costly (Kaiser & Miller, 2003). For this reason, people may see the hierarchical systems that disadvantage them as fair (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Therefore, people from ethnic minorities might not recognize their disadvantaged positions due to system justification, which keeps them from striving for change.

When all the moderators were added in one model, it appears that efficacy is the strongest predictor for engaging in activism. Additional analyses show that this is also the case for the group that feels discriminated against. The experience of discrimination together with efficacy is enough for them to become activists. When people do not have this experience of discrimination, a high level of education, the indication of being left, high efficacy, belonging to a religion and justifying the status quo are factors that influence engaging in activism. These results bring new insights into existing research into political activism. Not only aggrieved people engage in political activism (Klandermans & Stekelenburg, 2013), but members of the dominant groups as well. Recognizing discrimination by other individuals and other groups means at the same time becoming aware of one's privileged position. This is a complex, confronting and long process, which could explain why more factors play a role for non-discriminated people to become allies of the perceived discriminated-group. Research on allies show that awareness of one's position, knowledge of the power structures from which discrimination arises, and empathy to racial

minorities are needed to become allies (Case, 2012). Research on straight allies from LGBTQ+ activists shows that beliefs and principles of social justice and personal experiences play a role in becoming allies (Russell, 2011). The current research carefully indicates that the models that explain political activism are too narrow. Future research should focus on comparing the discriminated with the non-discriminated groups, and the differences in their motivations to become political activists.

Since no interactions were found, hypotheses 2 and 3 can be partly rejected. However, there were direct effects of efficacy, system justification and belonging to a religion and ethnic minority on political activism. Besides this, the effects of significant predictors were found when the two groups were analyzed separately. The lack of significant interactions can be due to the small group of people who feel discriminated against, causing the effects to be suppressed.

Limitations

There has to be noted that the distribution of the political activism variable is right-skewed instead of normal. Therefore, one assumption for linear regression is violated (Field, 2013). Different data transformations have been carried out to change the form of the relationship of the data. However, those transformations did not have any effect on the data. Therefore, the regression has been carried out with the right-skewed data. According to Field (2013), this does not cause any problems, since the sample size is big enough.

This quantitative study gave important insights into the relation between perceived discrimination and political activism and the factors that influence this relation. However, of the 1673 participants who took part in the sample, only 144 people stated that they experienced discrimination. This is much lower than the 27% that was found in prior research among Dutch citizens (SCP, 2020). This low percentage can be due to the specific way the question was asked. The only answer options were: 'yes' and 'no'. Since perceiving discrimination is a multidimensional phenomenon, capturing this with only two answer options might be too narrow to acknowledge complex distinctions (Neuman, 2014). Due to the lack of nuance, respondents might more often indicate not being discriminated against. This low number might have influenced the results, because the low percentage may have caused that interaction effects did not become visible. The additional analysis on the separate groups does show that there are different effects for both groups.

Another limitation to current research might be that no official scales of system justification and social identity have been used. The advantage of pre-existing scales is that they have been extensively tested. A reliable system justification scale has been formed by Kay and

Jost (2003) and a social identity scale by Tajfel & Turner (1979). These have been tested on validity and reliability. Because no existing scale has been used, it is possible that the external validity is not sufficient. Although no existing scale has been used, some items of the system justification scales correspond to the existing scale. A comprehensive PCA and reliability test has been carried out to make sure that the scale covers all facets of system justification.

Conclusion

From the results can be concluded that perceiving discrimination, belonging to a religion and efficacy are positive predictors and system justification and belonging to an ethnic minority are negative predictors of engaging in political activism. Efficacy is the strongest predictor for engaging in activism for both people who feel and do not feel discriminated against. Through increasing the efficacy of people in general, and marginalized groups specifically, people can have a greater feeling of being able to bring changes to the system. Research has shown that the experience of having elected politicians that share characteristics with individuals, increases the political efficacy of those individuals (Wallace, 2014). In the Netherlands, where most politicians are white, cis-gender men and have received high education, the lack of diversity in politics might influence the political efficacy of Dutch citizens. Therefore, more representative politicians could increase efficacy, to ensure that the relatively low number of activist activities undertaken by people increases. However, it takes effort to acquire more representative politicians. Perhaps political activism could accelerate this process, but in order to achieve more political activism, efficacy is needed, which makes it a vicious circle.

The current study shows that the feeling of being discriminated against leads to more political activism. However, some factors hold people back from striving for change, even if they might be victims of actual discrimination (SCP, 2020). The focus of this study is on people who feel discriminated against, but it is important to know how to get non-discriminated people to stand up and strive for change. Striving for social equality is not solely the responsibility of groups that feel discriminated against, but of everyone in society. To change the current norms and hierarchies, the whole society is needed. The recent developments in the Black Lives Matters protests show that allies are needed to bring change. The current study gives insight into factors that play a role for people who do not feel discriminated against to engage in activism, but more research should be done on how to get non-discriminated people to become allies and together fight for equality.

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Appendix 1: syntax of analysis in SPSS

**** DATA VOORBEREIDEN ****

*Namen veranderen.

RENAME VARIABLES (dscrgrp=Discr).

Rename Variables (actrolga=Effic_01)(cptppola=Effic_02).

RENAME VARIABLES

(contplt=PA_01)(wrkprty=PA_02)(wrkorg=PA_03)(badge=PA_04)(sgnptit=PA_05)(pbldmn=P
A_06)(bctprd=PA_07)(pstplonl=PA_08).

RENAME VARIABLES (agea=Age).

RENAME VARIABLES (gndr=gender).

RENAME VARIABLES (edlvenl=Opleiding).

RENAME VARIABLES (ppldsrv=SJ1)(pcmpinj=SJ2)(jstprev=SJ3)(gvintcz=SJ4)(stfgov=SJ5).

RENAME VARIABLES (Irscale=LinksRechts).

Rename Variables (trstplc=SJ6) (trstlgl=SJ7) (trstprl=SJ8).

RENAME VARIABLES (rlgblg=religie).

Rename variables (blgetmg=minority).

*Political activism veranderen zodat ja=1 en nee=0.

RECODE PA_01 PA_02 PA_03 PA_04 PA_05 PA_06 PA_07 PA_08 (2=0).

EXECUTE.

*labels veranderen van PA.

Value Labels PA_01 PA_02 PA_03 PA_04 PA_05 PA_06 PA_07 PA_08

0 "nee" 1 "ja".

*Normaal verdeling controleren.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=Effic_01 Eff /ORDER=ANALYSIS.

**** FACTOR EN BETROUWBAARHEIDSANALYSE ****

*PCA System justification.

FACTOR

/VARIABLES SJ1 SJ2 SJ3 SJ4 SJ5 SJ6 SJ7 SJ8

/MISSING LISTWISE

/ANALYSIS SJ1 SJ2 SJ3 SJ4 SJ5 SJ6 SJ7 SJ8

/PRINT INITIAL CORRELATION SIG KMO AIC EXTRACTION ROTATION

/FORMAT BLANK(.10)

/PLOT EIGEN

/CRITERIA MINEIGEN(1) ITERATE(25)

/EXTRACTION PC

/CRITERIA ITERATE(25)

/ROTATION VARIMAX

/METHOD=CORRELATION.

*Betrouwbaarheid SJ .

RELIABILITY

/VARIABLES=SJ1 SJ2 SJ3 SJ4 SJ5 SJ6 SJ7 SJ8

/SCALE('ALL VARIABLES') ALL

/MODEL=ALPHA

/STATISTICS=DESCRIPTIVE SCALE CORR

/SUMMARY=TOTAL MEANS.

* Correlatie Efficacy.

CORRELATIONS

```
/VARIABLES=Effic_01 Effic_02  
/PRINT=TWOTAIL NOSIG  
/MISSING=PAIRWISE.
```

NONPAR CORR

```
/VARIABLES=Effic_01 Effic_02  
/PRINT=SPEARMAN TWOTAIL NOSIG  
/MISSING=PAIRWISE.
```

**** ACTIVISME VARIABELE MAKEN ****

*Opgetelde activisme variabele maken.

```
COMPUTE Activisme=(PA_01+PA_02+PA_03+PA_04+PA_05+PA_06+PA_07+PA_08).  
VARIABLE LABELS Activisme 'Activisme opgeteld'.  
EXECUTE.
```

*Labels Activisme benoemen.

```
VALUE LABELS Activisme  
0 'aan 0 activiteiten deelgenomen'  
8 'aan 8 activiteiten deelgenomen'.
```

*Missings toevoegen bij activisme variabele.

```
MISSING VALUES Activisme ('99').  
EXECUTE.
```

*Missings labels activisme in dataset toevoegen.

```
RECODE Activisme (SYSMIS=99).  
EXECUTE.
```

**** DISCRIMINATIE VARIABELE MAKEN ****

*Dummy maken en 'weet ik niet' naar 'nee'.

```
RECODE Discr (2=0) (1=1) (8=0) (7=SYSMIS) (9=SYSMIS).  
EXECUTE.
```

*Missings labels toevoegen bij discriminatie variabele.

```
MISSING VALUES Discr ('99').  
EXECUTE.
```

*Labels discriminatie toevoegen.

VALUE LABELS Discr

0 = 'nee'

1 = 'ja'.

****SOCIAL IDENTITY VARIABELE MAKEN****.

*Minority.

RECODE Minority (2=0) (1=1) (8=SYSMIS) (7=SYSMIS) (9=SYSMIS).

EXECUTE.

RECODE Minority (SYSMIS=99).

EXECUTE.

VALUE LABELS Minority

0 = 'nee'

1 = 'ja'.

MISSING VALUES Minority ('99').

EXECUTE.

*Religion.

RECODE Religie (2=0) (1=1) (8=SYSMIS) (7=SYSMIS) (9=SYSMIS).

EXECUTE.

RECODE Religie (SYSMIS=99).

EXECUTE.

VALUE LABELS Religie

0 = 'nee'

1 = 'ja'.

MISSING VALUES Religie ('99').

EXECUTE.

**** SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION VARIABELE MAKEN****.

* Items ompoolen.

RECODE SJ1 SJ2 SJ3 (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1).
EXECUTE.

* Labels aanpassen.

VALUE LABELS SJ1 SJ2 SJ3

1 = 'Sterk oneens'

2 = 'Oneens'

3 = 'Niet oneens niet eens'

4 = 'Eens'

5 = 'Sterk eens'.

*SJ6,7,8 antwoorden aanpassen zodat 1=oneens - 5=eens.

RECODE SJ5 SJ6 SJ7 SJ8 (0=1) (1=1) (2=1) (3=2) (4=2) (5=3) (6=3) (7=4) (8=4) (9=5) (10=5)
(77=SYSMIS) (88=SYSMIS) (99=SYSMIS) INTO SJ5samen SJ6samen SJ7samen SJ8samen.

VARIABLE LABELS SJ6samen 'Samenvoegen van antwoorden'

/SJ7samen 'Antwoorden samengevoegd' /SJ8samen 'Antwoorden samengevoegd'.

EXECUTE.

* Gemiddelde variabele van System Justification Justice of status quo.

COMPUTE SysJusStatQuo=(SJ1+Sj2+SJ3)/3.

*Gemiddelde variabele van System justification maken trust in authorities.

COMPUTE SysJusAuth=(SJ4+SJ5samen+SJ6samen+SJ7samen+SJ8samen)/5.

COMPUTE CSysJusStatQuo=SysJusStatQuo - 3.0445.

EXECUTE.

COMPUTE CSysJusAuth=SysJusAuth - 3.3710.

EXECUTE.

**** EFFICACY VARIABELE MAKEN ****

*Gemiddelde variabele van efficacy maken.

COMPUTE Efficacy=(Effic_01+Effic_02)/2.

VARIABLE LABELS Efficacy 'Efficacy gemiddeld'.

EXECUTE.

* Value labels toevoegen.

Value Labels Efficacy

1 = Not at all

2 = A little

3 = Quite

4 = Very

5 = Completely.

*Missings labels toevoegen bij Efficacy variabele.

MISSING VALUES Efficacy ('99,00').

EXECUTE.

*System missings efficacy.

RECODE Efficacy (SYSMIS=99).

EXECUTE.

*Centreren om gemiddelden.

COMPUTE CEfficacy=Efficacy - 2.0367.

EXECUTE.

*Log efficacy.

COMPUTE LOGefficacy=LG10(Efficacy).

EXECUTE.

****INTERACTIE DISCRIMINATIE X EFFICACY ****

*Interactie Discriminatie x Efficacy maken.

COMPUTE DiscrEfficacy= Discr * CEfficacy.

EXECUTE.

COMPUTE DiscrlogEfficacy= Discr * LOGEfficacy.

EXECUTE.

****INTERACTIE DISCRIMINATIE X SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION ****.

COMPUTE DiscrSA= Discr * CSysJusAuth.

EXECUTE.

COMPUTE DiscrSTQU= Discr * CSysJusStatQuo.

EXECUTE.

****INTERACTIE DISCRIMINATIE X SOCIAL IDENTITY****.

```
COMPUTE DiscrRel= Discr * Religie.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
COMPUTE DiscrMinor= Discr * Minority.  
EXECUTE.
```

```
****CONTROLE VARIABELEN MAKEN****.
```

```
**Gender.
```

```
*Dummy maken.
```

```
RECODE Gender (2=0) (1=1) (9=SYSMIS).  
EXECUTE.
```

```
*Missing label toevoegen.
```

```
MISSING VALUES Gender ('99').  
EXECUTE.
```

```
*Labels veranderen.
```

```
VALUE LABELS Gender  
0 = 'Vrouw'  
1 = 'Man'.
```

```
**Level of education.
```

```
RECODE Opleiding (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (5=5) (6=6) (7=7) (8=8) (9=9) (10=10) (11=11)  
(12=12) (13=13) (14=14) (15=15) (16=16) (17=17) (18=18) (5555=SYSMIS) (7777=SYSMIS)  
(8888=SYSMIS) (9999=SYSMIS).  
EXECUTE.
```

```
* Meetniveau alle variabelen.
```

```
VARIABLE LEVEL Activisme TO SysJusAuth (SCALE).
```

```
****REQUIREMENTS REGRESSIE****
```

```
*Normaalverdeling en outliers.
```


EXAMINE VARIABLES=Efficacy Activisme Discr SysJusStatQuo SysJusAuth Religie
Minority

/PLOT BOXPLOT STEMLEAF
/COMPARE VARIABLES
/STATISTICS DESCRIPTIVES
/CINTERVAL 95
/MISSING LISTWISE
/NOTOTAL.

PLOT

/VARIABLES=Efficacy CSysJusAuth CSysJusStatQuo Activisme Discr minority religie
/NOLOG
/NOSTANDARDIZE
/TYPE=P-P
/FRACTION=BLOM
/TIES=MEAN
/DIST=NORMAL.

**** BESCHRIJVENDE STATISTIEK****

* Descriptives.

DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=Activisme Discr Efficacy SysJus Age Opleiding gender
LinksRechts SysJusAuth SysJusStatQuo Minority Religie
/STATISTICS=MEAN SUM STDDEV VARIANCE MIN MAX.

* Correlaties.

CORRELATIONS

/VARIABLES=Activisme Discr Efficacy Minority Religie SysJusAuth SysJusStatQuo Age
Opleiding gender LinksRechts
/PRINT=TWOTAIL NOSIG
/STATISTICS DESCRIPTIVES
/MISSING=PAIRWISE.

* T-test dummies.

T-TEST GROUPS=Discr(1 0)
/MISSING=ANALYSIS
/VARIABLES=Activisme
/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-TEST GROUPS=minority(1 0)
/MISSING=ANALYSIS
/VARIABLES=Activisme
/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-TEST GROUPS=gender(1 0)
/MISSING=ANALYSIS
/VARIABLES=Activisme
/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

T-TEST GROUPS=religie(1 0)
/MISSING=ANALYSIS
/VARIABLES=Activisme
/CRITERIA=CI(.95).

****REGRESSIE EFFICACY EN SOCIAL IDENTITY****

*Regressie met efficacy.

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
/NOORIGIN
/DEPENDENT Activisme
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts
/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr CEfficacy
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr CEfficacy DiscrEfficacy.

*regressie met Social identity en efficacy.

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
/NOORIGIN
/DEPENDENT Activisme
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts
/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr CEfficacy minority religie
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr CEfficacy DiscrEfficacy
DiscrMinor DiscrRel.

*Regressie met logefficacy en social identity.

REGRESSION

```
/MISSING LISTWISE  
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP  
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)  
/NOORIGIN  
/DEPENDENT Activisme  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts  
/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr LOGefficacy minority religie  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr LOGefficacy Discrlogefficacy  
DiscrMinor DiscrRel.
```

****REGRESSIE MET SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION****

*.Beide subschalen.

REGRESSION

```
/MISSING LISTWISE  
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP  
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)  
/NOORIGIN  
/DEPENDENT Activisme  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts  
/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr  
/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr CSysJusAuth CSysJusStatQuo  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr DiscrSTQU DiscrSA  
CSysJusAuth CSysJusStatQuo.
```

****REGRESSIE MET BEIDE INTERACTIES****.

REGRESSION

```
/MISSING LISTWISE  
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP  
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)  
/NOORIGIN  
/DEPENDENT Activisme  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr CEfficacy Minority Religie  
CSysJusAuth CSysJusStatQuo  
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr CEfficacy Minority Religie  
CSysJusAuth CSysJusStatQuo DiscrSTQU DiscrSA DiscrlogEfficacy DiscrMinor DiscrRel.
```

*Regressie met logefficacy.

REGRESSION

```
/MISSING LISTWISE
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
/NOORIGIN
/DEPENDENT Activisme
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr LOGEfficacy Minority Religie
CSysJusAuth CSysJusStatQuo
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr LOGEfficacy Minority Religie
CSysJusAuth CSysJusStatQuo DiscrSTQU DiscrSA DiscrEfficacy DiscrMinor DiscrRel.
```

****AANVULLENDE REGRESSIE****

*Regressie met Discr=1.

Temporary.

Select if Discr=1.

REGRESSION

```
/MISSING LISTWISE
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
/NOORIGIN
/DEPENDENT Activisme
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts
/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr Cefficacy CSysJusAuth
CSysJusStatQuo Minority Religie.
```

*Regressie met Discr=1 met LOGEfficacy.

Temporary.

Select if Discr=1.

REGRESSION

```
/MISSING LISTWISE
/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP
/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
/NOORIGIN
/DEPENDENT Activisme
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts
/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr
/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr LOGEfficacy CSysJusAuth
CSysJusStatQuo Minority Religie.
```

*Regressie met Discr=0.

Temporary.

Select if Discr=0.

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Activisme

/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts

/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr

/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr Cefficacy CSysJusAuth
CSysJusStatQuo Minority Religie.

*Regressie met Discr=0 en logefficacy.

Temporary.

Select if Discr=0.

REGRESSION

/MISSING LISTWISE

/STATISTICS COEFF OUTS CI(95) R ANOVA COLLIN TOL CHANGE ZPP

/CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)

/NOORIGIN

/DEPENDENT Activisme

/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts

/METHOD=ENTER Opleiding Age gender LinksRechts Discr

/METHOD=ENTER Age gender Opleiding LinksRechts Discr LOGefficacy CSysJusAuth
CSysJusStatQuo Minority Religie.

Appendix 2: table additional analysis

Table 4: Standardized (β) Regression coefficients of each variable predicting political activism

	<i>Model 1:</i> <i>Dis=0¹</i>	<i>Model 2:</i> <i>Dis=1²</i>
	β	β
<i>Step 1: control variables</i>		
Age	-.007	.055
Level of education	.246**	.245*
Placement on left - right	-.118**	-.038**
Gender	.032	-.003
R ²	.079	.077
F	28.139**	2.393
<i>Step 2: Addition of main effects</i>		
Age	.038	.066
Level of education	.148**	.136
Placement on left - right	-.108**	.026
Gender	.033	-.094
Efficacy	.335**	.423**
Minority	-.025	-.132
Religion	.057*	-.144
Justification of status quo	.011	-.077
Satisfaction with authorities	-.089	.019
ΔR^2	.179	.274
ΔF	34.077**	5.899**

¹N=1308, ²=114

*p<005, **P<001