



**Intergroup Contact and Collective Action
Intentions among white South African Students**

by

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of Masters of Psychology in the Faculty of Arts and Social
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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Social inequality is a reality in South Africa, which can have adverse consequences for disadvantaged-group members, such as poor health outcomes, increased dropout rates in higher education, and social unrest. One way in which social inequalities can be addressed is for disadvantaged-group members to participate in collective action to force conversation, debate, and change. However, this comes with challenges that include resistance from advantaged-group members who may perceive social change as a threat to the status quo. Collective action at South African universities has become a common occurrence, with students from disadvantaged groups calling for greater social equality and inclusivity. The present study explores this in the Stellenbosch University context and considers factors that might encourage advantaged-group members to support disadvantaged-group members in the pursuit of positive social change. Given the limited South African data on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions (and the emotional and cognitive mediators thereof), the present study employed a cross-sectional design using self-report survey data to investigate the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among a convenience sample of white South African students ($N = 450$) studying at Stellenbosch University. The primary aim of the present study was to investigate whether general experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans in general are associated with the behavioural intention to distribute flyers advocating for racial justice and social equality in support of black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University. The secondary aim was to investigate whether context-specific experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University, specifically, would similarly be associated with the behavioural intention to distribute flyers advocating for racial justice and social equality in support of black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University. Findings from the present study demonstrate a positive indirect association between general

and context-specific experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans at Stellenbosch University via the serial mediation of empathy, collective guilt, and collective action intentions. These findings highlight a unique mediational pathway that might explain how white South Africans come to engage in collective action in support of black (African) South Africans. Furthermore, the findings of the present study provide additional support for the relevance of intergroup contact as a social intervention for mobilising advantaged-group members to action in support of the disadvantaged.

OPSOMMING

Sosiale ongelykheid is 'n werklikheid in Suid-Afrika, wat nadelige gevolge vir benadeelde groeplede voorhou, soos swak gesondheidsuitkomste, verhoogde uitvalgedrag in hoër onderwys, en sosiale onrus. Een manier waarop sosiale ongelykhede aangespreek kan word, is vir benadeelde groeplede om deel te neem aan kollektiewe aksie om gesprek, debat, en verandering af te dwing. Dit kom egter met uitdagings wat weerstand insluit vanaf bevoordeelde groeplede wat sosiale verandering as 'n bedreiging vir die status quo kan beskou. Kollektiewe aksie by Suid-Afrikaanse universiteite het 'n algemene verskynsel geword, met studente vanuit benadeelde agtergronde wat 'n beroep op groter sosiale gelykheid en inklusiwiteit doen. Die huidige studie ondersoek dit binne die konteks van Universiteit Stellenbosch en oorweeg faktore wat bevoordeelde groeplede kan aanmoedig om benadeelde groeplede te ondersteun in die strewende na positiewe sosiale verandering. Gegewe die beperkte Suid-Afrikaanse data oor die verwantskap tussen intergroep-kontak en kollektiewe aksievoornemens (en die emosionele en kognitiewe bemiddelaars daarvan), het die huidige studie 'n deursnee-ontwerp gebruik wat gebruik maak van selfrapportering opnamedata om die verband tussen intergroep-kontak en kollektiewe aksievoornemens onder 'n toevallige steekproef van wit Suid-Afrikaanse studente ($N = 450$) wat aan Universiteit Stellenbosch studeer, te ondersoek. Die primêre doel van die huidige studie was om te ondersoek of algemene ervarings van intergroep-kontak met swart Suid-Afrikaanse studente in die algemeen geassosieer word met die gedragsvoorneme om pamflette te versprei wat pleit vir rassegeregtigheid en sosiale gelykheid ter ondersteuning van swart Suid-Afrikaners aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch. Die sekondêre doel was om te ondersoek of kontekstspesifieke ervarings van intergroep-kontak met swart Suid-Afrikaners wat spesifiek aan die Universiteit Stellenbosch studeer, soortgelyk verband hou met die gedragsvoorneme om pamflette te versprei wat pleit vir rassegeregtigheid en sosiale gelykheid ter ondersteuning van swart Suid-

Afrikaanse studente by Universiteit Stellenbosch. Bevindinge van die huidige studie toon 'n positiewe indirekte verband tussen algemene en kontekstspesifieke ervarings van intergroep-kontak met swart Suid-Afrikaners en kontekstspesifieke gedragsintensies onder wit Suid-Afrikaners by Universiteit Stellenbosch. Die indirekte verband vind plaas deur die reeksbemiddeling van empatie, kollektiewe skuldgevoelens en kollektiewe aksievoornemens. Hierdie bevindinge beklemtoon 'n unieke bemiddelingspad wat kan verduidelik hoe wit Suid-Afrikaners by kollektiewe optrede betrokke raak ter ondersteuning van swart Suid-Afrikaners. Verder bied die bevindinge van die huidige studie bykomende ondersteuning vir die toepaslikheid van intergroep-kontak as 'n sosiale intervensie vir die mobilisering van bevoordeelde groepe tot aksie ter ondersteuning van die benadeeldes.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The South African Context

Intergroup relations in South Africa have been shaped by a history (over 40 years) of legislated racial segregation under the apartheid (meaning separateness) regime, which was implemented from 1948 to 1990 (Dubow, 2014; Worden, 2012). During this period, the Nationalist government passed several discriminatory laws and policies that were designed to oppress black (African) South Africans¹, coloured, Indian, and Asian South Africans and establish a social hierarchy that privileged white South Africans² over other racial groups (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). Individuals from these groups had to endure social marginalisation, restricted movement, forced segregation, inferior education, limited employment opportunities, and sanctioned police violence (Dubow, 2014; Worden, 2012). There is no disputing that these discriminatory laws and policies promoted practices that had

¹ The label 'black (African) South Africans' is used to distinguish individuals who self-identify with this category from those individuals who self-identify as coloured, Indian, or Asian South Africans (who might collectively identify as black South Africans who carry a shared burden of historical disadvantage and oppression, and a shared 'black' consciousness of their historically disadvantaged status). Reference to 'African' does not (and should not be read to) limit 'blackness' to a single geographical location. The inclusion of the identifier 'South African' acknowledges the shared national identity among South Africans. Self-identified racial or ethnic identity constitutes only a limited facet of the numerous ways in which individuals construct their identities.

² The usage of this category label of 'white South African' is not intended to imply the universality of 'whiteness' (relative to that of 'blackness') and should not be read as such. It is used in the context of the present research to refer to those South Africans who self-identify as white (or Caucasian).

an extensive impact on the lives of all disadvantaged³ groups in South Africa. The present study focused specifically on collective action in support of black (African) South Africans because they represent the largest historically disadvantaged group in South Africa (in general) and at Stellenbosch University (in particular). It is important to note that post-apartheid South Africa offers a unique context in which black (African) South Africans represent a numerically and politically advantaged⁴ group that continues to occupy a social and economic disadvantaged position in comparison to white South Africans (Mtapuri & Tinarwo, 2021; Statistics South Africa, 2019, 2023). This is largely rooted in South Africa's history of white minority rule under apartheid, which produced disparities in wealth, income, and access to resources, entrenching the disadvantaged status of black (African) South Africans and hindering socio-economic advancement relative to their white South African counterparts (Guelke, 2017).

Once apartheid had ended in 1990 and a democratically elected government was instated in 1994, the social and political landscape of South Africa changed dramatically (Worden, 2012). In principle, individuals from all racial groups now have access to the resources and opportunities that post-apartheid South Africa has to offer (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). However, despite largescale political transformation and desegregation, the marginalised status of black (African) South Africans remains relatively unchanged (Mtapuri & Tinarwo, 2021; Statistics South Africa, 2019, 2023). Even in the absence of discriminatory laws and policies, most black (African) South Africans continue to face challenging socio-economic circumstances, such as high levels of unemployment, poor living conditions, inadequate education, and inaccessible healthcare (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010).

³ The term 'disadvantaged' is used as an umbrella term for those who endure social, economic, or political disadvantages relative to other social groups within a particular context.

⁴ The term 'advantaged' is used as an umbrella term for those who enjoy social, economic, or political advantages relative to other social groups within a particular context.

When comparing statistics relating to unemployment, income, and medical coverage between white South Africans and black (African) South Africans, the extent of the social inequalities that black (African) South Africans continue to suffer becomes exceptionally clear. For instance, while the unemployment rate amongst black (African) South Africans in 2023 stands at 36.8%, the unemployment rate of white South Africans is 7.4% (Maluleke, 2023). Compounding this inequality in employment, those black (African) South Africans who are employed earn an average income of R6,899, while the average income among white South Africans is R24,646 (Statistics South Africa, 2019). Furthermore, only 10.1% of black (African) South Africans enjoy medical coverage (compared with 72.4% of white South Africans) and only 5.5% of the black (African) South African population are enrolled in higher education (compared to 17.7% of white South Africans) (Statistics South Africa, 2023). These hardships have a negative impact on the lives of many black (African) South Africans, preventing them from capitalising on newly acquired opportunities brought about by largescale political change and contributing to adverse consequences (Seekings & Natrass, 2005; Soudien et al., 2008). These consequences include (but are not limited) to increased dropout rates amongst this group in higher education (Masutha, 2022; Mtshweni, 2022) poor health outcomes (Gordon et al., 2020; Nkonki et al., 2011), and social unrest (De Juan & Wegner, 2017).

The Stellenbosch University Context

Stellenbosch University (SU) has been shaped by the country's historical legacy of racial segregation and discrimination (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010), a reality shared among all historically-white South African universities. During apartheid, access to SU was denied for black (African) South Africans and members of other disadvantaged groups under the Extension of University Education Act (1959), which was implemented to ensure that the most

prestigious education was reserved for white South Africans (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Khampepe, 2022). However, since the end of apartheid, SU has implemented various policies and initiatives that aim to create a united and equitable environment where students from all backgrounds experience a welcoming institutional culture, equal access to facilities, and inclusive teaching methodologies (Koopman & Du Toit, 2019). Some examples include transformation support programmes, designed to create an institutional culture free from all forms of discrimination, and transformative learning and teaching programmes, aimed at enhancing pedagogical methodologies and curricula to align with the imperatives of Africanisation and decolonisation (Koopman & Du Toit, 2019).

The black (African) South African student body at SU has grown from 4,768 students in 2001 (Stellenbosch University, 2001) to 7,581 in 2022 (Stellenbosch University, 2022). However, given that black (African) South Africans constitute 81.4% of the South African population (Statistics South Africa, 2023), black (African) South Africans (at 23.3% of the student body and 12% of the academic staff; Stellenbosch University, 2022) remain underrepresented at SU, where 51.6% of students and approximately 70% of academic staff identify as white South Africans (Stellenbosch University, 2022). This perpetuates the advantaged status of white South Africans at SU, creating a unique context where white South Africans are the numerical majority (i.e., largest population group) relative to black (African) South Africans who are the numerical minority (i.e., smallest population group) – a stark contrast from the significant numerical majority of black (African) South Africans (and the significant numerical minority of white South Africans) in the South African population (Mtapuri & Tinarwo, 2021; Statistics South Africa, 2019, 2023). In addition to their numerical minority status at SU, black (African) South Africans are also poorly represented in the campus culture itself, particularly residence culture with its rich history and impervious set of traditions and practices (Khampepe, 2022; Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). Many residences at SU

were established during the apartheid era, becoming Afrikaans-speaking spaces that have assumed special meaning among certain white Afrikaans families (Khampepe, 2022; Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). This has been preserved through intergenerational membership to these residences, creating environments that privilege white Afrikaans culture by only celebrating Afrikaans heritage (Khampepe, 2022; Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). For instance, even though residences have become more diverse spaces in post-apartheid South Africa, the language of communication in residences remains predominantly Afrikaans (Khampepe, 2022; Mabula, 2022; Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). This generally leaves black (African) South Africans being underrepresented in important decision-making processes (Khampepe, 2022). Furthermore, students and service providers who organise events, such as the *Huisdans* (meaning house dance), prefer playing “Sokkie” music, which is rooted in white Afrikaans culture (Carolissen, 2022; Khampepe, 2022). These seemingly trivial examples are symptomatic of a much larger and more serious problem, which creates an academic and social environment at SU that maintains the sense of social isolation and racial segregation among black (African) South Africans at SU.

The academic and social exclusion that black (African) South Africans experience at SU is not solely linked to underrepresentation, but it has been compounded by several incidents of racial discrimination and hate speech that leave black (African) South Africans at SU feeling marginalised and unwelcome (Khampepe, 2022; Mabula, 2022). Black (African) South Africans frequently report being the victims of racial slurs and various forms of assault on campus (Corder et al., 2015; Khampepe, 2022; Mouton & Hermanus, 2022). For example, in 2022 a white South African student living in residence entered the room of a black (African) South African student and urinated on his belongings (Mouton & Hermanus, 2022; Khampepe, 2022). However, student protests (i.e., *collective action*; e.g., Open Stellenbosch protests) have drawn attention to the fact that not all instances of discrimination are overt. These protests have

stimulated conversation, debate, and calls for change at SU (Mabula, 2022; Modjadji, 2018), highlighting the fact that racism is pernicious and can be perpetuated through norms (i.e., implicit rules that guide behaviour), values, and social practices that are generally overlooked or taken for granted (Soudien et al., 2008).

Collective Action in South Africa

Collective action refers to a broad range of coordinated efforts undertaken by individuals as representatives of a particular group who aim to achieve positive social change for an entire group (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009; Wright et al., 1990). In terms of operationalising this concept, the intent of the action itself (i.e., to achieve collective goals) is more important than the number of people who are participating (insofar as it remains a group phenomenon). Collective action can therefore refer to various forms of social mobilisation, such as organised protests (Fingerhut, 2011; Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009), signing petitions (Harrison et al., 2022), and social movement organisation (Klandermans, 1997).

In South Africa, collective action played an instrumental role in the struggle against apartheid and the subsequent transition to democracy (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). Protests and acts of civil disobedience were used by black (African), coloured, and Indian South Africans as well as white South African allies to disrupt the normal functioning of the state and draw attention to the injustices that were being carried out during apartheid (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). Perhaps the most notable example is the 1960 protest where an estimated 3,000 to 7,000 black (African) South Africans marched on a police station in Sharpeville to protest the Pass Laws (Frankel, 2001). The Pass Laws were used as a form of oppressive population control, which required black (African), coloured, and Indian South Africans to carry documentation that authorised their movement within the country (Frankel, 2001). While some accounts describe the protest as peaceful, it was met with police violence in which 69 protestors

were killed and over 180 protestors were injured (Frankel, 2001). These events became known as the Sharpeville Massacre, which foreshadowed the events of the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

The Soweto Uprising refers to a series of student protests (of an estimated 10,000 protestors) that protested the use of the Afrikaans as the language of instruction at schools attended by black (African) South Africans (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Ndlovu, 2017). Like the events of Sharpeville, these student-led protests ended in a clash between protestors and police in which 575 protestors were killed and over 2,000 were injured (Ndlovu, 2017). While these instances of collective action came to an unfavourable and violent conclusion, both had a profound impact on the course of South African history (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Frankel, 2001; Ndlovu, 2017).

The Sharpeville Massacre and the Soweto Uprising signalled a turning point in the struggle against apartheid, rallying activists, organisations, and governments from around the world (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Frankel, 2001; Ndlovu, 2017). International attention and increasing global support for economic sanctions and diplomatic and sporting isolation deepened the pressure on the apartheid government to reform (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Frankel, 2001; Ndlovu, 2017). The combined pressure of local and international collective action eventually contributed to the dismantling of apartheid and the establishment of a new democratic government in South Africa (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). These examples showcase the importance of collective power and solidarity in creating positive social change. However, in post-apartheid South Africa, the need for collective action remains as many black (African), coloured, and Indian South Africans continue to experience the adverse consequences that are associated with pervasive social inequality. Some of these consequences include poor living conditions and limited access to services that promote health and wellbeing, which are issues that often underpin protests in post-apartheid South Africa.

Collective Action at South African Universities

At the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 2015, the Rhodes Must Fall student protests became a focal point of student-led activism in South Africa (Fairbanks, 2015; Kamanzi, 2015). While these protests initially advocated for the removal of a Cecil John Rhodes statue (prominently situated on the UCT main campus), which was perceived as a painful reminder of British imperialism, colonialism, and African exploitation, the protests soon extended beyond this. The Rhodes Must Fall campaign sparked conversations in public discourse concerning the decolonisation of higher education in South Africa, arguing that curricula, teaching methods, and institutional cultures still perpetuate apartheid-era biases, which privilege Eurocentric knowledge production and the culture of white South Africans (Fairbanks, 2015; Kamanzi, 2015). In these instances, collective action served to advocate for more inclusive learning environments in higher education that do not simply cater to white South Africans but also black (African) South Africans and other marginalised groups. This sentiment was later echoed in subsequent protests at SU, which further challenged the lingering racial injustices and social inequalities of the apartheid era.

An example of collective action at SU is the Open Stellenbosch movement, established by black (African) South African students and staff in response to the slow pace of transformation at SU (Modjadji, 2018; Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). This movement gave rise to organised protests in 2015, where students challenged the dominance of white Afrikaans culture and the perceived marginalisation of black (African) South Africans at SU through the use of Afrikaans as the language of instruction (Modjadji, 2018; Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). Open Stellenbosch protests played a crucial role in raising awareness of language-based discrimination and making marginalised voices heard (Modjadji, 2018). However, protests at SU were not an isolated instance, representing a symptom of a much larger problem that prevailed at most (if not all) formerly white South African universities

(Bateman, 2016; Fairbanks, 2015; Kamanzi, 2015; Soudien et al., 2008). While Rhodes Must Fall and Open Stellenbosch aimed to foster academic inclusion by advocating for meaningful institutional changes, a key challenge faced by many black (African) South African students was one of financial mobility and access to higher education.

The Rhodes Must Fall and Open Stellenbosch protest movements were followed by the Fees Must Fall movement (another series of student protests), which arose in response to rising tuition fees and socio-economic barriers to accessing higher education in South Africa (Mavunga, 2019; Vilakazi, 2016). Collective action in the Fees Must Fall movement contributed to notable changes in the national discourse on funding higher education, leading to a suspension in the increase of tuition fees and greater government investment in higher education (Mavunga, 2019; September, 2018; Vilakazi, 2016). Changes in funding programmes, such as the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) demonstrated promising progress in this regard, providing fully subsidised funding from 2018 (September, 2018). However, recent demonstrations in August 2023 have pinpointed shortcomings in the newly implemented direct funding model of NSFAS (Bhengu, 2023; Mnisi, 2023, Nene, 2023). These changes resulted in fraudulent withdrawals, leaving some students without funds to cover the costs of tuition and accommodation (Bhengu, 2023; Mnisi, 2023, Nene, 2023; Sezoe, 2023). The students who were most affected were black (African) South Africans who represent 81% of the NSFAS recipients (National Student Financial Aid Scheme, 2023) and who are also the most socio-economically vulnerable group in South Africa (Maluleke, 2023). The demonstrations protesting these changes were supplemented with online forms of collective action where 11,890 students came together to sign a petition to make the voices of vulnerable students heard (Sezoe, 2023).

While each university may have unique challenges, the underlying theme of addressing historical and contemporary injustices remains consistent across these student protest

movements (Kamanzi, 2015; Mavunga, 2019; Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). These student-led initiatives have not only raised awareness of the challenges endured by marginalised groups in South Africa but have also paved the way for critical conversations about inclusion and representation in South African institutions. As South African students continue to voice their concerns and advocate for a more equitable education system, their determination remains a testament to the enduring spirit of collective action and social change in the country.

Research on Collective Action

Earlier research on collective action has primarily focused on the social rather than psychological factors that foster *collective action intentions* among disadvantaged-group members to improve the status of their ingroup (e.g., Blumer, 1939; Davies, 1962; Olson, 1968). Collective action intentions refer to a willingness or shared commitment of an individual or group to work together or support others in pursuing positive social change. These early research outputs proposed that differences in group status (measured using numerous indicators, such as access to resources or power) are what drive disadvantaged-group members to engage in collective action. However, adverse conditions do not necessitate engagement in collective action to improve a group's circumstances (Stouffer et al., 1949). Later research, therefore, began to investigate the subjective psychological processes that shaped collective action intentions.

Building off these earlier works, Gurr (1968; see also Walker & Smith, 2002) proposed that, in addition to differences in group status, individuals also need to perceive their group as relatively deprived. *Relative deprivation* refers to a sense of perceived disadvantage that contributes to feelings of anger and resentment (Gurr, 1968; Walker & Smith, 2002). These emotional responses, according to the relative deprivation framework, is what motivates

disadvantaged-group members to engage in collective action (Gurr, 1968; Walker & Smith, 2002). The emphasis of emotions as important antecedents of collective action intentions inspired subsequent work that explored group-based emotions in more detail, while extending research on collective action intentions to also include advantaged-group members (e.g., Iyer et al., 2007; Leach et al., 2002). Among advantaged-group members, emotions such as empathy (Batson, 1998; Taylor & McKeown, 2021) group-based anger, shame, and collective guilt in response to perceived harm carried out by ingroup members were implied to motivate those from more privileged backgrounds to protest in support of disadvantaged groups more generally (Iyer et al., 2007; Leach et al., 2002).

However, some authors (e.g., Ellemers et al., 1999; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Wright et al., 1990) have drawn on Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) to suggest that perceptions of difference in group status, relative deprivation, and group-based emotions may be inadequate to foster collective action. They argue that one's sense of belonging to a particular group (i.e., ingroup identification) is important, as individuals are unlikely to advocate in favour of the ingroup if their group membership is unimportant to them (Ellemers et al., 1999). Similarly, individuals are unlikely to engage in collective action to support outgroup members if their group membership comprises an especially important aspect of their social identity (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Thomas et al., 2019; Van Zomeren, et al., 2008; Van Zomeren et al., 2018). Therefore, ingroup identity should be strong enough to drive collective action but not so strong that it fosters exclusion and prevents cooperation with other groups (Van Zomeren, et al., 2008; Van Zomeren et al., 2018).

However, in addition to the factors that drive individuals to engage in social change, the barriers to collective action must be considered. Perhaps the most prominent barriers are instrumental concerns about the costs or rewards associated with collective action (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Collective action can incur costs for disadvantaged- and advantaged-group

members. For those from disadvantaged groups, there are risks of harmful police retaliation (e.g., Mahlatsi, 2023; Oladipo, 2023), further stigmatisation (e.g., Feinberg et al., 2020; Selvanathan & Lickel, 2019), and personal financial costs (e.g., Stürmer & Simon, 2004). In contrast, collective action in support of disadvantaged-group members offers little incentive for individuals from advantaged groups who may perceive social change as a threat to their privileged position and group distinctiveness (as proposed by Integrated Threat Theory; Stephan et al., 2002, 2009). Furthermore, individual participation in collective action to support disadvantaged groups can risk social ostracism from other advantaged-group members who perceive this act as a violation of group norms (Wilner et al., 1995). Resistance to social change can thus emerge from desires to protect the interests of one's group (e.g., Çakal et al., 2016), to ensure that the group identity remains distinct from other groups (e.g., Wohl et al., 2010), or to protect oneself against negative evaluations from fellow ingroup members (Wilner et al., 1995). This can manifest in what is known as the *principal-implementation gap* where advantaged-group members support the idea of social equality but do not support policies and practices that aim to achieve it (Dixon et al., 2007; Dixon et al., 2017; Tuch & Hughes, 1996, 2011). The principal-implementation gap has been observed among white South Africans who support school desegregation, the right to own land, and equal job opportunities in principle but oppose preferential policies and practices that aim to achieve these positive outcomes for black (African) South Africans (Dixon et al., 2007).

Resistance to social change among advantaged-group members can be problematic because their social privilege can enhance collective action efforts in numerous ways⁵. This includes (but is not limited to) sponsoring campaigns and social movements and raising

⁵ This should not read to imply that advantaged group involvement is a prerequisite for fostering social change. Instead, this section simply aims to highlight the various ways in which advantaged group allies can contribute towards supporting the collective action engaged in by disadvantaged group members.

awareness among fellow ingroup members who occupy positions of power (Subasic et al., 2018). In addition, advantaged-group allyship can also reduce resistance to social change by changing negative perceptions of *non-normative* collective action (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Kahn et al., 2016). Non-normative collective action refers to actions that are disruptive, aiming to violate the implicit rules of the social system to bring about positive social change (Shuman et al., 2016). The presence of advantaged-group members in non-normative collective action can legitimise the actions carried out by disadvantaged-group members by altering perceptions about protest action that generally denigrate disadvantaged-group members (Feinberg et al., 2020; Selvanathan & Lickel, 2019). However, while advantaged-group members can become powerful allies in the pursuit of social change, their engagement in social change remains low (Hässler et al. 2020a). Fortunately, there is promising evidence suggesting that intergroup contact can be a powerful tool for fostering collective action intentions among advantaged-group members (see Hässler et al., 2020a; see also Hässler et al., 2020b for a recent review).

Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions

In the present study, intergroup contact (direct, face-to-face interactions between members of different social groups; Hewstone & Swart, 2011) is defined as *positive* direct (face-to-face) intergroup interactions. This is to distinguish it from negative (direct) intergroup encounters (see Reimer et al., 2017), and (either positive or negative) indirect (or vicarious) intergroup contact (such as observing intergroup contact or encountering the outgroup through various forms of media; see Di Bernardo et al., 2017).

Direct, positive intergroup contact has been the primary focus of Intergroup Contact Theory, which proposes that intergroup relations can be improved by positive intergroup contact experiences (Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The Theory was pioneered by Allport's (1954) so-called *contact hypothesis*, wherein he proposed that

intergroup contact that is characterised by interactions between individuals of equal status, intergroup cooperation, common goals, and support from social and institutional authorities is important for achieving the reduction of antipathy and prejudice towards members of the outgroup. However, more recent research has shown that while these conditions are facilitatory, they are not necessary to reap the positive effects of intergroup contact (Hässler et al., 2020a; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). A significant body of literature (including several impressive meta-analyses) has accrued since Allport's (1954) formulation of his contact hypothesis to support the beneficial role of positive intergroup contact for the reduction of prejudice (for meta-analytic evidence supporting the contact hypothesis see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Davies et al. 2011), even in contexts characterised by perceptions of intergroup threat or discrimination (see Van Assche et al., 2023). Moreover, the benefits of intergroup contact have been observed to generalize beyond the outgroup member being encountered, across contact settings, and even across outgroups (for a review see Boin et al, 2021). Importantly, the contact literature has in recent years paid closer attention to the relationship between intergroup contact and the collective action intentions of disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members (Hässler et al., 2020a; Reimer et al., 2017).

Research on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions is broadly characterised by two opposing arguments in the literature. On the one hand, intergroup contact is argued to discourage disadvantaged-group members from engaging in collective action to advocate for social change (Dixon et al., 2010a; Dixon et al., 2010b; Reimer & Sengupta, 2023). This is referred to as the so-called "ironic" (Saguy et al., 2009) or sedative (Çakal et al., 2011) effect of intergroup contact, whereby it not only promotes more positive attitudes towards members of the advantaged group, but also exerts a sedative effect on collective action intentions of disadvantaged-group members. One of the ways in which positive intergroup contact might achieve this sedative effect amongst disadvantaged-group

members is by fostering a sense of common identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2009) and positive emotions (Durrheim et al., 2014) between disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members, which serve to undermine social comparisons by obscuring group differences. This is problematic because disadvantaged-group members can begin to underestimate the extent to which the ingroup suffers from discrimination (Dixon et al., 2010a; Durrheim et al., 2014), inhibiting processes that play an important role in mobilising disadvantaged-group members to action (Saguy et al., 2009; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). In addition, intergroup contact with advantaged-group members can reduce collective action intentions through fostering intergroup trust and forgiveness for past wrongdoings (Hewstone et al., 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2011). These seemingly positive outcomes can paradoxically make it challenging for disadvantaged-group members to perceive advantaged-group members as the beneficiaries of past and present discrimination (Durrheim et al., 2014).

Fostering more positive relationships with advantaged-group members can also facilitate interactions that perpetuate the marginalised status of disadvantaged-group members (Durrheim et al., 2014). This was observed in South Africa between white South African employers and black (African) South African domestic workers (Durrheim et al., 2014). The interactions between these individuals seemed to personalise the domestic service relationship, masking its historical roots through what was perceived as a balanced and fair exchange (Durrheim et al., 2014). Positive intergroup contact can therefore serve as social barter wherein acts of kindness from advantaged-group members are reciprocated with reduced perceptions that the system is unjust, legitimising disadvantaged-group members' positions within it and reducing their intentions to change it (Nadler et al., 2007).

However, while positive intergroup contact appears to reduce collective action intentions among disadvantaged-group members (Reimer & Sengupta, 2023), this is not necessarily the case, especially in intergroup encounters that allow for the discussion of social inequality (see

Hässler et al., 2022). Moreover, some authors (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011; Fingerhut, 2011; Reimer et al., 2017) suggest that positive intergroup contact can *encourage* advantaged-group members to engage in social change in support of disadvantaged groups. This line of inquiry has gained promising support across a range of contexts and contact situations (see Hässler et al., 2020a for a large-scale test, sampling 3,216 ethnic majorities and 4,898 cis-heterosexuals from 69 different countries).

To date, one study has investigated the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among white South Africans by using key predictors of the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; see Çakal et al., 2011). This study is described in greater detail in the following Chapter; suffice it to say for now that, while this study offered some insight into how intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans can shape support for policies that aim to improve academic funding for black (African) South Africans, little remains known about the positive effects of intergroup contact on collective action intentions amongst white South Africans, particularly with regards to emotional and cognitive processes underlying the relationship between positive intergroup contact and collective action intentions among advantaged-group members.

The Relationship between Intergroup Contact and Prejudice in South Africa

Under apartheid, South Africa was described as a “noncontact” state because intergroup contact had been severely restricted through laws such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Group Areas Act (1950), and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). These laws forbade interracial marriage and prohibited individuals from different racial groups from living in the same residential areas, attending the same schools or universities, using the same public transport, and accessing the same recreational spaces (e.g., parks and beaches; Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). Research on

intergroup contact in the context of apartheid, where intergroup contact was criminalised, yielded largely pessimistic results, suggesting that intergroup contact was ineffective in reducing prejudice amongst white South Africans (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; for exceptions see Finchilescu, 1998; Luiz & Krige, 1981, 1985).

More recent contact research in post-apartheid South Africa, where intergroup contact is no longer criminalised and where legal segregation has ended (creating increased opportunities for intergroup contact), has yielded more positive results, showing an inverse relationship between positive intergroup contact and prejudice amongst both advantaged- and disadvantaged-group South Africans (e.g., Christ et al., 2014; Swart et al., 2010, 2011, 2023). Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that despite evidence showing that positive intergroup contact is associated with reduced prejudice in the South African context, *self-segregation* remains common in a variety of spaces, including universities (Koen & Durrheim, 2003; Schreiff et al., 2005), bars and restaurants (Tredoux & Dixon, 2009), and public beaches (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). Still, while intergroup contact may be relatively limited in the post-conflict South African context, where such intergroup contact is taking place, it has the potential for promoting more positive intergroup relations (Swart et al., 2011). Yet, as a post-conflict society that is recovering from largescale intergroup conflict under apartheid, South Africa needs to move beyond the pursuit of prejudice reduction alone (see Dixon et al., 2005, 2012) towards addressing social inequalities. With this in mind, the present study aimed to test the relationship between intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and collective action intentions in support of social equality among white South African university students at SU.

The Present Study

To date, only one study (i.e., Çakal et al., 2011) has explored the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among advantaged-group members in South

Africa. Given the scarcity of research in the South African context, the present study aimed to provide a more comprehensive and context-sensitive understanding of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among a convenience sample of white South African students at SU. To achieve this, the present study adopted an exploratory approach to investigate whether general intergroup contact (i.e., not occurring in any specific context) with black (African) South Africans would predict context-specific (i.e., the SU context) behavioural intentions among white South Africans, advocating in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans at SU. In addition, the present study investigated whether context-specific intergroup contact (i.e., occurring in the SU context) with black (African) South Africans at SU would predict context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans, advocating in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans at SU. In addition, the emotional and cognitive mediators underlying this relationship were explored in each model to understand how white South Africans come to engage in social change in support of black (African) South Africans within the context of SU.

Chapter Overview

Chapter one introduces the South African and SU context, collective action in South Africa, collective action at South African universities, Intergroup Contact Theory, collective action research, the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions, and the relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice in South Africa. This chapter then concludes with an overview of the present study.

Chapter two comprises of a literature review, which provides an overview of past research on Intergroup Contact Theory, collective action, prominent debates in the contact-collective action literature, intergroup relations, and social change. This Chapter also provides

an overview of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions as well as the emotional and cognitive mediators thereof, namely ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, empathy, empathic anger, and collective guilt. Each section of the literature review focuses on a unique mediator variable of the intergroup contact-collective action intentions relationship.

Chapter three provides an overview of the present study. This Chapter comprises three sections. Section one outlines the aims and objectives of the present research. Section two provides a review of the methodology and research design, participant recruitment, and the materials that were used to measure the constructs of interest. Section three presents the results. The preliminary analyses for both the general and context-specific models are presented together while the main analyses are presented separately for each model.

Chapter four comprises the discussion of the results presented in chapter three. It concludes with a consideration of the limitations of the present study and offers recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Prejudice reduction has been a major focus of research on intergroup relations and social change, particularly among proponents of Intergroup Contact Theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Several studies (e.g., Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2011; Eller & Abrams, 2004; Levin et al., 2003; Swart et al., 2011) have demonstrated that everyday contact experiences can reduce individual acts of discrimination and foster more harmonious intergroup relations. However, while this plays an important role in creating positive social change, some scholars (e.g., Dixon et al., 2005, 2012) have argued that interventions focusing on prejudice reduction alone are insufficient at creating lasting social change. This led to a theoretical shift in the literature, calling for the scope to be extended beyond prejudice reduction towards addressing social inequalities (Dixon et al., 2012).

Drawing on prominent historical examples of collective action, such as the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010), researchers (e.g., Batson et al., 2002; Mallett et al., 2008; Van Zomeren, 2004) began to investigate the Collective Action Model of social change. This model highlighted the importance of collective power and solidarity for challenging oppressive regimes, changing the status quo, and creating lasting social and political change. However, a prominent barrier to implementing the Collective Action Model is resistance from advantaged-group members who can perceive changes to the status quo as a threat to their privileged position (Dixon et al., 2007; Stephan et al., 2002, 2009). This can be problematic because many social movements can be further enhanced with engagement from advantaged-group allies (Hässler et al., 2020b; Hoskin et al., 2019). It is therefore important to understand how advantaged-group members can be encouraged to engage in collective action. Looking to intergroup contact as an effective means for achieving

such a goal, this Chapter offers a broad overview of earlier research exploring the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among advantaged-group members.

This Chapter begins with a discussion of recent advances in Intergroup Contact Theory. I will then discuss how disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members come to engage in collective action in support of the disadvantaged group. The prominent debate whether intergroup contact and collective action are compatible phenomena is then discussed. I will then discuss how intergroup contact and collective action can be integrated among disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members. The remainder of the chapter is dedicated to exploring six putative mediators of the contact – collective action intentions relationship among advantaged-group members, namely ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, empathy, empathic anger, and collective guilt. Given the limited research available on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among advantaged-group members in the South African context, this literature will serve as the foundation for the present study.

Intergroup Contact Theory

The foundational principles of Intergroup Contact Theory emerged from the *contact hypothesis*, which proposed that face-to-face interactions between members of different social groups could improve intergroup relations and promote intergroup harmony by reducing prejudice (Allport, 1954). While the contact hypothesis is largely credited to Allport (1954), its premise was by no means novel. Preceding his seminal work in *The Nature of Prejudice* (Allport, 1954), some researchers (e.g., Brophy, 1946; Deutsch & Collins, 1951) had already begun investigating the effects of intergroup contact under conditions of racial desegregation in the United States. Brophy (1946) observed that desegregation of the United States Merchant Marine in the 1940s gave rise to conditions facilitating meaningful intergroup contact

experiences between white American and African American mariners who formed interdependent, cooperative relationships to ensure successful voyages. Over time, these encounters fostered more positive attitudes towards African Americans among white American mariners, suggesting that intergroup contact under conditions of cooperation may improve racial attitudes among advantaged-group members (Brophy, 1946). These studies offered some of the earliest empirical evidence for the prejudice-reducing effects of intergroup contact while simultaneously providing valuable insights into the conditions under which intergroup contact reduces prejudice (Brophy, 1946; Deutsch & Collins, 1951).

These “optimal conditions” were later formalised by Allport (1954) who proposed that prejudice reduction would only occur if intergroup contact situations were characterised by equal status between participants, occurred in environments fostering cooperation towards achieving common goals, and involved support from institutions. Subsequent research (e.g., Kephart, 1975; Smith, 1994; Wilner et al., 1955) offered additional support for these conditions with some authors (see Brooks, 1975) even observing increased prejudice and hostility towards outgroup members when intergroup contact did not meet Allport’s optimal conditions. However, in the largest meta-analysis of the contact literature to date (comprising 515 studies), Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) reported that while intergroup contact structured according to Allport’s optimal conditions reduced prejudice to a greater degree, these conditions were facilitating and not essential for prejudice reduction to occur.

Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory

Since Allport’s formulation of the contact hypothesis, researchers have corroborated the prejudice-reducing effects of intergroup contact across a range of contexts, intergroup contact situations, and social groups. Findings from Pettigrew and Tropp’s (2006) meta-analysis not only reaffirmed the negative relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice but also

demonstrated that these correlations were not attributable to participant selection, publication biases, nor poor research rigor. However, it is important to note that this analysis was not without limitations as it relied predominantly on cross-sectional data (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Nonetheless, it should be emphasised that several longitudinal studies (e.g., Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2011; Binder et al., 2009; Eller & Abrams, 2004; Levin et al., 2003; Swart et al., 2011) have provided additional empirical evidence for the positive effects of intergroup contact on prejudice reduction, thereby enhancing the theoretical and practical implications of intergroup contact as a social intervention. Additionally, research has identified three dimensions of intergroup contact that are reliably negatively associated with prejudice. These dimensions are the quantity of intergroup contact (e.g., Brown et al., 2007; Hewstone, 2009), the quality of intergroup contact (e.g., Hewstone, 2009; Tausch et al., 2007), and intergroup friendships (e.g., Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew, 1997; Swart et al., 2011)

The Quantity of Intergroup Contact

The quantity of intergroup contact refers to the frequency of face-to-face interactions that an individual has with outgroup members (Brown et al., 2007). Both cross-sectional (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003) and longitudinal (e.g., Brown et al., 2007) research has found that more frequent experiences of intergroup contact are negatively correlated with negative attitudes towards outgroup members. The relationship between quantity of intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes is mediated by *intergroup anxiety*, which refers to the anticipation of negative consequences (e.g., being discriminated against or perceived as prejudiced) when interacting with members from a different group (Amodio, 2009; Stephan, 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). In instances where individuals are anticipating these negative consequences, engaging in more intergroup contact situations may reduce intergroup anxiety by familiarising individuals with what was once perceived as “other” (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). This, in turn, has positive implications

for reducing prejudice and encouraging future interactions with outgroup members (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

However, while the quantity of intergroup contact can contribute towards positive outcomes, some authors (e.g., Dixon et al., 2005) argue that the number of intergroup contact experiences that an individual has may be insufficient to transform the ideological beliefs that perpetuate systems of racial discrimination. MacInnis and Page-Gould (2015) proposed the idea of a *contact threshold*, which further emphasises the limitations of the quantity of contact (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015). The contact threshold refers to the minimum number of interactions that are required for contact to facilitate positive outcomes. While there is no definitive number to predict when contact becomes beneficial, it seems plausible to contend that more experiences of contact may not necessitate positive change in every instance (Dixon et al., 2005; MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015). This claim is particularly convincing for casual, superficial forms of contact, which are believed to reach the contact threshold at a slower rate when compared to higher quality interactions (MacInnis & Page-Gould, 2015). It is therefore important to consider the quality dimension of intergroup contact in addition to the quantity of contact to create a more comprehensive interpretation of the effects of intergroup contact on collective action intentions.

The Quality of Intergroup Contact and Intergroup Friendships

The quality of intergroup contact refers to the nature of the interactions itself and it is determined by evaluations concerning whether the experience is positive and meaningful (Lolliot et al., 2015). Higher quality intergroup contact experiences generally create pleasant, cooperative, and more intimate social environments that encourage personal exchanges (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Over time, these interactions can also foster *intergroup friendships*, which simply refer to a form of friendship between individuals from different social groups (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Swart et al., 2011).

Intergroup friendships have been observed to strongly negatively correlated with prejudice (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Swart, 2021; Swart et al., 2011). Perhaps the most support for the benefits of intergroup friendships is found in the 2006 meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) who reported a stronger, negative correlational relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice in 154 tests that used intergroup friendships as a measure of intergroup contact. This is not unexpected given that these intimate relationships require frequent, positive, and meaningful contact experiences between individuals who regard one another as equals, share common interests, and frequently cooperate on shared goals, thus meeting three of Allport's optimal conditions for contact effects (Davies et al., 2011; Swart, 2021; Swart et al., 2011). However, in addition to investigating the specific dimensions of intergroup contact that contribute towards prejudice reduction, researchers have also made significant progress towards demonstrating that the effects of intergroup contact generalise beyond the immediate intergroup contact situation.

The Generalisation of Contact Effects

One key limitation concerning the original formulation of Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis is that he did not specify whether the positive (or negative) effects of intergroup contact would generalise across situations and from one outgroup member to the outgroup as a whole. This has important implications because if the effects of intergroup contact do not generalise beyond the immediate contact situation and outgroup participant, the value of intergroup contact for promoting harmonious intergroup relations more broadly would be limited. This is but one of several limitations that were addressed by researchers who aimed to advance Intergroup Contact Theory.

While Brown and Turner (1981) doubted whether positive (or negative) attitudes fostered through intergroup contact with a single outgroup member would meaningfully change attitudes towards the entire outgroup (i.e., the *primary transfer effect*), other authors were more

optimistic. Hewstone and Brown (1986; see also Brown and Hewstone, 2005) theorised that attitude generalisation would only occur if there were high degrees of *group membership salience* among participants in the intergroup contact situation. Group membership salience refers to the extent to which an individual is perceived by others as a typical representative of a particular group, and it has been shown to play an important role in moderating the generalisation effects of intergroup contact (Brown et al., 1999; Brown et al., 2001; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). In instances where group membership salience is low, the intergroup contact experience is perceived as an interpersonal encounter, thereby inhibiting attitude generalisation (Brown et al., 1999; Brown et al., 2001; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Dovidio et al., 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). However, advances in this area of investigation have not only shown that attitude generalisation to the outgroup is possible when group memberships are salient (Barlow et al., 2012; Paluck et al., 2019; Tausch et al., 2007) but that these attitudes can also generalise to secondary outgroups that were not involved in the original contact situation (i.e., the *secondary transfer effect*; Boin et al., 2021; Eller & Abrams, 2004; Meleady & Forder, 2019; Pettigrew, 2009; Spiegler et al., 2021). In addition, some studies (e.g., Abbott & Cameron, 2014; Kawabata & Crick, 2008; Lease & Blake, 2005; Verkuyten et al., 2010) have suggested that the effects of intergroup contact can generalise beyond intergroup relations to higher-order cognitive processes (i.e., the *tertiary transfer effect*), fostering social competence, cultural openness, and moral reasoning. Collectively, these studies have made valuable contributions to the development of Intergroup Contact Theory, enhancing the theoretical and practical implications of intergroup contact by demonstrating that contact effects can generalise beyond the immediate contact situation. However, while earlier research was primarily concerned with investigating the moderators of intergroup contact effects (i.e., *when* intergroup contact reduces prejudices and improves

attitudes more generally), later research began to investigate the mediators of intergroup contact effects to understand *how* intergroup contact can facilitate intergroup harmony.

Mediators of Contact Effects

The question of how intergroup contact reduces prejudice seems to have been largely neglected by Allport (1954) who offered limited insight into the processes through which intergroup contact promotes prejudice reduction (besides increasing one's knowledge about the outgroup). Understanding these processes (i.e., the mediators of intergroup contact effects) underlying contact effects was a major focus of subsequent contact research (e.g., Barlow et al., 2009; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Harwood et al., 2005; Swart et al., 2010). While numerous mediators were investigated, affective factors (e.g., increased empathy and reduced anxiety) have emerged as stronger mediators of the relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice reduction in comparison to cognitive factors (e.g., increased knowledge about the outgroup; see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008 for a meta-analysis). These observations align with a growing body of research that underscores the importance of affective factors in intergroup processes (see Mackie et al., 2008, 2009; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2004, 2005). However, despite impressive advances in understanding when and how intergroup contact reduces prejudice and promotes more harmonious intergroup relations, researchers continued to develop Intergroup Contact Theory by investigating the potential for intergroup contact to elicit other positive outcomes, such as forgiveness for past wrongdoings (e.g., Hewstone et al., 2006), intergroup trust (e.g., Hewstone et al., 2006, 2008; Tam et al., 2009), and collective action intentions (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011, 2016, 2021; Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017).

Collective Action

The question of whether collective action can lead to meaningful social change is one that has not been a focus of investigation, perhaps because it is evident across numerous

examples from around the world, such as the United States civil rights movement (Newman, 2004), the women's rights movement (Friedman, 2005), and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (Thörn, 2009). However, the processes driving when, and why individuals unite in the pursuit of positive social change has been less clear, sparking interest among researchers who want to understand the processes that motivate members from disadvantaged and advantaged groups to engage in positive social change.

When members of a disadvantaged group undertake social comparisons with advantaged-group members, this can result in a sense of collective relative deprivation and perceived injustice (Çakal et al., 2011; Gurr, 1968; Van Zomeren et al., 2008; Walker & Smith, 2002). However, Stouffer et al. (1949) found that self-evident social inequalities do not always stimulate the intention to improve circumstances for the group (Stouffer et al., 1949). Some authors (e.g., Gurr, 1968; Smith et al., 2011; Walker & Smith, 2002) have suggested that relative deprivation and perceived injustice are insufficient to mobilise disadvantaged-group members to action insofar as these subjective cognitions do not always evoke anger. Anger directed towards a transgressor (see Montada & Schneider, 1989) is a powerful predictor of collective action intentions because it can lead disadvantaged-group members to feel a sense of antagonism towards advantaged-group members (Van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2008). This is important because harmonious intergroup relations (typically fostered through positive contact with advantaged-group members) can diminish collective action intentions among the disadvantaged (Dixon et al., 2005; Dixon et al., 2010a; Reimer & Sengupta, 2023).

Advantaged-group members might perceive collective action that challenges the status quo as a threat to their (group's) privileged position (Stephan et al., 2002, 2009; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). This can foster a sense of resistance and even contribute towards prejudice and social dominance orientations, which reduces intentions to engage in collective action in support of the disadvantaged (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). However, research on the contact-

collective action relationship has shown that positive intergroup contact can reduce the factors associated with resistance to social change and promote factors that enable advantaged-group members to become helpful allies in the pursuit of social change (Çakal et al., 2011, 2016, 2021; Dixon et al., 2007; Fingerhut, 2011; Hässler et al., 2020a; Özkan et al., 2023; Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). However, while positive intergroup contact has been shown to foster collective action intentions among advantaged-group members, the opposite has been observed among the disadvantaged (Dixon et al., 2005; Dixon et al., 2010a; Reimer & Sengupta, 2023). These so-called “ironic” effects of intergroup contact have raised questions about whether positive intergroup contact can be used as a social intervention to promote collective action intentions.

The Compatibility of Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions

Some scholars (e.g., Wright & Lubensky, 2009) have argued that intergroup contact and collective action are incompatible as forces of social change. These arguments suggest that intergroup contact and collective action have irreconcilable primary objectives (Dixon et al., 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Positive intergroup contact, on the one hand, aims to achieve social change by reducing prejudice and promoting intergroup harmony (Hewstone et al., 2012; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Conversely, collective action is antagonistic in nature in that it aims to disrupt the status quo in pursuit of social justice, which can lead to intergroup conflict (Dixon et al., 2012; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Another point of contention is that intergroup harmony (fostered through intergroup contact) has the ironic effect of decreasing perceptions of social injustice among disadvantaged-group members who (through positive intergroup contact with the advantaged group) have developed positive attitudes towards advantaged-group members, which may undermine the collective action intentions of disadvantaged-group members (Dixon et al., 2005; MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; Saguy et al., 2009).

The sedative effects of intergroup contact among disadvantaged-group members have been observed across several studies (see Reimer & Sengupta, 2023 for a meta-analysis sampling 213,085 disadvantaged-group members across 140 samples and 98 studies) that report different processes, which contribute to paradoxical outcomes. For instance, intergroup contact with advantaged-group members can facilitate *social recategorisation*, where disadvantaged-group members begin to see themselves and advantaged-group members as part of a common ingroup (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2009). While a common group identity can foster more helpful and cooperative intergroup relationships, these positive outcomes can also undermine collective action intentions among disadvantaged-group members (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2009). This occurs through reduced perceptions of group differences, which is an important component of social comparison processes that mobilise disadvantaged-group members to engage in collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, social recategorisation need not occur to temper beliefs about discrimination and inhibit collective action intentions. In South Africa, Dixon et al. (2010a) observed that intergroup contact with white South Africans improved racial attitudes and diminished subsequent perceptions of personal discrimination among a sample of 596 black (African) South Africans. Improved attitudes towards white South Africans and diminished perceptions of personal discrimination, in turn, were associated with reduced perceptions of collective discrimination and relative deprivation (Dixon et al., 2010). While Dixon et al. (2010) did not measure collective action intentions as an outcome variable, Çakal et al. (2011) found a negative association between relative deprivation and collective action intentions among black (African) South Africans who had contact with white South Africans (see also Dixon et al., 2007).

In addition, Saguy et al. (2009) observed that intergroup contact with advantaged-group members can lead disadvantaged-group members to over-evaluate intergroup relations as

positive. Not only can this diminish the perceived differences between groups in terms of resources, social power, and political power, but it can also facilitate the formation of system-justifying beliefs (Durrheim et al., 2014; see also Jost et al., 2004, 2012). This has been observed in the South African context through interviews with 10 black (African) South African domestic workers who portrayed the domestic service relationship between themselves and white South African employers as a “balanced and fair exchange” of labour for income (Durrheim et al., 2014, p. 160). Despite the implicit exploitation that occurs within this relationship, which often perpetuates the marginalised status of black (African) South Africans, intergroup relations between black (African) South African domestic workers and white South African employers were viewed in overly positive ways (Durrheim et al., 2014; Saguy et al., 2009). This was largely attributable to material benefits that black (African) South African domestic workers received (in addition to their wages) from white South African employers, such as financial assistance (Durrheim et al., 2014). However, Durrheim et al. (2014) have demonstrated how these positive perceptions preclude a political analysis of the historical roots of the domestic service relationship and promote the uncritical acceptance of the status quo. This acceptance, in turn, has negative implications for collective action intentions to improve one’s relative group status (Durrheim et al., 2014). This can be worsened through intergroup contact that fosters intergroup trust between disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members, forgiveness of advantaged-group members for past wrongdoings (Hewstone et al., 2006, 2008) and intimate social relationships, such as intergroup friendships (Tausch et al., 2015).

While intergroup contact appears to inhibit collective action intentions among disadvantaged-group members, the opposite has been observed among advantaged-group members (Çakal et al., 2011; Hässler et al., 2020a; see Hässler et al., 2020b for a review; Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). The international literature provides consistent evidence that positive contact with disadvantaged-group members can encourage advantaged-

group members to engage in collective action in support of the disadvantaged (Çakal et al., 2016, 2021; Fingerhut, 2011; see Hässler et al., 2020a for a large-scale test sampling 3,216 ethnic majorities and 4,898 cis-heterosexuals from 69 different countries; Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). This positive relationship has also received support in South Africa (Çakal et al., 2011; Dixon et al., 2007), although the research is limited.

Despite largescale social and political change in post-apartheid South Africa, there remains a “stubborn core of resistance” among white South Africans who support the idea of social equality in principle but do not support the implementation of policies that aim to achieve this (Dixon et al., 2007, p. 867). This contradiction in modern attitudes towards social change is referred to as the *principle-implementation gap* (Dixon et al., 2017; Durrheim, 2003; Tuch & Hughes, 1996). The nature and causes of the principle-implementation gap are unclear, however, it appears to be most evident in attitudes towards race preferential policies, (e.g., affirmative action) as opposed to policies that aim to provide compensation (e.g., skill building programmes; Tuch & Hughes, 1996). Some authors (e.g., Tuch & Hughes, 1996; Sears et al., 1997; see also Stephan et al., 2002, 2009) have argued that this phenomenon is attributable to the perceived threat of preferential policies, which can undermine the privileged position of advantaged-group members and incite competition over resources and power. However, intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans appears to reduce the principle-implementation gap among white South Africans, improving attitudes towards restitution policies (Dixon et al., 2007). Although improved attitudes towards policies do not align with the operationalised definition of collective action intentions, in this case, it can be operationalised as an increased willingness to support policies that benefit the disadvantaged outgroup (Dixon et al., 2007; see also Dixon et al., 2010b). In addition to Dixon et al. (2007), Çakal et al. (2011) found a positive association between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among a sample of 244 white South Africans, who reported greater intentions

to support policies that aimed to allocate more funds towards schools in black (African) South African neighbourhoods as well as policies that aimed to provide university scholarships for black (African) South Africans who attained good grades. However, while this South African study provides evidence for the positive relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among white South Africans, little remains known about the processes that explain (or mediate) this relationship.

The research discussed in this section highlights a clear paradox associated with social integration. Based on the evidence, positive intergroup contact is incompatible with social change among disadvantaged-group members but compatible among advantaged-group members. This raises important questions about whether positive intergroup contact is a useful intervention for fostering social change. Recent contact-collective action models, such as the Integrated Contact-Collective Action Model (ICCAM; Hässler et al., 2020b) have made notable progress in terms of addressing this question, demonstrating that positive intergroup contact *can* be compatible with increased collective action intentions among disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members under certain conditions.

Integrating Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions

The ICCAM (Hässler et al., 2020b) proposes that intergroup contact and collective action intentions need not necessarily be incompatible for either disadvantaged- or advantaged-group members, provided that the needs of both groups are met. These include the need for empowerment among disadvantaged-group members and the need for acceptance among advantaged-group members (Hässler et al., 2020b). According to the ICCAM (Hässler et al., 2020b, 2022), when intergroup contact facilitates open discussions about social inequalities that do not undermine perceptions of group discrimination, the collective action intentions of disadvantaged-group members remain unhindered. Yet, discussions that focus exclusively on

group differences can elicit group-defensive behaviour and competition over the victim status from advantaged-group members, particularly if they perceive that disadvantaged-group members are assigning blame for their unearned social privileges (Halabi & Sonnenschein, 2004). In these cases, intergroup contact and collective action intentions are typically incompatible among advantaged-group members (Vezzali et al., 2017). In contrast, if the need for acceptance among advantaged-group members is met by exclusively focusing on the commonalities between groups, disadvantaged-group members may begin to experience reduced perceptions of group discrimination, which can stifle their intentions to engage in collective action (Dixon et al., 2010a, 2010b; Reimer & Sengupta, 2023).

In addition, the ICCAM (Hässler et al., 2020b) proposes that a common group identity is incompatible with collective action intentions among disadvantaged-group members insofar as it obscures group membership salience. This is because a common group identity can weaken ingroup identification and improve attitudes towards advantaged-group members, which may undermine social comparisons and reduce subsequent perceptions of personal and group discrimination (Durrheim et al., 2014; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2009). In contrast, group identities that are too salient can foster a sense of “us vs. them” and, therefore, strengthen ingroup identification among advantaged-group members and encourage them to protect the interests of the ingroup rather than advocate for disadvantaged-group members (Çakal et al., 2011, 2016; Dovidio et al., 2009). Similarly, heightened ingroup identification among disadvantaged-group members can reduce their intentions to engage in collective action with advantaged-group members, perceiving their support as ineffective or even damaging (Droogendyk et al., 2016). This is particularly common in social contexts with a history of intergroup conflict, such as South Africa where intergroup trust has been eroded (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Hasan-Aslih et al., 2020; Kappmeier, 2016). Thus, for intergroup contact and collective action to be compatible among disadvantaged- and advantaged-group members,

the ICCAM proposes that the intergroup contact situation needs to strike a delicate balance between raising awareness of social inequalities, acknowledging the similarities between groups, and fostering a sense of common identity while retaining group membership salience (Hässler et al., 2020b).

The potential compatibility of intergroup contact and collective action is also highlighted by Van Zomeren (2019), who describes both as “relational, interaction-based phenomena” (p. 75) that do not operate outside the social networks and social structures in which individuals are embedded. Both intergroup contact and collective action require individuals to engage in regulating their relationships with others (Van Zomeren, 2019). It may not be the case, then, that intergroup contact necessarily reduces perceived injustice amongst disadvantaged-group members or that collective action necessitates increased prejudice amongst advantaged-group members (Hässler et al., 2020b; Radke et al., 2010; Van Zomeren, 2019). The latter is most evident in longitudinal research conducted by Reimer et al. (2017) who found that intergroup contact with homosexual, bisexual, and transgender individuals (LGBT) at time one was associated with more collective action to support and advance LGBT rights at time three, 207 days later. Conversely, collective action at time one predicted positive intergroup contact with LGBT members at time three (Reimer et al., 2017). This suggests that the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action is bidirectional in some contexts wherein intergroup contact predicts collective action and collective action predicts more intergroup contact (Reimer et al., 2017).

The question of whether intergroup contact and collective action are incompatible thus appears to be far more complex and may largely depend on the context in which these phenomena take place (Dixon et al., 2016; Van Zomeren, 2019). There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that positive intergroup contact can contribute to greater collective action intentions among advantaged-group members (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011, 2016, 2021; Özkan et

al., 2023; Reimer et al., 2017) and that intergroup contact and collective action can work together to promote social change (Hässler et al., 2020b; Van Zomeren, 2019). In the remaining sections of this Chapter, I will discuss research highlighting the mediators of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among advantaged-group members.

Ingroup Identification

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that individuals navigate the social world by categorizing themselves and others into distinct social groups based on shared values and common goals. This process is known as *social categorisation* (Turner, 2010). Some examples of social groups include gender groups, religious groups, and racial groups. These groups serve as an important source of belonging and self-esteem, which has a positive effect at the individual level for members of the ingroup (Ellemers et al., 1999). However, the process of social categorisation is accompanied by social comparisons that seek to distinguish “us” from “them” (Gerber et al., 2018). Given that individuals derive a sense of pride and self-esteem from their group membership, there is tendency to enhance the positive characteristics of the ingroup to ensure that it compares more favourably to other groups (Ellemers et al., 1999; Gerber et al., 2018). This can lead to ingroup favouritism and prejudice against outgroup members, which has negative consequences for intergroup relations and social change.

Individuals who have a strong connection to their ingroup, which is referred to as *ingroup identification*, generally possess greater intentions to protect the ingroup’s interests irrespective of outcomes for outgroup members (Lowery et al., 2006). This was demonstrated in a series of three experiments conducted by Lowery et al. (2006) in the United States where ingroup identification was found to correlate negatively with collective action intentions among advantaged-group members. However, this negative relationship was only observed when

collective action was framed in terms of reparative action supporting the African American outgroup at the expense of the white American ingroup (Lowery et al., 2006). In instances where the interests of the white American ingroup were perceived as safe, white Americans showed an increased willingness to accept a change in the status quo (Lowery et al., 2006). This evidence suggests that a group member's concern for the ingroup, heightened by greater ingroup identification, has greater implications for decreasing collective action intentions than the perceived threat to broader social hierarchies (Lowery et al., 2006).

Past research has also linked ingroup identification to prejudice (Powell et al., 2005; Stewart et al., 2012). For example, two studies conducted in the United States reported that stronger ingroup identification among white Americans predicted more prejudice against African Americans (Powell et al., 2005; Stewart et al., 2012). While no measures of collective action intentions were included in these studies, increased prejudice has previously been shown to foster opposition towards social change (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The converse of this relationship also provides evidence for the effects of prejudice on collective action intentions by demonstrating how prejudice reduction can promote collective action intentions among advantaged-group members (Sears, 1998; Taylor & McKeown, 2021; Turoy-Smith et al., 2013).

One way in which prejudice can be reduced is to raise awareness of social privilege (Powell et al., 2005; Stewart et al., 2012; Uluğ & Tropp, 2021). However, Branscombe et al. (2005) demonstrated that making social privileges more salient only reduced prejudice among weakly identified group members. Group members who were strongly identified were more likely to respond with increased prejudice (Branscombe et al., 2005). This was observed among white Americans who showed greater motivations to endorse racist attitudes when confronted with their social privilege (Branscombe et al., 2005). Few studies have examined the interactions between social privilege awareness and collective action intentions among

advantaged-group members (Uluğ & Tropp, 2021). However, recent studies conducted by Uluğ and Tropp (2021) in the United States provide strong evidence for the enhancing effects of weak ingroup identification on social privilege awareness and collective action intentions.

Social privilege awareness requires advantaged-group members to acknowledge the group's past contribution to social injustices, which have played a substantial role in shaping the existing distribution of resources that privileges some groups over others (Doosje et al., 2006). This unfavourable information about the ingroup can elicit collective guilt by confronting individuals with the negative aspects of their group membership (Doosje et al., 2006; Klandermans et al., 2008). Doosje et al. (2006) argued that group members differ in terms of their willingness to accept this information, which, in turn, can predict subsequent experiences of collective guilt and actions undertaken to alleviate it. These differences were accounted for by varying degrees of ingroup identification (Doosje et al., 2006). For example, Dutch students who reported weaker ingroup identification also expressed greater willingness to accept information about the Dutch ingroup's colonisation of Indonesia even when the source of information was an outgroup member (Doosje et al., 2006). This was accompanied by increased collective guilt and collective action intentions in the form of reparative action advocating for compensation for victims of Dutch colonisation (Doosje et al., 2006). In contrast, group members who reported stronger ingroup identification were less willing to accept this group threatening information when it was received from an outgroup source in comparison to an ingroup source (Doosje et al., 2006). However, while strong identifiers experienced similar degrees of collective guilt as weak identifiers, they were less in favour of reparative action for the wronged outgroup (Doosje et al., 1998, 2006).

In an effort to improve intergroup relations, group representatives may be encouraged to offer apologies on behalf of the offender group (Doosje et al., 2006; Klandermans et al., 2008). A relevant example of this could be found in South Africa at the end of the apartheid era where

white South Africans were encouraged by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to confess and express their guilt over past wrongdoings (Minow, 1998). However, while apologies can be useful for promoting more harmonious intergroup relations, they may have the unintended consequence of reducing collective action intentions by alleviating collective guilt (Doosje et al., 2006; Klandermans et al., 2008; Minow, 1993). This was observed among weakly identified Dutch students who reported less collective guilt in instances where their monarch and government had apologised to Indonesians for past transgressions on behalf of the Dutch ingroup (Doosje et al., 2006). In contrast, greater collective guilt was elicited among Dutch students when ingroup members made amends by compensating the historically colonised country of Indonesia rather than offering apologies (Doosje et al., 2006). Doosje et al. (2006) proposed that weak identifiers may perceive an apology to be more meaningful because it incurs a greater cost to the ingroup's image. However, individuals who were more strongly identified with the Dutch ingroup experienced increased collective guilt when an ingroup member apologised to the wronged outgroup (Doosje et al., 2006). Interestingly, strong identifiers were as likely as weak identifiers to support reparative action in instances where the ingroup had acknowledged past wrongdoing by making reparations (Doosje et al., 2006).

A process through which the boundaries between groups can be weakened is known as *deprovincialisation* (Brewer, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998, 2011). Deprovincialisation describes a process whereby intergroup contact weakens ingroup favouritism through fostering more open and accepting attitudes towards other cultures and outgroups (Brewer, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998, 2011). This has implications for decreasing ingroup identification by creating a less ingroup-centric worldview, which, in turn, may strengthen collective action intentions in support of outgroup members (Pettigrew, 2009; Verkuyten et al., 2010). Çakal et al. (2011) found evidence for deprovincialisation among white South Africans who reported weaker ingroup identification alongside higher measures of intergroup contact with black (African) South

Africans. A negative correlation was also found between ingroup identification among white South Africans and support for outgroup-focused policies aimed at improving academic funding for black (African) South Africans (Çakal et al., 2011). Deprovincialisation can also facilitate the formation of superordinate group categorisations in which former outgroup members become ingroup members under a new common group identity (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner et al., 1993). Given that individuals from the same group are evaluated more positively among fellow ingroup members, these superordinate group categorisations can assist in fostering more positive attitudes towards former outgroup members (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner et al., 1993). Radke et al. (2020) argued that categorisation at the superordinate level can encourage individuals to focus on the common goals and shared interests of a larger group, which plays an important role in inspiring collective action intentions. Evidence for this was reported by Vezzali et al. (2015) who found that the perceived threat of an earthquake was associated with a sense of belonging to the common group “children” among 395 Italian and 122 immigrant children. Belonging to this superordinate group, in turn, predicted greater intentions to help former outgroup members who experienced loss due to the natural disaster (Vezzali et al., 2015). Superordinate groups may also form around the shared values of a social movement and thus promote collective action intentions among individuals who seek to achieve the common goals associated with a particular social movement (Radke et al., 2020). This was observed by Wiley et al. (2013) who found greater intentions to advocate for women’s right among 102 men from the United States who had adopted a common feminist identity.

While weaker ingroup identification is generally associated with increased collective action intentions to support outgroup members (Doosje et al., 1998, 2006), two studies have found contrasting results in the context of gender-relations (Iyer & Ryan, 2009; Mallett et al., 2008). For example, stronger ingroup identification among 176 men from various countries predicted increased collective action intentions to support women in the workplace (Iyer &

Ryan, 2009). However, this relationship was contingent on high degrees of social privilege awareness among strongly identified men (Iyer & Ryan, 2009). Similarly, heterosexuals with stronger degrees of ingroup identification expressed greater intentions to engage in collective action to support sexual orientation minorities in the United States (Mallett et al., 2008). This is surprising given that strongly identified group members are generally expected to display fewer concerns for outgroup members (Çakal et al., 2011; Lowery et al., 2006; Mallett et al., 2008). Mallett et al. (2008) argues that the positive correlation between ingroup identification and collective action intentions may be unique to certain social groups, such as the heterosexual group, in which individuals rarely consider the impact of group membership on life more generally. These individuals may be less likely to recognise what it means to be part of a privileged group and how belonging to such a group may shape intergroup relations, their commitments to social change, and their general attitudes towards outgroup members (Mallett et al., 2008).

Outgroup Attitudes

Historically, the literature concerning intergroup contact has primarily focused on its role in reducing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, some scholars (e.g., Tropp & Mallett, 2011) have emphasised the potential of intergroup contact for promoting positive attitudes towards outgroup members. In the literature, reduced levels of prejudice are often equated with more positive attitudes (Fingerhut, 2011). However, it is important to note that while prejudice reduction indicates a decrease in negative biases and discrimination towards a particular group, it does not guarantee the presence of positive feelings and beliefs towards that group (Fingerhut, 2011; Pittinsky et al., 2011).

Only one study to date (i.e., Reimer et al., 2017, study 2) has explored the role of outgroup attitudes in the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among

advantaged-group members. In this study, outgroup attitudes partially explained the relationship between intergroup contact with and collective action intentions in support of LGBT individuals among a sample of 1,469 heterosexual respondents from three universities in the United Kingdom and three universities in Germany (Reimer et al., 2017, study 2). In addition, outgroup attitudes were found to be positively associated with collective action intentions in support of the LGBT community in a sample of 202 heterosexual respondents from the United States (Fingerhut, 2011). While these studies focused on sexual orientation, Taylor and McKeown (2021) demonstrated that outgroup attitudes can mediate the relationship between empathy towards and collective action intentions in support of ethnic minorities. This was observed in a sample of 383 white adolescents (aged 14-16) from Northern Ireland (Taylor & McKeown, 2021). In a two-wave study, empathy towards Syrian ethnic minorities at time one predicted more positive attitudes towards these minorities at time two, three to six months later (Taylor & McKeown, 2021). These attitudes, in turn, were positively associated with collective action intentions in support of refugee rights in Northern Ireland (Taylor & McKeown, 2021). While little research has investigated the mediational role of outgroup attitudes on collective action intentions, these effects appear to be more pronounced among disadvantaged-group members, although there is a negative association between outgroup attitudes and collective action intentions in this case (recall the so-called “ironic” or sedative effects of intergroup contact; Çakal et al., 2011; Reimer & Sengupta, 2023; Saguy et al., 2009).

Empathy

Empathy is a particularly powerful mediator of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions because it can elicit prosocial behaviour in response to the perceived needs of others (Batson, 1991; 1998). Additionally, it has the potential to foster other action-oriented emotions (e.g., anger) that can strengthen collective action tendencies

(Selvanathan et al., 2017). An example of this relationship was reported by Selvanathan et al. (2017) who found across three studies that positive contact with African Americans predicted white American support for collective action through a sequential process of fostering empathy for African Americans and anger over racial injustice (Selvanathan et al., 2017).

Earlier studies have shown that intergroup contact can facilitate the experience of empathy for individual members of the outgroup (Pagotto et al., 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Swart et al., 2011) and that this empathy can have a generalised effect on prejudice reduction towards the outgroup as a whole (Batson et al., 1997; Pagotto et al., 2010). The experience of empathy may therefore encourage advantaged-group members to engage in collective action in support of disadvantaged-group members by decreasing prejudice (Batson et al., 1997; Pagotto et al., 2010; Pettigrew, 1998).

Few studies exploring the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions have focused on the affective component of empathic responding. In general, researchers seem to be more interested in the cognitive dimension of empathy, which has been referred to as *perspective-taking* in the literature (Mallett et al., 2008). Perspective-taking involves the ability to mentally picture what it may be like to see or experience life from another person or group's perspective (Çakal et al., 2021). Past research has shown that individuals who attempt to make sense of the world from the perspective of others, particularly those who possess a different group membership, recognise discrimination easier (Todd et al., 2012) and display less ingroup favouritism (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). This is an important consideration because discrimination and ingroup favouritism are both prominent factors that drive opposition to social change (Leach et al., 2007; O'Brien et al., 2012).

Initial evidence for the relationship between perspective-taking and collective action intentions was presented by Mallett et al. (2008) who conducted two studies at an unspecified university in the United States with samples that comprised of 275 heterosexual (study 1) and

325 white (study 2) participants. Perhaps unsurprisingly, perspective-taking was positively associated with collective action intentions in response to hate crimes against sexual orientation minorities (study 1) and African Americans (study 2; Mallett et al., 2008). This positive correlation between perspective-taking and collective action intentions has been observed in at least two other studies to date. In a sample of 378 participants from Northern Ireland, perspective-taking was found to facilitate positive attitudes towards immigrant groups, and it also increased support for policies that aimed to improve their welfare (Shulz & Taylor, 2018). Similarly, Çakal et al. (2021) found that perspective-taking acted as an important mediator variable of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among advantaged-group members across three studies undertaken in Israel, Romania, and Northern Cyprus. Interestingly, Çakal et al. (2021) proposed that perspective-taking does not only contribute to greater collective action intentions by increasing attitudinal support for social change, but it also decreases resistance to social change by discouraging advantaged-group members from efforts at maintaining the status quo.

Overall, the literature provides consistent support for the effects of empathy on collective action intentions. However, earlier research has shown that there may be an upper limit to empathy and its capacity to elicit specific forms of collective action. Studies by De Rivera et al. (2002), Montada and Schneider (1989), and Pagano and Huo (2007) report absent or weak correlations between empathy and action tendencies that aim to reduce the risk of future harm (preventative action) or punish offenders (retributive action; Pagano & Huo, 2007). However, action tendencies that seek to compensate victims or repair damages caused by an offender (reparative action) and provide immediate relief for victims (humanitarian action) correlate relatively strongly with empathy (Pagano & Huo, 2007). From these studies we may conclude that empathy has a weaker effect on forms of collective action that focus on the external forces

that contribute to social inequalities and harms experienced by disadvantaged groups in comparison to action tendencies that focus on the victims specifically.

Empathic Anger

Anger is a common emotion (Schimmack & Diener, 1997) that can arise as a response to unpleasant events, such as acts of injustice or unfairness (Berkowitz & Harmon-Jones, 2004; Thomas & McGarty, 2009). In the literature, it is usually featured as an emotion with the potential to elicit hostile behaviour towards others (Berkowitz & Harmon-Jones, 2004; Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Van Doorn et al., 2014). However, the behaviours that individuals display when they are angry are diverse and may not always be detrimental to others (Van Doorn et al., 2014). Pagano and Huo (2007) operationalised a form of anger known as *moral outrage* that was found to be positively associated with collective action intentions. This conception of anger describes an emotion experienced by third parties who observe harm or injustice, and it is also referred to in the literature as interpersonal anger or empathic anger (Van Doorn et al., 2014). To avoid unnecessary confusion, I will use the term “empathic anger” for the remainder of this study because it seems more consistent with the operationalised definition of this emotion.

Unlike empathy, which is more likely to elicit victim-focused collective action intentions, empathic anger has been found to be a stronger predictor of preventative action and offender-focused retributive action (Pagano & Huo, 2007). Pagano and Huo (2007) reported that American students who expressed empathic anger over the role of the United States in post-war Iraq were more likely to endorse political action that aimed to prevent future abuses by the United States and punish offenders who disrupted the moral order (Pagano & Huo, 2007). These action tendencies focus on the external factors that have caused harm to victims rather than the victims themselves (Pagano & Huo, 2007). However, a handful of studies on the

behavioural intentions of third parties have shown that individuals are more likely to compensate victims rather than punish offenders (Chavez & Bicchieri, 2013; Leliveld et al., 2012; Lotz et al., 2011; Van Doorn et al., 2018a). For example, Van Doorn et al. (2018a) conducted a series of six experiments that provide robust evidence for the preference for reparative action over retributive action. This preference for compensation over punishment was also found to correlate with the experience of empathic anger elicited by unfair treatment in two other studies (Van Doorn et al., 2017, 2018b).

The disparate action-oriented responses observed between studies may be explained by how angry individuals appraise the situation (Adams & Mullen, 2015; Van de Calseyde et al., 2013). Adams and Mullen (2015) demonstrated that individuals who believe that punishment will restore justice display reduced intentions to help or compensate victims if offenders have been punished. Across three studies, participants who were asked to indicate how much an offender should be punished prior to questions that asked them to indicate how much a victim should be compensated recommended less compensation overall (Adams & Mullen, 2015). Once a participant had decided about an offender's punishment, it reinforced their belief that justice had been restored, which decreased their desire for victim compensation (Adams & Mullen, 2015). Contrary to these results, Van de Calseyde et al. (2013) reported that third parties recommend less severe punishment for offenders if victims have already been compensated. This suggests that when justice is restored, the desire for punishment disappears (Van de Calseyde et al., 2013).

From the evidence provided by these two studies, it seems plausible to contend that individuals who experience empathic anger may only act when they believe that their actions can restore justice to the victims (Adams & Mullen, 2015; Landmann & Hess, 2017; Van de Calseyde et al., 2013). Additionally, how individuals attribute blame may also determine the form of action an individual takes (Iyer, 2007). This was observed by Iyer et al. (2007) who

found that American and British participants who attributed blame to their own countries for the adverse conditions in occupied Iraq reported more empathic anger. Greater empathic anger, in turn, predicted collective action intentions that aimed to advocate compensation for victims in Iraq (Iyer et al., 2007). In all three studies, how an individual appraises a situation, and the subsequent beliefs or blame that follows, seem to have a profound impact on collective action intentions, whether that is in the form of reparative or retributive action.

In addition to the factors that elicit different response outcomes from empathic anger, Landmann and Hess (2017) observed two variables that can inhibit or promote the experience of empathic anger itself, namely an individual's appraisal of moral violation and identification with the victim. In their study, participants experienced more intense empathic anger in response to newspaper articles that described a severe moral violation in comparison to newspaper articles that described only a mild moral violation (Landmann & Hess, 2017). The way in which individuals perceive certain actions can thus shape their emotional responses towards them, which indicates that empathic anger may be dependent on the way in which third parties appraise a situation (Landmann & Hess, 2017). Given that advantaged-group members should have an incentive to act in their own self-interest to maintain a higher group status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Oakes, 1986), they are less likely to perceive social injustices that affect disadvantaged-group members as issues that warrant action (Uluğ & Tropp, 2021). Those who do not perceive certain injustices or social inequalities to be morally reprehensible may thus not experience the degree of empathic anger that is necessary to inspire action (Landmann & Hess, 2017; Pagano & Huo, 2007).

Landmann and Hess (2017) also found that participants who perceived more closeness between themselves and the victim reported more empathic anger towards moral violations. In conjunction with appraisals of moral violation, social identification was shown to be an important antecedent of empathic anger (Landmann & Hess, 2017). However, Stürmer and

Simon (2009) proposed a converse relationship where empathic anger causally precedes social identification (see also Kessler & Hollbach, 2005). The observations between these studies point to a bidirectional relationship where empathic anger has the potential to bolster social identification, which itself can promote more empathic anger (Landmann & Hess, 2017; Stürmer & Simon, 2009). This relationship can thus serve as an important catalyst for collective action intentions (Landmann & Hess, 2017; Pagano & Huo, 2007; Stürmer & Simon, 2009).

The Relationship between Empathy and Empathic Anger

As discussed above, there is considerable evidence to show that empathy has the potential to elicit prosocial action tendencies in response to the perceived needs of others (Batson, 1991, 1998; Taylor & McKeown, 2021). Some scholars have argued that empathy is more likely to promote prosocial behaviours and social cohesion, while empathic anger fosters strategies aimed at social change, such as collective action (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). However, Kasperbauer (2015) proposed that empathy may require the action of other emotions, such as empathic anger to elicit collective action intentions.

Few studies have explored the association between empathy and empathic anger and their joint potential to shape collective action intentions (Selvanathan et al., 2017). For example, Iyer and Ryan (2009) found that empathy and empathic anger mediated the effect of men's appraisals of the nature and pervasiveness of gender discrimination in the workplace and collective action intentions. In this study, men who were presented with an account of the *glass cliff* phenomenon (a situation in which women are appointed to precarious or risky leadership positions where failure is more likely; Iyer & Ryan, 2009) experienced more empathy for women and empathic anger over this perceived injustice (Iyer & Ryan, 2009). This mediation effect was also observed in a study conducted by Feather et al. (2012) who examined the relationship between 10 different values (e.g., universalism, benevolence, power, tradition,

conformity) and collective action intentions among a sample of 170 advantaged-group members from an Australian university. Collective action, in this case, was measured in the form of reparative action tendencies that aimed to provide compensation for wrongs committed against groups of indigenous Australians (Feather et al., 2012). Similarly, empathy and empathic anger emerged as important mediators of the relationship between perceived injustice and collective action intentions in a study undertaken amongst protestors in the United Kingdom and Hong Kong (Saab et al., 2015). These studies provide promising evidence for the effects of empathy and empathic anger as parallel mediators of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions.

In addition to the above, Selvanathan et al. (2017) proposed a serial mediation model in which empathy and empathic anger operate as mediators of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions. Across three studies, intergroup contact with African Americans was found to predict collective action intentions among white Americans through a process whereby empathy for African Americans predicted empathic anger over racial injustice (Selvanathan et al., 2017). The observed effects were also found to remain even once the researchers had controlled for two other important mediator variables, namely collective guilt and ingroup identification (Selvanathan et al., 2017).

Collective Guilt

Guilt can be conceptualised as a self-focused emotion, which is characterised by a sense of dysphoria that stems from the belief that one has caused distress, harm, or loss to another (Calcagno, 2016; Hoffman, 1982). This emotional reaction can also occur at the group level in the form of *collective guilt*, which arises when self-categorised group members perceive their social group to be responsible for harms committed against members of a different social group (Wohl et al., 2006). While individuals tend to foster a sense of pride and self-esteem from their

ingroup identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Oakes, 1986), direct accusations or reminders of their group's involvement in past injustices have the potential to elicit collective guilt (Doosje et al., 1998; Klandermans et al., 2008). Group members can also experience this emotion when their privileged roles become salient and they are confronted with the inequalities faced by another group (Brown & Cehajic, 2008; Iyer et al., 2003; Leach et al., 2006).

Given that collective guilt is an undesirable emotion, it is frequently accompanied by motivations to alleviate it (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014; Wohl et al., 2006). These motivations can, in turn, translate to increased collective action intentions to support victims of direct harm committed by the individual or harm experienced vicariously through the group whom the individual associates with (Baumeister et al., 1994; Doosje et al., 1998; Selvanathan et al., 2017). However, Thomas and McGarty (2009) argues that action tendencies motivated by collective guilt may be largely symbolic in that their primary goal is to relieve the discomfort produced by this emotion rather than improve intergroup relations.

Perhaps the earliest study to explore the effects of collective guilt on collective action intentions was undertaken by Doosje et al. (1998) at an unspecified university in the Netherlands. In this study, Dutch students who were reminded of their nation's unfavourable history of colonisation reported more collective guilt, which was positively associated with collective action intentions (Doosje et al., 1998). These collective action intentions were measured as support for national compensation for the colonised country (Doosje et al., 1998). These effects were also found in South Africa by Klandermans et al. (2008), who collected data from 21 interviews with, and 180 surveys responses from, white South Africans. The data concluded that collective guilt experienced by white South Africans because of apartheid fostered more positive attitudes and support towards affirmative action policies, which aim to increase the opportunities provided to black (African) South Africans (Klandermans et al.,

2008). However, this relationship was highly dependent on the endorsement of more liberal political ideologies (Klandermans et al., 2008).

Evidence to substantiate the relationship between collective guilt and collective action intentions can be found in four other studies to date (Iyer et al., 2003; Mallett et al., 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2017; Swim & Miller, 1999). These studies were conducted in the United States amongst samples of white Americans who reported increased intentions to support or compensate African Americans because of collective guilt elicited from racial injustice (Iyer et al., 2003; Mallett et al., 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2017; Swim & Miller, 1999). An important observation that was made, which was highlighted by Pagano and Huo (2007), was that guilt experienced at the group level is a powerful predictor of reparative action to compensate for transgressions against disadvantaged-group members (Doosje et al., 1998; Iyer et al., 2003; Klandermans et al., 2008; Swim & Miller, 1999).

In addition to the direct effects of collective guilt on reparative action tendencies, this group-based emotion has the potential to facilitate collective action intentions indirectly, through positive attitudes (Powell et al., 2005) and prejudice reduction (MacInnis & Hodson, 2019; Pedersen et al., 2004; Wohl et al., 2006). For example, a study conducted by Powell et al. (2005) reported more positive attitudes towards African Americans when social inequalities were framed because of “white privilege” (p. 518) rather than “black disadvantage” (p. 519). This was attributable to experiences of collective guilt, which were elicited by a sense of responsibility when white Americans were confronted with their social privilege (Powell et al., 2005). Similarly, collective guilt experienced among residents of Western Australia correlated negatively with prejudice towards indigenous Australians (Pedersen et al., 2004). It is important to note that neither Powell et al. (2005) nor Pedersen et al. (2004) measured collective action intentions as an outcome variable of the observed relationship. However,

collective guilt can facilitate collective action intentions through positive attitudes and prejudice reduction (see Wohl et al., 2006).

Additionally, collective guilt can facilitate efforts to improve intergroup relations (Baumeister et al., 1995), which is an important prerequisite in the formation of intergroup friendships (Colcagno, 2016). MacInnis and Hodson (2019) proposed that these intimate relationships have the potential to foster negative emotions (e.g., collective guilt) towards one's ingroup because intergroup friendships provide a unique space in which group disparities can become more salient. These emotions, in turn, can inspire action to support policies that aim to reduce social inequalities (MacInnis & Hodson, 2019). Evidence to substantiate this proposition can be found in an earlier study conducted by Colcagno (2016) in which intergroup friendships with sexual orientation minorities mediated the relationship between collective guilt experienced and collective action intentions among 50 heterosexual women from the United States.

The Influence of Context

There is a wealth of evidence supporting the generalisation of contact effects across situations (e.g., Boin et al., 2021; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Eller & Abrams, 2004; Pettigrew, 2009). However, the importance of context in collective action research cannot be overlooked because contextual factors, such as norms and social identification, can shape individuals' attitudes and behaviours (including their attitudes towards and willingness to engage in intergroup contact and/or collective action; Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). While the intergroup contact-collective action intentions literature has not investigated these contextual effects in much detail, prominent examples can be drawn from earlier research exploring the attitude-behaviour relationship in the context of environmentalism (Cialdini et al., 1990; Goldstein et al., 2008; Schwab et al., 2014). For instance, Cialdini et al. (1990) observed across

a series of five experiments conducted in the United States that participants littered more in a littered environment (reinforcing the pro-littering norm) but less in a clean one (reinforcing the anti-littering norm). These experiments provided preliminary evidence for the effects of norms on individual behaviour, which was later corroborated in studies investigating the effects of norms on attitudes and behaviours relating to energy conservation (Dwyer et al., 2015; Nolan et al., 2008), recycling (Fornara et al., 2011; Schwab et al., 2014), and intentions to take part in a neighbourhood climate protection group (Rees & Bamberg, 2014). Together, these studies suggest that the attitude-behaviour relationship cannot be understood without reference to the specific social context in which they occur.

In addition to norms, social identification processes must be considered. This is because attitudes (and behaviours) may be shaped by social motivations such as impression management (see Prislin & Wood, 2005 for a review). Self-categorisation to a specific group can depersonalise an individuals' attitudes, helping them retain a positive image within the group by conforming to the expectations of other ingroup members (Abrams et al., 1990; Haslam et al., 1995). For instance, De Tezanos-Pinto et al. (2010) found that such expectations (i.e., group norms) could shape attitudes towards and intentions to engage in intergroup contact with outgroup members among a sample of 823 students from Norway.

While specific contexts (e.g., SU) exist within more general contexts (e.g., South Africa), norms and social identification processes add important contextual nuances that have the power to shape attitudes, behaviours (Hogg & Smith, 2007; Hogg & Terry, 2000), and intergroup relations (De Tezanos-Pinto et al., 2010). This is because norms and social identification processes can differ across contexts and intergroup situations (see Hogg & Smith, 2007; Hogg & Terry, 2000). Therefore, it is important to consider the context in which intergroup contact occurs because it may have a profound impact on the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions (as well as the emotional and cognitive mediators thereof).

Chapter Summary

This Chapter has provided a comprehensive overview of Intergroup Contact Theory, which focuses on how direct face-to-face interactions between individuals from different social groups can contribute towards positive intergroup outcomes, such as reduced prejudice and increased collective action intentions. Both the mechanisms and dimensions through which intergroup contact can achieve these positive outcomes were also discussed. Few studies have emphasised the importance of more intimate forms of intergroup contact in promoting collective action intentions among advantaged-group members. This is problematic because some scholars have argued that increasing intergroup contact experiences does not necessitate positive attitudinal or behavioural change. For this to occur, higher quality interactions (e.g., intergroup friendships) are required. However, while intergroup friendships are not the norm, these more intimate forms of intergroup contact have been shown to have a greater effect on prejudice reduction and collective action intentions. It is therefore important to consider both the different dimensions of intergroup contact, such as the quantity of contact, the quality of contact, and intergroup friendships.

In addition, this Chapter has also provided a comprehensive overview of past research that has explored the direct and indirect effects of intergroup contact on collective action intentions among advantaged-group members. There is still much debate around whether intergroup contact and collective action are compatible phenomena because these processes pursue social change in different ways. While intergroup contact aims to achieve social change by reducing prejudice, collective action aims to force conversation, debate, and change by disrupting the status quo. Collective action can thus have the unintended consequences of increasing prejudice among those who occupy dominant positions of social power. This can be problematic given their potential to become helpful allies in the pursuit of social change. However, the question of whether intergroup contact and collective action are compatible is

complex and appears to depend on the context in which these phenomena take place. If the needs of both groups on opposing sides of the “social power spectrum” are met, intergroup contact and collective action become compatible.

There is encouraging evidence for the direct effects of intergroup contact on collective action intentions. However, most studies on advantaged-group members have reported on the indirect effects of intergroup contact on collective action intentions. As summarised by Hässler et al. (2020b), the pathways through which intergroup contact promotes collective action intentions among advantaged-group members occurs via four key mediator variables. These are emotion-based variables, such as empathy, empathic anger, and collective guilt, and cognitive variables such as ingroup identification. These mediator variables were all found to play an important role in facilitating collective action intentions among advantaged-group members and have been chosen as the variables of interest in the present study.

Beyond literature that provided insight into how intergroup contact can shape collective action intentions, this Chapter also explored the influence of contextual factors, such as norms and social identification, on individuals’ attitudes and behaviours. Examples from research on environmentalism and intergroup relations offered important considerations for the present study, which aims to provide a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions (as well as the mediators thereof) within a specific context.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRESENT STUDY

South African history was characterised by over 40 years of legislated racial segregation and discrimination, which created deep social divisions between white and black (African) South Africans (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Swart et al., 2011). While considerable progress has been made since the end of apartheid and legislated racial segregation, South Africa continues to face challenges relating to racial and socioeconomic disparities (Statistics South Africa, 2019, 2023), political tensions, and inharmonious intergroup relations (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Worden, 2012). These pervasive and lingering social divisions create an environment where collective action and social justice are necessary (Dixon et al., 2012; Seekings & Natrass, 2005).

Collective action has played a critical role in achieving social justice throughout South African history (Frankel, 2001; Ndlovu, 2004), and it remains an important tool for protesting the pervasive socioeconomic hardships endured by disadvantaged groups in contemporary South Africa (Jolaosho, 2019; Kali, 2023). However, there are prominent barriers to collective action and social mobilisation, more generally, that can obstruct the pursuit of social justice and perpetuate historical patterns of discrimination and marginalisation.

The most problematic challenge in this regard is resistance from advantaged-group members (Çakal et al., 2016; Dixon et al., 2007; Durrheim, 2003, 2010; Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). While disadvantaged-group members can have a profound impact in driving meaningful social change on their own (e.g., the anti-apartheid movement; Moscovici & Lage, 1976), these efforts can be further enhanced with support from advantaged-group members who generally have greater access to and control over resources (Hässler et al., 2020b). A disproportionate access to (and control over) resources allows advantaged-group members to play an important

role in sustaining collective action and advancing collective goals (Hässler et al., 2020b; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). This includes sponsoring campaigns, impacting the decision making of governing bodies or institutions, and reinforcing the voices of disadvantaged groups (Kutlaca et al., 2021). Given these considerations, the present study aimed to apply Intergroup Contact Theory as a guiding framework because there is encouraging evidence showing that positive intergroup contact can reduce resistance to social change among advantaged-group members while promoting greater collective action intentions (Hässler et al., 2020a, 2020b; Reimer et al., 2017).

Most research investigating the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011; Pagano & Huo, 2007; Selvanathan et al., 2018; see also Hässler et al., 2020a) has relied on general measures that were adapted to test this relationship in general contexts. This approach has yielded promising evidence supporting the positive direct and indirect effects of intergroup contact in promoting collective action intentions among advantaged-group members more generally (Hässler et al., 2020a). However, such evidence does not necessitate that general intergroup contact experiences will predict collective action intentions in specific contexts. While specific contexts do not exist in isolation from general contexts, different settings bring important contextual nuances that may shape intergroup contact experiences and collective action intentions (Christ et al., 2014; Fingerhut, 2011). These nuances include (but are not limited to) different power structures, institutional arrangements, and systemic barriers (Christ et al., 2014; Fingerhut, 2011; Kauff et al., 2020).

For example, white South Africans constitute a numerical and political minority (7.7%) relative to black (African) South Africans but occupy an advantaged socioeconomic status (Statistics South Africa, 2023). However, at SU, white South Africans are the numerical majority (54%) relative to other social groups (Khampepe, 2022). Given that SU staff, management, senate, and council are also predominantly comprised of white South Africans,

this group continues to dominate the levers of power at SU (Khampepe, 2022). This entrenches the advantaged status of white South Africans relative to black (African) South Africans and creates a unique dynamic in the SU context that differs from the general context of South Africa.

To date, no research exploring the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions has explicitly distinguished between general as opposed to context-specific measures of intergroup contact and collective action intentions. However, an important observation made by Reimer et al. (2017) suggested that general intergroup contact (i.e., not occurring in any specific context) has the potential to elicit context-specific collective action intentions among advantaged-group members in the United Kingdom. Given this observation, the primary aim of the present study was to investigate whether general experiences of intergroup contact with disadvantaged-group members would predict context-specific collective action intentions among advantaged-group members. To achieve this aim, the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): General intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans will predict context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans at SU.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): The relationship between general intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions will be mediated by ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, general emotions (i.e., empathy, collective guilt, empathic anger) about social issues in South Africa more generally, and general collective action intentions.

In addition, the secondary aim of the present study was to investigate whether context-specific intergroup contact (i.e., occurring in the specific context of SU) with disadvantaged-group members would similarly predict context-specific collective action intentions among advantaged-group members. To achieve this aim, the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Context-specific intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at SU will predict context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans at SU.

Hypothesis 4 (H4): The relationship between context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions will be mediated by ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, context-specific emotions (i.e., empathy, collective guilt, empathic anger) about social issues at SU, and context-specific collective action intentions.⁶

By providing a more comprehensive understanding of how general and context-specific factors shape context-specific collective action intentions among advantaged-group members, the present study aimed to inform the development of interventions that are tailored to the specific needs, challenges, and opportunities of a given context. It can enable researchers, practitioners, and policy makers to develop context-sensitive approaches that may consider leveraging intergroup contact to foster more positive outgroup attitudes, increase action-oriented emotions, and promote social change at SU. By recognising that collective action is not solely shaped by general factors but is intrinsically connected to the context in which it occurs, the present study allows for comparisons across various contexts and enables researchers to identify common patterns or mechanisms that are applicable across diverse settings and those that are unique to specific contexts. Such comparisons can inform the development of broader theoretical frameworks, allowing for lessons learned in this context to be applied or adapted in others. Finally, by distinguishing between general factors and context-

⁶ Given the exploratory nature of the present study, the hypotheses presented in this section were not preregistered. This allowed for a comprehensive exploration of the data and greater freedom in selecting appropriate analyses as data analyses progressed (Kryptos et al., 2022; Pham & Oh, 2021).

specific factors, the present study aimed to provide insight into the complex nature of social change processes.

Methodology

The present study comprised of a quantitative, cross-sectional design. Self-report survey data were collected online from a convenience sample of white South African students (aged 18 years and older) who were registered at Stellenbosch University during the 2022 academic year. The research design adopted in the present study is comparable to earlier research on intergroup contact and collective action intentions, which relied on similar methods (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011; Hässler et al., 2020b; Reimer et al., 2017).

Prior to data collection, the present study was approved by the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC) of the Department of Psychology at SU. Institutional permission to collect data from SU students was also acquired from the Division for Information Governance (see Appendix A), along with ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee: Social, Behavioural, and Education Research at SU (Project number: SBE-2022-25682; see Appendix B). After receiving these various approvals, a convenience sampling method was used to recruit prospective participants who met the selection criteria (white South African, aged 18 years or older, registered at SU). To ensure that prospective participants met these criteria, a mailing list of all SU students who self-identified as white South Africans at the time of academic registration was acquired from the Institutional Permissions Office. Participants were recruited using a recruitment email that was sent to all prospective participants who appeared on this list. The recruitment email (see Appendix C) outlined the focus of the present study and contained a unique URL that each student could use to access the online survey, which was created using REDCap (Version 13.1.32; Harris et al., 2009, 2019), a secure web application for building and managing online databases. This recruitment

email was sent to all prospective participants once a week over a four-week period towards the end of October and beginning of November 2022.

Materials

Prospective participants who accessed the URL sent to them in the invitation email were directed to an electronic informed consent form (see Appendix D) that outlined the aims, objectives, terms and conditions, potential contributions, and risks of the present research. Prospective participants were also informed that they would be eligible to enter a cash prize draw upon completing the online survey where each participant stood a chance to win one of 20 Takealot vouchers (to the value of R100.00). Although it was unlikely that participation in this study would lead to any emotional or psychological distress, participants were provided with the contact details for the Welgevallen Clinic and the Centre for Student Counselling and Development at Stellenbosch University. These service providers agreed to provide free counselling services (see Appendix E) in the unlikely event that a participant experienced distress due to their participation in the study. At the end of the electronic informed consent form, participants were informed of their rights as research participants. This included their right to anonymity, confidentiality, and their right to withdraw their participation at any time without penalty. Once participants had read through the informed consent form, they were provided with the option to agree or not agree to participate. Those who declined to participate were exited from the online survey while those who agreed to participate were redirected to the main survey.

The online survey consisted of three sections that were all presented in English: A biographical and demographic survey (see Appendix F), the main survey that measured the constructs of interest (see Appendix G), and a closing section in which participants could enter

the cash prize draw (see Appendix G). The materials that were used in the biographical and demographic survey as well as the main survey are outlined below.

Biographical Survey

Participants were asked to provide information relating to their age, gender, ethnicity, home language, campus of attendance, accommodation type, and number of years enrolled at SU (see Appendix F).

Main Survey

The main survey (see Appendix G) comprised of 13 scales that were adapted from past research. These scales measured general and context-specific intergroup contact, empathy, empathic anger, collective guilt, and collective action intentions, along with context-specific behavioural intentions, ingroup identification, and outgroup attitudes. The “general” and “context-specific” labels have also been used to distinguish between action-oriented emotions relating to social inequalities in South Africa more generally and at SU specifically, respectively.

General intergroup contact. Three items (adapted from Swart et al., 2011) were used to measure general intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans. To measure quantity of contact, participants were asked: “How often do you have face-to-face interactions (e.g., conversations) with black (African) South Africans?” (scaled: 0 = *Never*, 1 = *Rarely*, 2 = *Sometimes*, 3 = *Often*, and 4 = *All the Time*). To measure intergroup friendships, participants were asked: “How many friends do you have who are black (African) South African?” (scaled: 0 = *None*, 1 = *One friend*, 2 = *Two friends*, 3 = *Three friends*, and 4 = *Four or More Friends*) and “How often do you spend time with your black (African) South African friends?” (scaled: 0 = *Never*, 1 = *Rarely*, 2 = *Sometimes*, 3 = *Often*, and 4 = *All the Time*). The scores on these three items were averaged to form a measure of general intergroup contact.

General empathy. Two items (adapted from Swart et al., 2011) were used to measure affective empathy towards black (African) South Africans in general. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with two statements: “If I saw or heard that a black (African) South African was upset because they were suffering from injustices relating to their ethnicity, I would also feel upset” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*) and “If a black (African) South African I knew was feeling sad, I do not think that I would also feel sad” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of general affective empathy.

General empathic anger. Three items (adapted from Van Zomeren et al., 2004) were used to measure empathic anger about the racial injustices and social inequalities endured by black (African) South Africans in general. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with three statements: “I do not feel irritated when I think about the social inequality that affects black (African) South Africans” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*), “I feel angry when I think about the racism that black (African) South Africans endure daily” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*), and “I do not feel furious when I see or hear about instances of racism towards black (African) South Africans” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of general empathic anger.

General collective guilt. Three items (adapted from Swim & Miller, 1999) were used to measure collective guilt that white South Africans may feel when confronted with the racial injustices and social inequalities endured by black (African) South Africans more generally. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with three statements : “I feel guilty when I think about the social inequalities that black (African) South Africans have experienced in the past and continue to experience in the present” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*), “I do not feel guilty about the degree of social inequalities

that exist between white and black (African) South Africans” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*), and “I do not feel guilty about the benefits and privileges that I receive as a white South African that many black (African) South Africans do not receive” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of general collective general guilt.

General collective action intentions. Four items (adapted from Selvanathan et al., 2017; see also Tropp & Brown, 2004) were used to measure general collective action intentions in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans more generally. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with four statements : “I would not be willing to attend a demonstration protesting racial injustice and social inequality in South Africa” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*), “I would be willing to attend meetings or workshops that facilitate discussions about privilege and social inequalities in South Africa” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*), “I would be willing to write a letter to public officials or other people of influence in South Africa to protest racial injustice and social inequality” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*), and “I would be willing to sign a petition to support racial justice and social equality in South Africa” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of general collective action intentions.

Context-specific intergroup contact. Three items (adapted from Swart et al., 2011) were used to measure context-specific intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at SU. To measure quantity of contact, participants were asked: “How often do you have face-to-face interactions (e.g., conversations) with black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University (e.g., in class, in cafeterias, at social events)?” (scaled: 0 = *Never*, 1 = *Rarely*, 2 = *Sometimes*, 3 = *Often*, and 4 = *All the Time*). To measure intergroup friendships, participants

were asked: “How many friends do you have at Stellenbosch University who are black (African) South African?” (scaled: 0 = *none*, 1 = *One friend*, 2 = *Two friends*, 3 = *Three friends*, and 4 = *Four or More friends*) and “How often do you spend time with your black (African) South African friends at Stellenbosch University (e.g., in class, in cafeterias, at social events)?” (scaled: 0 = *Never*, 1 = *Rarely*, 2 = *Sometimes*, 3 = *Often*, and 4 = *All the Time*). The scores on these three items were averaged to form a measure of context-specific intergroup contact.

Context-specific empathy. Two items (adapted from Swart et al., 2011) were used to measure affective empathy towards black (African) South Africans at SU. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with two statements: “If I saw or heard that a black (African) South African was upset because they were suffering injustices relating to their ethnicity at Stellenbosch University, I would also feel upset” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*) and “If a black (African) South African I knew at Stellenbosch University was feeling sad, I think that I would also feel sad” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure context-specific empathy.

Context-specific empathic anger. Two items (adapted from Van Zomeren et al., 2004) were used to measure empathic anger about the racial injustices and social inequalities endured by black (African) South Africans at SU. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with two statements: “I do not feel irritated at the slow pace of transformation at Stellenbosch University that continues to affect black (African) South African students” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*) and “I do not feel angry when I think about the social and academic exclusion that some black (African) South African students endure daily at Stellenbosch University” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of context-specific anger.

Context-specific collective guilt. Three items (adapted from Swim & Miller, 1999) were used to measure collective guilt that white South Africans may feel when confronted with the racial injustices and social inequalities endured by black (African) South Africans at SU. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with three statements : “As a white South African student at Stellenbosch University, I do not feel guilty that campus culture mostly reflects my own culture and heritage and does not adequately represent that of black (African) South African students” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*), “I feel guilty that the dominant language of instruction at Stellenbosch University might privilege white South African students over black (African) South African students” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*), and “As a white South African student, I feel guilty about the academic advantages I enjoy relative to black (African) South Africans due to the dominant languages of instruction in my classes at Stellenbosch University” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of context-specific guilt.

Context-specific collective action intentions. Three items (adapted from Selvanathan et al., 2017) were used to measure context-specific collective action intentions for transformation at SU specifically. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with three statements : “I do not support protests that advocate for racial justice and social equality at Stellenbosch University” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*), “I often show my support for transformation at Stellenbosch University (e.g., sharing a post on social media to raise awareness)” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*), and “I am likely to participate in protests that advocate for social change at Stellenbosch University” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of context-specific collective action intentions.

Context-specific behavioural intentions. One item (adapted from Reimer et al., 2017) was used to measure tangible, context-specific collective action intentions, advocating for racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University. Participants were asked: “How many flyers would you be willing to distribute in support of black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University, advocating for racial justice and social equality at the University” (scaled: 0 = 0 Flyers, 1 = 10 Flyers, 2 = 20 Flyers, 3 = 30 Flyers, 4 = 40 Flyers, and 5 = 50 Flyers). This item contained a low level of deception to control for social desirability bias by ensuring that participants responded as naturally and uninhibited as possible. Prior to the question, participants were informed that we intended to use this section of the survey as an opportunity to recruit volunteers who would be willing to distribute flyers (see Appendix G). Those who committed to distributing a specific number of flyers by selecting the appropriate response options were then directed to a textbox in which they were asked to provide an email so that they could be contacted about the logistics of the flyer distribution. All participants who had volunteered were sent a debrief email (see Appendix H) informing them about the deception that was used in the present study. This design was approved by the Research Ethics Committee (Social, Behavioural, and Educational Research) at Stellenbosch University (Project number: SBE-2022-25682).

Ingroup identification. Three items (adapted from Doosje et al., 1995) were used to measure identification with the white South African ingroup. Participants were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with three statements: “I do not feel strong ties with other white South Africans” (reverse scored: 1 = *Completely Agree* to 5 = *Completely Disagree*), “I identify with other white South Africans” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*), and “I am glad to be a white South African” (scaled: 1 = *Completely Disagree* to 5 = *Completely Agree*). The scores on these items were averaged to form a measure of ingroup identification.

Outgroup attitudes. One item (adapted from Converse & Presser, 1986) was used to measure general feelings towards black (African) South Africans. Participants were asked: “Thinking about black (African) South Africans in general (as a whole, so not any individuals you may know, but as a collective), use the sliding scale below to rate (between 0 and 100) your overall feelings towards black (African) South Africans. The lower the score, the more negative or cold you feel towards the group. The higher the score, the more positive or warm you feel towards the group. A score closer to 50 would reflect that you feel ambivalent (neither positive nor negative, neither warm nor cold) towards the group”.

Results

Participants

Data were analysed from a convenience sample of 450 participants aged 18 years and older ($M_{age} = 23.57$ years; $SD = 6.38$; Range = 18-70; $n = 226$ Females; $n = 177$ Males; $n = 8$ Other) who were registered at Stellenbosch University during the 2022 academic year ($M_{years\ registered} = 3.31$ years; $SD = 1.99$; Range = 1-8). Afrikaans was the most reported home language ($n = 226$; 50.2%) followed by English ($n = 217$; 48.2%). Seven participants (1.6%) identified a home language other than Afrikaans or English. Participants were distributed between private accommodation on campus ($n = 191$; 42.4%), off-campus accommodation ($n = 161$; 35.8%), SU residences ($n = 93$; 20.7%), and other student accommodation ($n = 5$; 1.1%). Given that SU is situated across four campuses, participants were asked to indicate which campus they attended. The majority of participants attended the main Stellenbosch campus ($n = 407$; 90.4%). A post hoc power analysis, undertaken using G*Power (Version 3.1.9.7; Faul et al., 2007, 2009), indicated that testing a regression model with seven predictors using a sample size of 450 participants and Cronbach’s alpha of 0.05 would have a 55.18%

probability of detecting a small effect size of 0.02, a 99% probability of detecting a medium effect size of 0.15, and a 100% probability of detecting a large effect size of 0.35.

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses were undertaken using IBM SPSS (Version 28) to assess the item distributions for items in each construct that was measured. The criteria proposed by West et al. (1995) were used as guidelines for assessing the item distributions in terms of skewness and kurtosis. According to these criteria, values of skewness between -2.00 and 2.00 and values of kurtosis between -7.00 and 7.00 are within acceptable ranges to perform confirmatory factor analyses, which operate on the assumption that the data are normally distributed (West et al., 1995). These analyses were conducted separately for the items in the General Model (see Table 1) and the items in the Context-specific Model (see Table 2). Only those items that were used to form latent (unobserved) constructs were included in the item distribution calculations. The constructs presented in each model (excluding the single-item measures of context-specific behavioural intentions and outgroup attitudes) can be considered a latent construct. Preliminary analyses of the item distributions for the General Model ($Min_{skewness} = -1.87$, $Max_{skewness} = -0.13$, $M_{skewness} = -0.71$, $SD_{skewness} = 0.53$; $Min_{kurtosis} = -1.16$, $Max_{kurtosis} = 3.51$; $M_{kurtosis} = -0.10$, $SD_{kurtosis} = 1.30$) and the item distributions for the Context-specific Model ($Min_{skewness} = -1.80$, $Max_{skewness} = 0.21$, $M_{skewness} = -0.41$, $SD_{skewness} = 0.55$; $Min_{kurtosis} = -1.48$, $Max_{kurtosis} = 3.51$; $M_{kurtosis} = -0.49$, $SD_{kurtosis} = 1.25$) were found to be within the acceptable ranges proposed by West et al. (1995).

The reliability coefficients of each construct that comprised of three or more items in the General and Context-specific Models were calculated using Cronbach's alpha. These constructs (except for the measure of ingroup identification) indicated acceptable construct reliability (i.e., $\alpha \geq .70$). The three-item measure of ingroup identification was found to have a

construct reliability of $\alpha = .66$. While such a value is not considered high, it is within the acceptable ranges for measuring psychological constructs (Kline, 1999).

Bivariate correlations (Pearson's product-moment correlations, r) were calculated to evaluate the internal consistency of each construct that comprised of two items (i.e., measures of general empathy, context-specific empathy, and context-specific empathic anger). The correlation coefficients for these constructs were significant in each instance (r 's $\geq .45$). Furthermore, the significant positive bivariate correlation between general intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions (.13 $p < .01$) provides tentative support Hypothesis 1 (H1). Similarly, the significant positive bivariate correlation between context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions (.14 $p < .01$) provides tentative support for Hypothesis 2 (H2). Once the preliminary analyses had been completed, the raw scores of the items included in the primary constructs were used to create mean-level composite variables.

The Pearson's product-moment correlations (r) between the mean-level composite variables in the General Model are summarised in Table 1, along with the construct reliability (α), means and standard deviations (SD) of each mean-level composite variable. Similarly, the Pearson's product-moment correlations (r) between the mean-level composite variables in the Context-specific Model are summarised in Table 2, along with the construct reliability (α), means and standard deviations (SD) of each mean-level composite variable. Finally, the Pearson's product-moment correlations (r) between the mean-level composite variables across both the General and Context-specific Models are summarised in Table 3.

Table 1.

General Model: Pearson's Product-Moment Correlations (r) between Mean-Level Composite Variables, Construct Reliability (α), Mean and Standard Deviation (SD).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Reliability (α)	Mean (SD)
1. General intergroup contact (3 items)	-								.79	2.50 (1.00)
2. Ingroup identification (3 items)	-.09	-							.66	3.56 (0.80)
3. Outgroup attitudes (1 item)	.37***	-.14**	-						-	7.13 (2.06)
4. General empathy (2 items)	.24***	-.18***	.44***	-					.45***†	4.28 (0.83)
5. General empathic anger (3 items)	.29***	-.26***	.49***	.64***	-				.73	3.99 (0.94)
6. General collective guilt (3 items)	.21***	-.22***	.41***	.44***	.58***	-			.83	3.37 (1.20)
7. General collective action intentions (4 items)	.30***	-.29***	.44***	.50***	.59***	.59***	-		.77	3.51 (1.01)
8. Context-specific behavioural intentions (1 item)	.13**	-.14**	.25***	.17***	.26***	.28***	.32***	-	-	0.48 (1.34)

†Bivariate correlations (Pearson's r) for construct comprised of two items.

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note. All but three scales were scored (and where necessary reverse scored) on a Likert scale from 1 to 5. General intergroup contact was scored from 0 to 4, context-specific behavioural intentions were scored from 0 to 5, and outgroup attitudes were scored from 1 to 100 (and converted to scores out of 10). Higher scores indicate more general intergroup contact, general empathy, general empathic anger, general collective guilt, general collective and specific collective action intentions, and more positive outgroup attitudes.

Table 2.

Context-specific Model: Pearson's Product-Moment Correlations (r) between Mean-Level Composite Variables, Construct Reliability (α), Mean and Standard Deviation (SD)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Reliability (α)	Mean (SD)
1. Context-specific intergroup contact (3 items)	-								.84	2.31 (1.17)
2. Ingroup identification (3 items)	-.07	-							.66	3.56 (0.80)
3. Outgroup attitudes (1 item)	.28***	-.14**	-						-	7.13 (2.06)
4. Context-specific empathy (2 items)	.26***	-.22***	.46***	-					.61***†	4.21 (0.89)
5. Context-specific empathic anger (2 items)	.28***	-.30***	.48***	.55***	-				.66***†	3.49 (1.19)
6. Context-specific collective guilt (3 items)	.18***	-.26***	.44***	.46***	.75***	-			.88	2.85 (1.27)
7. Context-specific collective action intentions (3 items)	.33***	-.30***	.46***	.45***	.69***	.68***	-		.84	3.20 (1.17)
8. Context-specific behavioural intentions (1 item)	.14**	-.14**	.25***	.22***	.34***	.39***	.33***	-	-	0.48 (1.34)

†Bivariate correlations (Pearson's r) for construct comprised of only two items.

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note. All but three scales were scored (and where necessary reverse scored) on a Likert scale from 1 to 5. Context-specific intergroup contact was scored from 0 to 4, context-specific behavioural intentions were scored from 0 to 5, and outgroup attitudes were scored from 1 to 100 (and converted to scores out of 10). Higher scores indicate more context-specific intergroup contact, ingroup identification, context-specific empathy, context-specific empathic anger, context-specific collective guilt, context-specific collective action intentions, context-specific behavioural intentions, and more positive outgroup attitudes.

Table 3.*Pearson's Product-Moment Correlations (r) between Mean-Level Composite Variables across both General and Context-specific Variables*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. General intergroup contact (3 items)	-												
2. General empathy (2 items)	.24***	-											
3. General empathic anger (3 items)	.29***	.64***	-										
4. General collective guilt (3 items)	.21***	.44***	.58***	-									
5. General collective action intentions (4 items)	.30***	.50***	.59***	.59***	-								
6. Context-specific intergroup contact (3 items)	.79***	.25***	.24***	.19***	.25***	-							
7. Context-specific empathy (2 items)	.24***	.81***	.62***	.50***	.50***	.26***	-						
8. Context-specific empathic anger (2 items)	.30***	.52***	.66***	.69***	.65***	.28***	.55***	-					
9. Context-specific collective guilt (3 items)	.22***	.42***	.57***	.78***	.64***	.18***	.46***	.75***	-				
10. Context-specific collective action intentions (3 items)	.37***	.41***	.56***	.61***	.75***	.33***	.45***	.69***	.68***	-			
11. Context-specific behavioural intentions (1 item)	.13**	.17***	.26***	.28***	.32***	.14**	.22***	.34***	.39***	.33***	-		
12. Ingroup identification (3 items)	-.09	-.18***	-.26***	-.22***	-.29***	-.07	-.22***	-.30***	-.26***	-.30***	-.14**	-	
13. Outgroup attitudes (1 item)	.37***	.44***	.49***	.41***	.44***	.28***	.46***	.48***	.44***	.46***	.25***	-.14**	-

** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Main Analyses

Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 4 (each specifying indirect effects in the General and Context-specific Models respectively) were tested using latent variable structural equation modelling (SEM) in Mplus (v7.1; Muthén & Muthén, 2012). The constructs presented in each Model (excluding the single item measure of context-specific behavioural intentions and outgroup attitudes) represent latent (unobserved) constructs, which were measured using the individual items that comprised each construct. These individual items served as manifest (observed) indicators for the corresponding latent construct.

For both Models, a two-step approach to SEM recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1988) was used. This two-step approach involved testing the measurement model before the structural model. A Robust Maximum Likelihood (MLR) estimator was used to estimate parameter estimates (including 95% confidence intervals [95% CI] for direct effects). Bootstrap mediation analyses (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) were run using 5,000 iterations to estimate indirect effects (and their associated 95% CIs). The following criteria were applied to determine acceptable model fit in the SEM analyses: A non-significant χ^2 value (or a relative chi-square [χ^2/df] ratio ≤ 3 for larger samples; Kline, 2005), a Comparative Fit Index (CFI) $\geq .90$, a Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) $<.08$, and a Standardized Root Mean squared Residual (SRMR) $<.08$ (Hu & Bentler 1999). The results of the SEM analyses for each Model are presented below.

General Model. For the General Model, a structural equation model was estimated using intergroup contact as a predictor, ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, general empathy, general empathic anger, and general collective guilt as mediators, collective action intentions as a proximal outcome, and context-specific behavioural intentions as the distal outcome. The measurement model indicated acceptable model fit, $\chi^2(118) = 196.00$, $\chi^2/df = 1.66$; CFI = .969;

RMSEA = .038, 90% CI [.029, .048]; SRMR = .039. This model fit confirmed the discriminant validity of each construct in the General Model. The structural model, which estimated the relationships between the eight constructs, also indicated acceptable model fit, $\chi^2(151) = 247.00$, $\chi^2/df = 1.64$; CFI = .966; RMSEA = .038, 90% CI [.029, .046]; SRMR = .038.

Direct Effects. As shown in Figure 1 below, general intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans was significantly positively associated with more positive outgroup attitudes ($b = .48$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.28, .68]) and general empathy ($b = .22$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.11, .33]) towards black (African) South Africans. Furthermore, general intergroup contact was significantly negatively associated with ingroup identification ($b = -.10$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [-.20, -.00]) among white South Africans. In turn, ingroup identification was significantly negatively associated with general empathy ($b = -.28$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [-.46, -.10]). Additionally, general empathy was significantly positively associated with more positive outgroup attitudes ($b = 1.40$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.10, 1.70]) as well as general empathic anger ($b = 1.32$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.09, 1.55]) and general collective guilt ($b = 1.10$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.87, 1.33]) about the racial injustices and social inequalities endured by black (African) South Africans. In turn, general collective guilt was significantly positively associated with general collective action intentions ($b = .21$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.08, .34]) in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans. Finally, general collective action intentions were significantly positively associated with context-specific behavioural intentions ($b = .61$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.42, .80]) to distribute flyers in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans at SU.

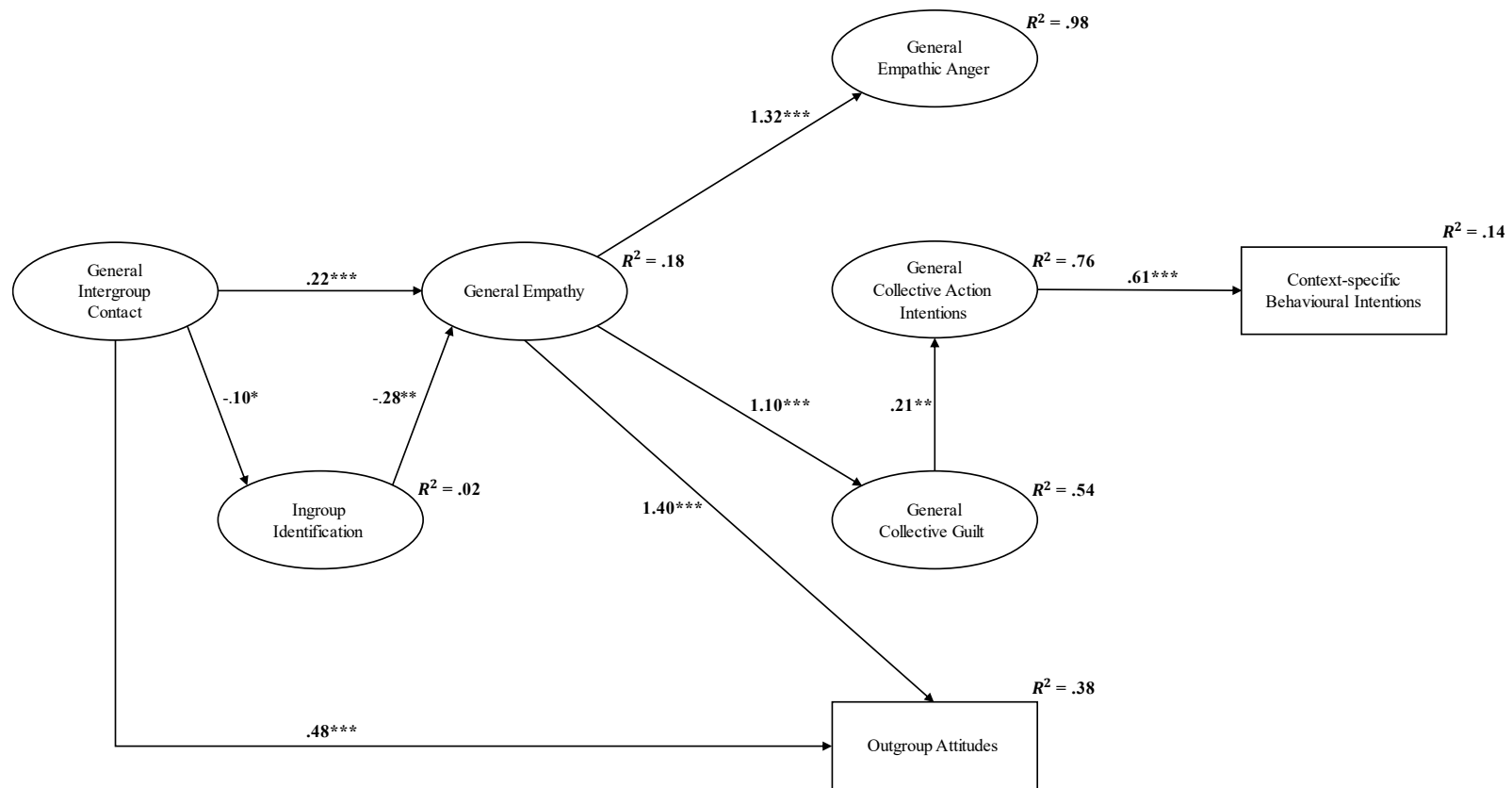


Figure 1. Latent variable structural equation model illustrating the indirect relationship between general intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and context-specific behavioural intentions among a sample of white South African students from Stellenbosch University.

N = 450; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; Standardized coefficients; only significant paths are reported.

Note. All scales calibrated so that higher mean values indicate higher levels of a particular construct. Manifest variables, error and disturbance terms are omitted for ease of reading.

Indirect Effects. Bootstrap mediation analyses (5,000 iterations) were undertaken to test the significance of the indirect effects observed in the General Model (and to generate bootstrapped confidence intervals for these indirect effects; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). These analyses indicated that general intergroup contact had a significant positive indirect relationship with general empathic anger ($b = .29, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.14, .44]$), general collective guilt ($b = .24, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.11, .37]$), and outgroup attitudes ($b = .31, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [.14, .47]$) via general empathy. Furthermore, there was a significant positive indirect relationship between general intergroup contact and general collective action intentions via the serial mediation of general empathy and general collective guilt ($b = .05, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [.01, .09]$). In addition, there was a significant positive indirect relationship between general intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions via the serial mediation of general empathy, general collective guilt, and general collective action intentions ($b = .03, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [.00, .06]$). However, contrary to earlier research, general empathic anger did not play a role in this relationship.

Further analyses indicated that ingroup identification had a significant negative indirect relationship with general empathic anger ($b = -.37, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.63, -.11]$), general collective guilt ($b = -.31, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.53, -.09]$), and outgroup attitudes ($b = -.40, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.69, -.10]$) via general empathy. Additionally, there was a significant negative indirect relationship between ingroup identification and general collective action intentions via the serial mediation of general empathy and general collective guilt ($b = -.06, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.13, .00]$). However, the indirect relationship between ingroup identification and general collective action intentions via the serial mediation of general empathy and general collective guilt did not achieve statistical significance ($b = -.07, p = .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.13, .00]$). Similarly, the indirect relationship between ingroup identification and context-specific behavioural intentions via the serial mediation of general empathy, general collective guilt, and

general collective action intentions did not achieve statistical significance ($b = -.04, p = .06, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.08, .00]$).

Finally, general empathy had a significant positive indirect relationship with general collective action intentions via general collective guilt ($b = .23, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.08, .38]$). Furthermore, there was a significant positive indirect relationship between general empathy and context-specific behavioural intentions via the serial mediation of general collective guilt and general collective action intentions ($b = .14, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.04, .24]$). Finally, there was a significant positive indirect relationship between general collective guilt and context-specific behavioural intentions via general collective action intentions ($b = .13, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.04, .22]$). These results provide partial support for the hypothesised indirect relationship between general intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions via ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, general emotions (i.e., empathy, collective guilt, empathic anger) about social issues in South Africa more generally, and general collective action intentions (H2). This model explained 2% of the variance (R^2) in ingroup identification, 18% of the variance in general empathy, and 98% of the variance in general empathic anger, 54% of the variance in general collective, 38% of the variance in outgroup attitudes, 76% of the variance in general collective action intentions, and 14% of the variance in context-specific behavioural intentions.

Context-specific Model. For the Context-specific Model, a structural equation model was estimated using intergroup contact as a predictor, ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, context-specific empathy, context-specific empathic anger, and context-specific collective guilt as mediators, context-specific collective action intentions, and context-specific behavioural intentions as outcomes. The measurement model indicated acceptable model fit, $\chi^2(86) = 171.29, \chi^2/df = 1.99; \text{CFI} = .973; \text{RMSEA} = .047, 90\% \text{ CI } [.037, .057]; \text{SRMR} = .037$.

This model fit confirmed the discriminant validity of each construct in the Context-specific Model. The structural model, which estimated the relationships between the eight constructs, also indicated acceptable model fit, $\chi^2(114) = 332.17$, $\chi^2/df = 2.91$; CFI = .939; RMSEA = .065, 90% CI [.057, .073]; SRMR = .043.

Direct Effects. As shown in Figure 2 below, context-specific intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at SU was significantly positively associated with context-specific empathy ($b = .41$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.07, .40]) towards black (African) South Africans at SU. Similarly, ingroup identification was significantly negatively associated with context-specific empathy ($b = -.31$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [-.52, -.09]). In turn, context-specific empathy was significantly positively associated with more positive outgroup attitudes ($b = 1.98$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.53, 2.43]) towards black (African) South Africans as well as context-specific collective guilt ($b = 1.87$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.24, 2.51]) and context-specific empathic anger ($b = 1.75$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.20, 2.30]) about the racial injustices and social inequalities endured by black (African) South Africans at SU. Furthermore, context-specific collective guilt was significantly positively associated with context-specific collective action intentions ($b = .42$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.20, .65]) in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans at SU. Finally, context-specific collective action intentions were significantly positively associated with context-specific behavioural intentions ($b = .50$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.36, .64]) to distribute flyers in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans at SU.

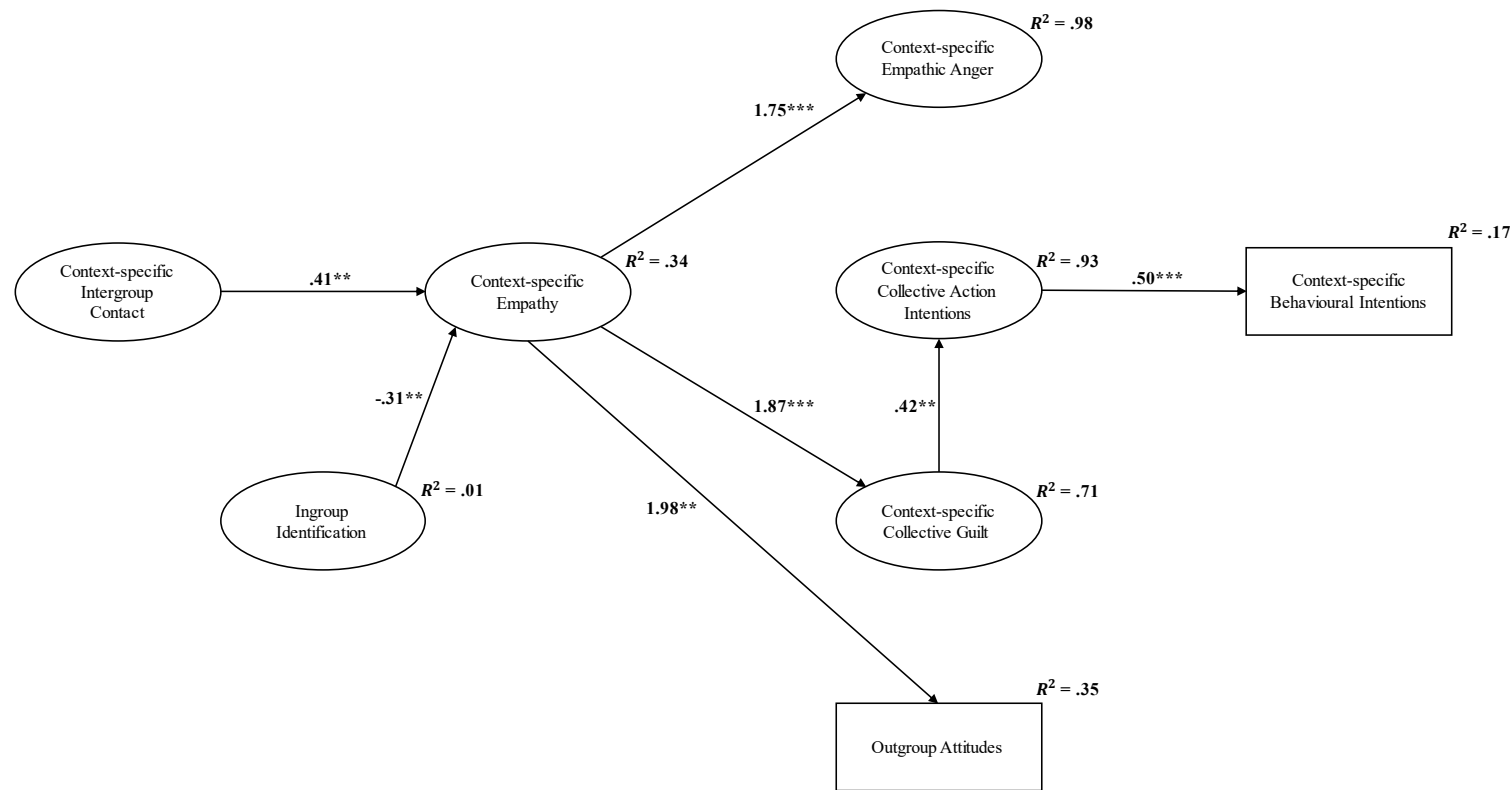


Figure 2. Latent variable structural equation model illustrating the indirect relationship between context-specific intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University and context-specific behavioural intentions among a sample of white South African students from Stellenbosch University.

$N = 450$; $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$; Standardized coefficients; only significant paths are reported.

Note. All scales calibrated so that higher mean values indicate higher levels of a particular construct. Manifest variables, error and disturbance terms are omitted for ease of reading.

Indirect Effects. Bootstrap mediation analyses (5,000 iterations) were undertaken to test the significance of the indirect effects observed in this model (and to generate bootstrapped confidence intervals for these indirect effects; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). These analyses indicated that context-specific intergroup contact had a significant positive indirect relationship with context-specific anger ($b = .41, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.08, .75]$), context-specific collective guilt ($b = .44, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.07, .82]$), and outgroup attitudes ($b = .47, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.13, .80]$) via context-specific empathy. However, the positive indirect relationship between context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific collective action intentions via the serial mediation of context-specific empathy and context-specific collective guilt did not achieve statistical significance ($b = .19, p = .10, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.04, .41]$). Similarly, the indirect relationship between context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions via the serial mediation of context-specific empathy, context-specific collective guilt, and context-specific collective action intentions did not achieve statistical significance ($b = .09, p = .11, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.02, .21]$).

Additionally, ingroup identification had a significant negative indirect relationship with context-specific anger ($b = -.53, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.03, -.04]$), context-specific guilt ($b = -.57, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.14, -.00]$), and outgroup attitudes ($b = -.60, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.12, -.08]$) via context-specific empathy. In turn, there was a significant positive indirect relationship between context-specific empathy and context-specific collective action intentions via context-specific collective guilt ($b = .79, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.15, 1.44]$). Furthermore, there was a significant positive indirect relationship between context-specific empathy and context-specific behavioural intentions via the serial mediation of context-specific collective guilt and context-specific collective action intentions ($b = .39, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [.06, .73]$). Finally, there was a significant positive indirect relationship between context-specific collective guilt and context-specific behavioural intentions via context-specific collective action intentions

($b = .21, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.06, .36]$). These results provide partial support for the hypothesised indirect relationship between context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions via by ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, context-specific emotions (i.e., empathy, collective guilt, empathic anger) about social issues at SU, and context-specific collective action intentions (H4). This model explained 1% of the variance in ingroup identification, 34% of the variance in context-specific empathy, 35% of the variance in outgroup attitudes, 98% of the variance in context-specific anger, 71% of the variance in context-specific guilt, 93% of the variance in context-specific collective action intentions, and 17% of the variance in the context-specific behavioural intentions.

Summary of Results

The primary aim of the present study was to investigate whether general experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans predicted context-specific collective action intentions among white South Africans at SU. Two hypotheses were tested using structural equation modelling among a convenience sample of white South African students from SU. The bivariate correlations provide tentative support for Hypothesis 1 (H1) while the General Model provides partial support for Hypothesis 2 (H2). The secondary aim of the present study was to investigate whether context-specific experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at SU predict context-specific collective action intentions among white South Africans at SU. Two hypotheses were tested using structural equation modelling among the same convenience sample of white South African students from SU. The bivariate correlations provide tentative support for Hypothesis 3 (H3) and the Context-specific Model provides partial support for Hypothesis 4 (H4).

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION

Collective action played an instrumental role in the dismantling of the South African apartheid regime. Today, it continues to offer an important avenue for the pursuit of social equality in South Africa. However, given the “stubborn core of resistance” among white South Africans (Dixon et al., 2007, p.867), it becomes important to understand those factors that might encourage white South Africans to engage collective action in support of historically disadvantaged South Africans.

The present study aimed to investigate (1) whether general experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans in general are associated with the behavioural intention to distribute flyers advocating for racial justice and social equality in support of black (African) South Africans at SU; and (2) whether context-specific experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at SU, specifically, are associated with the behavioural intention to distribute flyers advocating for racial justice and social equality in support of black (African) South Africans at SU. Cross-sectional self-report survey data were collected from a convenience sample of white South African students (N = 450) studying at SU. The results showed that there was a significant positive indirect association between general and context-specific experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans at SU via the serial mediation of empathy, collective guilt, and collective action intentions.

The theoretical and practical significance of these findings are discussed in greater detail below. First, I discuss the results as they relate to the direct relationship between both general and context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans. These results are contextualised against the existing literature and their

theoretical and practical implications are considered. Then, I discuss the indirect relationship between both general and context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans and consider the theoretical and practical implications of the mediation pathways that were identified. I conclude the Chapter by reviewing some of the key limitations of the present study and offer suggested avenues for future research.

Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions: The Direct Relationship

In the General Model, the significant bivariate correlation between general intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and context-specific behavioural intentions to distribute flyers in support of black (African) South Africans at SU offers tentative support for Hypothesis 1 (H1). Similarly, in the Context-specific Model, the significant bivariate correlation between context-specific intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at SU and context-specific behavioural intentions to distribute flyers in support of black (African) South Africans at SU offers tentative support for Hypothesis 3 (H3). These findings are consistent with both international (e.g., Özkan et al., 2023; Selvanathan et al., 2017) and South African (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011) research demonstrating a positive direct association between intergroup contact collective action intentions in support of disadvantaged-group members among advantaged-group members.

Initially, research on intergroup contact had focused on its potential for reducing prejudice between individuals belonging to different social groups (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, advances in Intergroup Contact Theory have since shown that the effects of intergroup contact extend beyond prejudice reduction. For instance, research has shown that intergroup contact is positively associated with outgroup attitudes (e.g., Fingerhut, 2011; Reimer et al., 2017), forgiveness for past wrongdoings (e.g., Hewstone et al., 2006, 2008), intergroup trust (e.g., Hewstone et al., 2008; Tam et al., 2009), and collective action intentions

(e.g., Hässler et al., 2020b; Reimer et al., 2017). Findings from the present study, therefore, make a valuable contribution to this list of benefits by showing that positive intergroup contact is also associated with the intention to engage in behaviours that would support disadvantaged-group members in the pursuit of social equality.

The present study has important implications for the South African context where pervasive social inequalities contribute towards adverse consequences among disadvantaged-group members, such as poor health (e.g., Gordon et al., 2020), increased dropout rates in higher education (e.g., Masutha, 2022), and social unrest (e.g., De Juan & Wegner, 2017). In post-conflict societies like South Africa, there is a need to move beyond an exclusive focus on prejudice reduction and towards addressing social inequality (Dixon et al., 2005, 2012). However, there are notable barriers to social change that include resistance from advantaged-group members who may perceive efforts to change the status quo as a threat to their (group's) privileged position (Dixon et al., 2007; Stephan et al., 2002, 2009). This has been identified in the South African context where white South Africans support the idea of social equality but do not support policies that aim to achieve it (see Dixon et al., 2007). While Dixon et al. (2007, 2010a) observed that intergroup contact may lower resistance to such policies among white South Africans, the present study suggests that intergroup contact may even encourage white South Africans to support black (African) South Africans in the pursuit of social equality.

In addition, findings from the present study (as they relate to the relationship between general intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions) provide additional support for the generalisation of contact effects across situations (see Boin et al., 2021; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Eller & Abrams, 2004; Pettigrew, 2009). For instance, the present study shows that contact with black (African) South Africans outside of SU (i.e., general intergroup contact) is associated with intentions to engage in behaviours that would support black (African) South Africans at SU. This is a particularly important finding because it implies that

many benefits can be achieved by creating opportunities for contact - benefits that extend beyond individual shifts in attitudes and that have important implications for social change. However, while the present study highlights the importance of creating more opportunities for contact, individuals must also be willing to engage in intergroup contact when such opportunities arise (see Ron et al., 2017). Therefore, the barriers to intergroup contact should be addressed in addition to creating more opportunities for contact.

As a post-conflict society, South Africa faces several barriers to intergroup contact. Some of these barriers include informal segregation (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009), intergroup anxiety (e.g., Amodio, 2009; Stephan, 2014), perceived threats (e.g., Stephan et al., 2002, 2009), and normative constraints (e.g., Christ et al., 2014). The present study highlights the importance of addressing these barriers because if they can be overcome then it may be that intergroup contact experiences encourage allyship. One way in which these barriers can be addressed is to increase the number of intergroup contact experiences that individuals have (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). This has been shown to have a positive effect on individuals' future intentions to engage in intergroup contact by familiarising them with the outgroup (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). However, given that individuals may not always be willing to engage in intergroup contact of their own volition (due to the aforementioned barriers; Ron et al., 2017), a structured contact intervention may be required.

Structured contact interventions are typically implemented within specific contexts like schools and are designed to promote interactions between students from different social groups (see Hughes et al., 2010, 2012). However, given that many South African schools remain informally segregated due to past and present social inequalities (Gruijters et al., 2022), it may be challenging to implement these interventions effectively. Shared education programmes (e.g., Hughes et al., 2010, 2012; Reimer et al., 2022) may be better suited for the South African

context because they facilitate regular contact between students from different schools. This can have significant practical value for schools that have relatively homogenous student populations because integrating students from different schools can create a more diverse group and thus offer more opportunities for intergroup contact to occur (Hughes et al., 2010, 2012; Reimer et al., 2022). International research (e.g., Hughes et al., 2010, 2012; Reimer et al., 2022) has shown that shared education programmes have a positive effect on the amount of intergroup contact experiences students have outside of school as well as their intentions to engage in future intergroup contact. Therefore, exposure to intergroup contact before students attend SU may potentially improve their intentions to engage in intergroup contact at SU.

For students who are already enrolled at SU, collaborative learning practices in lectures and tutorials may be considered. Earlier research (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2002; Loes et al., 2018) has shown that collaborative learning achieves many of the same benefits as shared education programmes. When students from different social groups collaborate towards shared educational goals, they are encouraged to engage in open dialogue and learn from one another's perspectives (Cabrera et al., 2002). This not only facilitates positive intergroup contact, but it also teaches students important social skills that can reduce intergroup anxiety and strengthen their intentions to engage in future intergroup contact experiences (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Loes et al., 2018; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Both shared education programmes and collaborative learning practices could have positive implications for social change because the present study shows that intergroup contact at SU is associated with the behavioural intention to distribute flyers advocating for racial justice and social equality in support of black (African) South Africans at SU.

Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions: The Indirect Relationship

An important observation in the present findings is that in both the General and the Context-specific models, the significant direct relationship between (general or context-specific) intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions evident in the bivariate correlations was reduced to non-significance in each model when the effects of the additional variables of interest were taken into account, as they were in the structural equation models (SEM) that were fitted. This suggests that the direct relationship between (general and context-specific) contact and context-specific behavioural-intentions is fully mediated by a series of underlying variables. In the General Model, the relationship between general intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions was significantly mediated via the serial mediation of general empathy, general collective guilt, and general collective action intentions, offering partial support for Hypothesis 2 (H2). In the Context-specific Model, the relationship between context-specific intergroup contact and context-specific behavioural intentions was significantly mediated by the serial mediation of context-specific empathy, context-specific collective guilt, and context-specific collective action intentions, partially supporting Hypothesis 4 (H4). As such, the underlying pattern of results were consistent across both Models, and these will therefore be discussed as one.

Across both Models, (general or context-specific) intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans was positively associated with (general or context-specific) empathy towards black (African) South Africans. These results correspond with prior cross-sectional (e.g., Swart et al., 2010) and longitudinal (e.g., Swart et al., 2011) South African research. They also correspond with the contact literature more generally, where meta-analytic research has identified affective empathy as an important mediator of intergroup contact effects (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). In both Models, (general or context-specific) empathy towards black (African) South Africans was significantly positively associated with (general or context-

specific) collective guilt about the racial injustices and social inequality that black (African) South Africans experience, which, in turn, was significantly associated with (general or context-specific) collective action intentions. These findings contribute evidence in favour of the importance of affective empathy in stimulating advantaged-group allyship to support similar observations made by Mallett et al. (2008), who proposed that perspective-taking (i.e., the cognitive dimension of empathy) and collective guilt work together to promote collective action intentions in support of disadvantaged-group members among advantaged-group members.

To my knowledge, the present study makes a novel theoretical contribution to the literature by providing the first correlational evidence for an alternative theoretical pathway to explain how white South Africans come to engage in collective action in support of black (African) South Africans within a specific context, via the serial mediation between empathy, collective guilt, and collective action intentions. I do not know of any literature that reports on these three variables involved in the serial mediation of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions in this way. Both Models speak to the importance of understanding those factors that underly the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions amongst advantaged-group members because (general and context-specific) collective action intentions were consistently significantly associated with context-specific behavioural intentions in support of racial justice and social equality for black (African) South Africans at SU. These findings support those reported by Reimer et al. (2017) who showed that intentions to engage in collective action more generally were associated with intentions to engage in a specific type of collective action.

Together, these findings suggest that intergroup contact (irrespective of the context in which it occurs) may be useful for mobilising white South Africans to act in support of black (African) South Africans within specific contexts, such as SU. Strategies seeking to achieve

these positive outcomes could emulate existing interventions that utilise intergroup contact to promote positive intergroup outcomes, such as youth engagement programmes (e.g., Laurence, 2019, 2020; Reimer et al., 2021), shared education programmes (e.g., Reimer et al., 2022), and interventions aimed at fostering intergroup friendships (e.g., Kende et al., 2016). However, considering the role of empathy as a primary mediator of contact effects in both models, forms of intergroup contact that facilitate empathy should be emphasised. Such an approach might involve encouraging participants to engage in reciprocal self-disclosure as this has been shown to foster empathy (Aron et al., 1997; Turner et al., 2007; Kende et al., 2016). Therefore, as white South Africans begin to empathise with black (African) South Africans, they are likely to experience collective guilt about the challenges that these outgroup members endure. To the degree that collective guilt does not elicit group-defensive behaviour (see Çakal et al., 2016; Vezzali et al., 2017), such an approach may be an effective means for encouraging white South Africans to act in solidarity with black (African) South Africans to address racial injustice and social inequality within specific contexts, such as SU.

The two Models (General and Context-specific) that were tested in the present study also offer potential insights into the relationship between (general and context-specific) intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and context-specific behavioural intentions for students who are new to SU versus those who have been at SU for a while. For instance, the General Model may be more applicable to newly enrolled white South African students who have not been at SU long enough to engage in intergroup contact, form intergroup friendships, and experience (or become familiar with) the context-specific issues endured by many black (African) South Africans on campus. For these students, it may be their general experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and emotions concerning social issues in South Africa more generally that predict their intentions to engage in collective action to support black (African) South Africans at SU.

In contrast, the Context-specific Model may carry more relevance for senior white South African students. Senior students have had more time (and more opportunities) to engage in intergroup contact with black (African) South African peers, form meaningful intergroup friendships, and be exposed to challenges faced by black (African) South Africans at SU. For these students, it may be their context-specific experiences of intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans at SU and emotions concerning issues at SU specifically that mobilises them to engage in collective action. Recall, however, that more opportunities for intergroup contact do not always guarantee meaningful intergroup interactions, because self-segregation is still common (see Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Dixon et al., 2008; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). Nonetheless, the Context-specific Model may still offer a more appropriate theoretical framework for understanding how white South Africans come to engage in collective action within specific contexts, such as SU. Future research may investigate these propositions to test when and under what conditions general as opposed to context-specific intergroup contact, emotions, and orientations are more effective for facilitating advantaged-group engagement in collective action to support disadvantaged-group members within specific contexts.

There were a few instances where the present study did not corroborate the results reported in the literature. For example, in both models, neither ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, nor empathic anger mediated the relationship between (general or context-specific) intergroup contact with black (African) South Africans and context-specific behavioural intentions among white South Africans. This contrasts with prior research that has highlighted the mediational effects of ingroup identification (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011; Uluğ & Tropp, 2021), outgroup attitudes (e.g., Taylor & McKeown, 2021), and empathic anger (e.g., Mallett et al., 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2017) on collective action intentions in support of disadvantaged-group members. Of course, unobserved mediational relationships in both models should not

suggest that these variables have no influence on context-specific behavioural intentions within this sample and context. On the contrary, an examination of the bivariate correlations from the preliminary analysis for both models shows that each variable is significantly associated with context-specific behavioural intentions. However, when the effects of these three variables were tested in the presence of empathy, collective guilt, and collective action intentions using SEM, the influence of ingroup identification, outgroup attitudes, and empathic anger on context-specific behavioural intentions are reduced to nonsignificant. This suggests that empathy, collective guilt, and collective action intentions may be stronger mediators of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions in support of black (African) South Africans among white South Africans. Future research will be required to adequately test the relative importance of these mediators in relation to one another in the South African context.

Limitations and Recommendations

The present study makes several contributions to the contact-collective action intentions literature and adds important correlational evidence to the dearth of South African research investigating the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions. Although the present study employed methodologies that have previously been used to investigate this relationship in international (e.g., Di Bernardo et al., 2019; Özkan et al., 2023; Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017) and local (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011; Dixon et al., 2016) contexts, it is not without its limitations. It is essential to consider these limitations to create a more comprehensive assessment of the present findings in terms of generalisability and validity. These limitations include the cross-sectional nature of the data, reliance on a convenience sample, the collection of self-report data, the omission of a specific offender when

measuring empathic anger, and the positively skewed nature of the data. Each of these will be discussed in more detail below along with recommendations for future research.

Cross-sectional data

The cross-sectional research design employed in the present study offered a practical, time-efficient, and inexpensive means to collect data from white South African students at SU. However, while cross-sectional research can be useful for explaining how the constructs of interest correlate with each other, it does not offer a test of the causal assumptions about the implied relationships in the structural equation models that were tested (Vivien & Coman, 2021). Given that cross-sectional data are collected at a single point in time, it is static in nature, which makes it impossible to observe changes over time and establish temporal trends (Bell, 2021). This limits the interpretation of the observed relationships between the variables of interest. It will therefore be important to test the implied relationships in both the General and Context-specific Models using follow-up longitudinal or experimental research. Longitudinal research designs collect data over a period of time, which allows for temporal relationships to be established (Bell, 2021), while experimental research allows researchers to test for association, time order, and nonspuriousness (Bol, 2021).

While longitudinal research designs have their benefits, there are also important limitations to consider. Longitudinal research is often more time-consuming and resource-intensive in comparison to cross-sectional studies (Caruana et al., 2015), which makes it less feasible when time and resources are limited. Furthermore, longitudinal studies face the threat of sample attrition over time, which occurs when participants discontinue their participation before the study has concluded (Pan & Zhan, 2020). This can change the composition of the sample and potentially affect the generalisability of findings to the population of interest (Caruana et al., 2015; Pan & Zhan, 2020). In addition, there are also notable limitations to consider for experimental research. Although experimental research designs would be the most

suitable for testing the causal relationships implied in the General and Context-specific Models, these research designs often lack sufficient external validity (Bol, 2021). Where cross-sectional data may have limitations in terms of internal validity compared to experimental data, a notable advantage of cross-sectional data is its higher external validity (Duncan & Magnuson, 2003). However, it is important to acknowledge that all research designs have their inherent limitations. Therefore, the best approach for investigating a certain topic is to undertake numerous studies that each adopt different methodologies (Heale & Forbes, 2013). Over time, such an approach may allow researchers to triangulate the results across multiple studies to gain a clearer understanding of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions, for instance, as well as the underlying processes that shape this relationship.

Convenience Sample

The second limitation that is important to discuss is the use of a convenience sample of white South African students from SU. Convenience sampling relies on collecting data from participants that are easily accessible, which has its advantages because it makes the data collection process more time-efficient and cost-effective (Bornstein et al., 2013). However, the non-random criteria that were used to sample participants from the white South African student population at SU can contribute towards selection bias, which occurs when the individuals included in the study do not represent the population of interest (Zack et al., 2019). Given the increased risk for selection bias, it might be inappropriate to generalise the present findings to the broader white South African student population at SU or even white South Africans more generally. Furthermore, sampling white South African students from a single institution limits these generalisations even further since the characteristics and experiences of students at SU may differ from those at other institutions. It is therefore crucial to acknowledge the limitations of convenience sampling methods and exercise caution when extrapolating the present findings to other contexts. Nonetheless, an added advantage of using a convenience sampling method

is that it facilitates comparisons between the present findings and those of local (e.g., Çakal et al., 2011) and international research (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017;), which have similarly used convenience samples of students from various universities.

To address selection bias and enhance the representational fit of the sample, it is advisable for future research to use sampling methods that align the demographic composition of participants with that of the white South African student population at SU or white South Africans in general. A method that can achieve this is stratified random sampling, which can be used to divide the population of interest into subgroups based on shared characteristics, such as age, gender, socio-economic status, and level of education (Cornesse et al., 2020). Individuals from these subgroups can then be selected at random in a number that is proportional to the subgroup's size in the population (Cornesse et al., 2020). This can help to ensure that the demographic composition of participants is proportional to the demographic composition of individuals in the population, which improves the representational fit of the sample, reduces errors in estimation, and allows for more general inferences to be made. However, the disadvantages of stratified random sampling are that it requires more time, effort, and resources (Borstein, 2013).

Statistical Power

The present study was underpowered for detecting a small effect size of 0.02. This means that the sample size was not large enough to detect subtle effects. Given this limitation, the results of the present study should be interpreted with caution because there may be true effects in the population that were not detected due to insufficient sample size, leading to a higher probability of false negatives (Banerjee et al., 2009). Power analyses undertaken using G*Power (Version 3.1.9.7; Faul et al., 2007, 2009) suggest that a sample size of 725 participants would be required to detect a small effect size of 0.02 with 80% probability.

Therefore, to enhance the robustness of the conclusions drawn from the present study, future research should seek to replicate these findings with larger sample sizes.

Self-report data

The present study relied on self-report data, which were collected using an online survey. Self-report data are susceptible to social desirability bias, which occurs when participants provide responses that they believe are socially acceptable or desirable, even if those responses do not reflect their true beliefs, feelings, or opinions (Podsakoff et al., 2003). This form of bias arises from the desire to present oneself in a favourable light, conform to societal norms, avoid criticism, gain social approval, or maintain a positive self-image (Larson, 2018; Tourangeau & Yan, 2007). In cases where participants answer untruthfully, social desirability bias can undermine the validity of results and lead researchers to draw inaccurate conclusions that do not reflect the true nature of the phenomenon or sample under investigation (Podsakoff et al., 2003; Tourangeau & Yan, 2007). For instance, participants might report having black (African) South Africans friends (or being more willing to engage in collective action in support of black (African) South Africans) to appear unprejudiced. However, while social desirability bias is a risk associated with self-report data, two factors serve to mitigate the influence of this bias in the present study.

First, data were collected using an online survey that anonymised participants' responses. All participants were informed about the anonymity of data collection in both the recruitment email and informed consent form, which were accessed before the main survey. Anonymised data collection can help reduce self-presentational concerns and encourage participants to answer more truthfully (Larson, 2018; Thielmann et al., 2016). Second, a low-level of deception was used to measure context-specific behavioural intentions to ensure that participants responded as naturally and uninhibited as possible. Although future research could implement additional measures to limit biased responses, the mean scores across all the

measured variables did not exhibit a ceiling effect, which occurs when a large percentage of participants have maximum scores. This is a positive indication that the present findings were unlikely to have been unduly influenced by social desirability bias.

An additional limitation relating to self-report data in the present study is the language of the materials. All the materials in the survey were presented in English, which may have influenced how most participants (who reported Afrikaans as their home language) responded to the questions in the present study. However, given that the results are comparable to that of earlier research in which English was the dominant language (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017), it is unlikely that the language of the materials influenced the results to any large degree.

Omission of Offender Name(s)

In earlier research (e.g., Mallett et al., 2008; Pagano & Huo, 2007; Selvanathan et al., 2017), an offender was always named in the items that were used to measure anger. For instance, Pagano and Huo (2007) measured anger towards Saddam Hussein and his regime as well as the United States government for the occupation of Iraq. In these studies, anger was positively correlated with collective action intentions in support of disadvantaged-group members among advantaged-group members. However, no offender was named in the items that were used to measure anger in the present study. It is possible that the unintentional omission of an offender influenced important blame assignment functions that moderate the relationship between anger and collective action intentions (Javeline, 2003), which might explain the absent relationship between anger and collective action intentions in the present Models. Future research might seek to test whether the naming of an offender moderates the relationship between anger and collective action intentions.

Positively Skewed Data

The single item that was used to measure context-specific behavioural intentions was found to be positively skewed with a skewness value of 2.72, which exceeds the acceptable range proposed by West et al. (1995). In this instance, a skewed distribution is not unexpected given that human behaviours (and their preceding intentions) are inherently diverse and vary across individuals, groups, and contexts (Fishbein & Azjen, 1975). This consideration may be particularly important when measuring intentions to perform behaviours that are linked to sensitive, highly contested, or threatening issues (as the present study has done), which are generally characterised by polarising views (Bluic et al., 2020; Kleiner, 2018; Mielczarek-Żejmo, 2020). In this instance, there may be several polarised views about the relative status of black (African) South Africans at SU that dominate the observed distribution, resulting in a concentration of responses towards one end of the scale. This positively skewed distribution may also be attributable to the timing of data collection, which occurred during the exam period where intentions to engage in social change were likely outweighed by greater motivations to study. While this is speculation, Van Zomeren and Spears (2009) observed that individuals generally display reduced intentions to engage in collective action when the perceived costs outweigh the rewards associated with social change engagement. Nonetheless, the measure of context-specific behavioural intentions was retained in both Models because it was an important outcome variable that the present study aimed to explore. The decision to retain this variable, however, means that caution needs to be taken when interpreting parameter estimates.

Directions for Future Research

The most important recommendation for future research would be to investigate the relationship between indirect forms of intergroup contact and collective action intentions. Indirect intergroup contact encompasses a broad range of possibilities through which

individuals can gain exposure to different social groups without engaging in direct face-to-face interactions with members of those groups (Vezzali et al., 2014). Some examples include vicarious contact where individuals observe rather than participate in intergroup contact (e.g., Brown & Paterson, 2016; Dovidio et al., 2011) and parasocial contact where individuals encounter the outgroup through various forms of media (e.g., Di Bernardo et al., 2017; Park, 2012). Earlier research has shown that indirect forms of intergroup contact offer similar benefits to direct intergroup contact in terms of reducing prejudice (e.g., Schiappa et al., 2006; Wout et al., 2010) and improving attitudes (e.g., Christ et al., 2010; Eller et al., 2011). However, an advantage of indirect contact is that it can be more practical to facilitate in contexts like South Africa where barriers to direct contact, such as informal segregation (see Dixon et al., 2008; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009), make it more challenging to encourage face-to-face interactions between individuals from different social groups (Vezzali et al., 2014). Therefore, future research should investigate whether indirect forms of intergroup contact can be a viable alternative to direct intergroup contact in terms of encouraging advantaged-group members to engage in collective action to support disadvantaged-group members within the South African context.

A second recommendation for future research is informed by MacInnis and Hodson's (2019) theoretical model, which proposed that positive outgroup attitudes predict positive behaviours towards and sustained interactions with outgroup members while negative ingroup attitudes predict positive collective action outcomes. Future research might seek to measure ingroup attitudes in addition to outgroup attitudes to explore the relationship between intergroup contact, attitudes, and collective action intentions in more detail. Furthermore, identification processes that transform group members' perceptions of group boundaries from "us" and "them" to a more inclusive "we" should be investigated. Earlier research has shown that these inclusive identification processes might have potential benefits for improving

outgroup attitudes and encouraging advantaged-group members to support disadvantaged-group members in the pursuit of social change (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner et al., 1993; Van Zomeren et al., 2011). For instance, it is important to consider the extent to which advantaged-group members feel connected to the disadvantaged-group and whether the experience of a dual identification (see Van Zomeren et al., 2011) will enhance or diminish the influence of emotional and cognitive mediators of the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions. In addition, the effects of superordinate (or common) group identities (see Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner et al., 1993) might also be considered. Earlier research has shown that superordinate identities can improve attitudes towards former outgroup members (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner et al., 1993) and encourage individuals to focus on common goals and shared interests (e.g., Radke et al., 2020; Vezzali et al., 2015). Therefore, it would be important to consider to what extent white students might be willing to engage in collective action to support black (African) South Africans at SU as fellow SU students rather than as white South Africans.

In addition to the above recommendations for future research, it will be important to replicate the present study at other South African universities to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the contact-collective action intentions relationship within the context of higher education in South Africa. Different universities may introduce important contextual nuances that will be important to consider, such as different power structures, institutional arrangements, population demographics, and systemic barriers (Christ et al., 2014; Fingerhut, 2011; Kauff et al., 2020). These differences may create a unique dynamic that has the potential to influence intergroup relations, intergroup contact, and collective action intentions (Christ et al., 2014; Fingerhut, 2011). Therefore, it would be interesting to see whether future research can corroborate the findings of the present study at South African universities where white South Africans are a numerical minority or to test whether intergroup contact and collective

action intentions are compatible among disadvantaged-group members at these universities (see Hässler et al., 2020b; Van Zomeren, 2019; Reimer & Sengupta, 2023).

The last recommendation for future research was inspired by Hässler et al. (2020a) who proposed that the positive effects of intergroup contact on collective action intentions may be attenuated for high-cost collective action (e.g., protests, rallies, or demonstrations) because there are more risks involved. For instance, protests are accompanied by an increased risk for harmful police retaliation (e.g., Mahlatsi, 2023; Oladipo, 2023), social ostracism from those who perceive the protest as illegitimate (e.g., Olsen, 1968; Wilner et al., 1995), and physical injury (e.g., Pearl et al., 2021; Richardson et al., 2022). Therefore, it would be interesting for future research to investigate whether intergroup contact is also positively associated with the intention to engage in high-cost collective action.

Conclusion

In South Africa, social inequality is a problem that needs to be addressed to improve the lives of disadvantaged-group members (De Juan & Wegner, 2017; Gordon et al., 2020; Masutha, 2022). However, policies that aim to achieve social inequality are typically unsupported by white South Africans (Dixon et al., 2007). Earlier research has shown that intergroup contact can diminish resistance to such policies among advantaged-group members (e.g., Dixon et al., 2007) and even potentially encourage them to become helpful allies in the pursuit of social equality (e.g., Hässler et al., 2020a; Reimer et al., 2017; Selvanathan et al., 2017). Given the limited South African data, the present study employed a cross-sectional design using self-report survey data to investigate the relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions among a convenience sample of white South Africans studying at SU.

The present study makes several important contributions, particularly to the South African literature. Not only does it demonstrate that intergroup contact is associated with intentions to engage in behaviours that would support black (African) South Africans, but it also suggests that these positive effects can generalise across situations (which is consistent with the international literature; Boin et al., 2021; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Eller & Abrams, 2004; Pettigrew, 2009). This has positive implications for the South African context (where opportunities for contact are limited; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Dixon et al., 2008; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009) because intergroup contact in one context may contribute towards intentions to support disadvantaged-group members in another context.

In addition, the present study identifies a novel theoretical pathway to explain the indirect relationship between intergroup contact and collective action intentions. This theoretical pathway involves the serial mediation of empathy, collective guilt, and collective action intentions. Furthermore, the two models that were tested in the present study offer potential insight into the significance of general intergroup contact for students who are new to SU and context-specific intergroup contact for students who have been at SU for a while. However, in order to achieve the potential benefits of intergroup contact for encouraging advantaged-group members to engage in collective action, the present study calls for future research to investigate how the barriers to intergroup contact can be overcome.

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Appendix A:
Confirmation of Institutional Permission (abbreviated)



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INSTITUTIONAL PERMISSION:

AGREEMENT ON USE OF PERSONAL INFORMATION IN RESEARCH

Name of Researcher: Michael Luden

Name of Research Project: Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions Among White South African Students

Service Desk ID: IG - 3620

Date of Issue: 22 September 2022

The researcher has received institutional permission to proceed with this project as stipulated in the institutional permission application and within the conditions set out in this agreement.

Appendix B:
Confirmation of Research Ethics Approval (abbreviated)



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CONFIRMATION OF RESEARCH ETHICS APPROVAL

REC: Social, Behavioural and Education Research (SBER) - Initial Application Form

20 October 2022

Project number: 25682

Project Title: Intergroup contact and collective action intentions among white South African students

Dear Mr M Luden

Identified supervisor(s) and/or co-investigator(s):

Dr H Swart

Your REC: Social, Behavioural and Education Research (SBER) - Initial Application Form submitted on 27/09/2022 10:33 was reviewed and approved by the Social, Behavioural and Education Research Ethics Committee (REC: SBE).

Your research ethics approval is valid for the following period:

Protocol approval date (Humanities)	Protocol expiration date (Humanities)
20 October 2022	19 October 2023

Appendix C: Recruitment Email

Dear Stellenbosch Student,

You are invited to participate in a research study **on intergroup relations and social change** conducted by Mr. Michael Kyle Luden, a Stellenbosch University student completing his Master's degree in Psychology under the supervision of Dr. Hermann Swart, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University.

You have been selected as a prospective participant in this study because you are a registered student at Stellenbosch University.

This research has received ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee (Social, Behavioural, and Educational Research) at Stellenbosch University (**Project number: SBE-2022-25682**) as well as institutional permission from Stellenbosch University.

Please click on the link below to learn more about this study. This link will also take you to the electronic informed consent form. If you provide informed consent, you will then be directed to the main survey.

This survey **should not take longer than 15 minutes to complete**. Your participation is entirely **voluntary, anonymous**, and your responses will be **confidential**. Upon completion of the online survey, you will be given the opportunity to enter a lucky draw to **win one of 20 Takealot vouchers (to the value of R100.00 each)**.

You may open the survey in your web browser by clicking the link below:

If the link above does not work, try copying the link below into your web browser:

This link is unique to you and should not be forwarded to others.

Your participation is sincerely appreciated,

Michael

Appendix D: Informed Consent Form

A brief overview of the present study:

This study aims to explore the dynamics of intergroup relations within the context of social change, with a particular focus on the Stellenbosch University context. The study is being conducted by Mr. Michael Kyle Luden (20431317), a Stellenbosch University student completing his M.A. (Psychology) degree in the Psychology Department at Stellenbosch University (under the supervision of Dr. Hermann Swart, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University).

You will be asked to read and answer a range of questions that relate to your experiences, perceptions, and attitudes in the context of intergroup relations and social change at Stellenbosch University. The study is being conducted for degree purposes. As such, the results from the study will be reported in **anonymised**, aggregated form in Mr Luden's M.A. (Psychology) thesis. In other words, the results will not be reported for individual participants and the way the results are reported will make it impossible to identify individual participants. The results of the study will be presented in **anonymised**, aggregated form at academic conferences. In other words, the results will not be reported for individual participants and the way the results are reported will make it impossible to identify individual participants. The results of the study will be written up for publication in **anonymised**, aggregated form in peer-reviewed academic journals. In other words, the results will not be reported for individual participants and the way the results are reported will make it impossible to identify individual participants.

You have been selected as a prospective participant because:

You are a South African student (aged 18 years or older) who is registered at Stellenbosch University. Institutional permission was received to request your email address from the Stellenbosch University Registrar for the sole purpose of inviting you to participate in this study.

If you agree to participate:

You will be asked to complete a Biographical and Demographic Questionnaire along with the Main Survey exploring intergroup relations and social change. Your participation **should not require more than 20 minutes of your time**. By agreeing to participate in this study, you are giving your consent that the data you provide under the conditions of **anonymity** and **confidentiality** may be securely stored for data analyses and may be written up for degree purposes or in peer-reviewed academic journals and may be presented as described at academic conferences.

The potential benefits of this research:

Your participation in this study will make a valuable contribution to furthering our understanding of the dynamics of intergroup relations in the context of social change.

Upon completion of the Main Survey, **you will be invited to enter into a lucky draw to win one of 20 Takealot vouchers (to the value of R100.00 each)**. Only participants who have completed the survey will be eligible to enter the lucky draw. Participants who choose to enter the lucky draw will be asked to provide an email address where they can be contacted if they are one of the 20 winners. The study supervisor, Dr Hermann Swart, will ensure that all email addresses that are provided for the lucky draw are removed from the study database before Mr Luden (M.A. Candidate) will have access to the data for analyses. The email addresses

provided for the lucky draw will be deleted from the study database entirely once all 20 winners of the lucky draw have been notified of their winnings.

The potential risks involved in participating in this research:

Substantial efforts have been made to ensure that all participants can participate in this study under the protection of complete anonymity and confidentiality. Participants will not be required to provide any personally identifying information (e.g., name, surname, student number) in this study. Instead, participants will be assigned a unique numeric identifier by the REDCap survey platform, which will be linked to their survey (but not to the participant's identity). This ensures that all responses to the survey are provided **anonymously**. Participants who wish to be entered into the lucky draw will be asked to provide an email address where they can be contacted should they be one of the 20 winners. As described above, efforts will be made to ensure that only the Supervisor (Dr Hermann Swart) will have access to these email addresses and that this access will be for the shortest possible time necessary to complete the draw and notify the winners. None of the data will be available to (or shared with) anyone other than Mr Luden (Masters Candidate) and Dr Hermann Swart (Supervisor). As such, participants are assured that the responses they provide will be treated with the necessary confidentiality required. The data will be securely stored in password protected files. Although it is unlikely, there is always the chance that third parties may target the survey platform being used to collect the data in this study. While the REDCap survey platform is not as secure as those platforms that are used to manage credit card transactions, for example, it is a platform that has been rigorously tested and approved by Stellenbosch University for data collection purposes.

It is unlikely that participation in this study will lead to any emotional or psychological distress. However, in the unlikely event that you do experience any emotional or psychological distress

resulting from your participation in this study, you may access free counselling services with the following service providers:

CENTRE FOR STUDENT COUNSELLING AND DEVELOPMENT

Phone (Stellenbosch campus): 021 808 4994

Phone (Tygerberg campus): 021970 7020

Email: supportus@sun.ac.za

WELGEVALLEN CLINIC

Phone: 021808 2696

Email: WCPC@sun.ac.za

Should you require assistance with setting up a consultation with either provider, you may contact the study supervisor (Dr Hermann Swart) for assistance. His email address is hswart@sun.ac.za

This study has been **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee: Social, Behavioural and Education Research at Stellenbosch University (Project ID: REC: SBE-2022-25682). The study will be conducted according to the ethical guidelines and principles of South Africa's Department of Health Ethics in Health Research: Principles, Processes and Studies (2015). You can contact Dr Hermann Swart (study Supervisor) at hswart@sun.ac.za should you have any questions about this study or encounter any problems.

RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS:

You have the right to decline answering any questions and you can exit the survey at any time without giving a reason. If you have questions, concerns, or complaints regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact Mrs Clarissa Robertson (cgraham@sun.ac.za; 021 808

9183) at the Division for Research Development. You can download a copy of this information and consent form for your records on the next page.

By Agreeing to participate in this study you (1) acknowledge that you have read, understand, and agree to the details presented in this informed consent form; (2) agree to the secure storage of your anonymised data for further analyses; and (3) agree that your data can be included in aggregated, anonymised form in academic outputs (including M.A. thesis, conference presentations, and peer-reviewed research articles).

Appendix E: Permission for the Provision of Free Counselling Services



WELGEVALLEN COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY CLINIC

Department of Psychology, Stellenbosch University
Tel: 021 808 2696 Email: wpcpc@sun.ac.za Web: www.sun.ac.za/wpcpc

21/09/2022

RE: Free Psychological Services

The Welgevallen Community Psychology Clinic (WCPC) is a clinic offering free psychological services. The clinicians delivering the service at WCPC are student psychologists in training, all working under the supervision of registered independent practicing Clinical/Counselling Psychologists. WCPC is offering in person as well as online therapy sessions during the Covid-19 pandemic.

This letter serves as confirmation that the clinic services are available to provide support to any research participants who may experience psychological distress during or due to participation in the research being conducted by Michael Luden.

The abovementioned student is conducting this research in fulfilment of his MA Research Psychology at Stellenbosch University under the supervision of Dr Hermann Swart Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University.

His research title is: Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions Among White South African Students.

The researcher agrees to provide the clinic details to all research participants to ensure they are aware of the support available and are thus able to access the necessary support should the need arise. The service at Welgevallen is offered by Clinical Psychologists in training, and clients are allocated to a clinician based on clinician availability. Therefore, it is not possible to provide the registration number and names of clinician prior to referral.

Please do contact me for further information

Megan Snow

*Lecturer: Psychology Department
Clinical Psychologist*

Clinic Manager: Welgevallen Community Psychology Clinic



Student Affairs
iMicimbi yaBafundi
Studentesake

25 August 2022

Dear Mr Michael Luden (Student number: 20431317)

We take note of your study titled "*Intergroup Contact and Collective Action Intentions Among White South African Students*".

Should the participants of your survey, namely SU registered students, of the abovementioned study require therapeutic intervention, they can email supportus@sun.ac.za or phone 021 808 4994 (Stellenbosch Campus) and 021 970 7020 (Tygerberg Campus) during office hours. ER24 services can be contacted for psychological emergencies after hours at 010 205 3032.

Please contact me should you have any other queries. Good luck with your studies.

Kind regards

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Elmarie Kruger'.

Elmarie Kruger

Acting Head: Unit for Psychotherapeutic and Support Services
Centre for Student Counselling and Development
Department of Student Affairs

Appendix F:

Biographical Survey

Note: The construct name precedes the item(s) that relate(s) to the construct. Scale scores are reported in parentheses. Neither of these will be included in the final questionnaire presented to participants.

Instructions: Your answers to the questions that follow will allow us to describe the characteristics of our research sample. Please read through each question carefully and answer as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each question. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the question.

Age

1. How old are you today (in years)? Insert your answer in the textbox provided.

Self-reported gender identity

2. Please indicate which of the following groups describes you best by ticking the relevant tickbox:

Female (0)

Male (1)

Other (2)

Prefer Not to Say (3)

Home language

3. Please indicate your home language:

Afrikaans (0)

English (1)

Other (Please Specify)

Campus

4. Please indicate which SU campus you study at by ticking the relevant tickbox:

Main Campus (Stellenbosch) (0)

Bellville Campus (1)

Military Academy (Saldanha) (2)

Tygerberg Campus (3)

Other (Please Specify)

Accommodation

5. Please indicate the type of accommodation you reside in by ticking the relevant tickbox:

- An SU Residence ('koshuis') (0)*
- Other SU Student Housing (1)*
- Private Accommodation on Campus (2)*
- I do not live on Campus and commute to class (3)*

Years registered as an SU student

6. How many years (including this year) have you been registered as an SU student? Please tick the relevant tickbox to indicate your answer:

- 1 year (1)*
- 2 years (2)*
- 3 years (3)*
- 4 years (4)*
- 5 years (5)*
- 6 years (6)*
- 7 years (7)*
- 8 or more years (8)*

Self-reported ethnic identity

7. Please indicate which of the following South African population groups describes you best by ticking the relevant tickbox.

- Asian South African (0)*
- black (African) South African (1)*
- coloured South African (2)*
- Indian South African (3)*
- white South African (4)*
- I am not a South African (5)*
- Other (Please specify) (6)*
- Prefer Not to Say (7)*

Disclaimer: The Department of Psychology, the Masters Candidate, and the Supervisor each recognize that the categories referenced here (and elsewhere) are socially constructed and do not acknowledge or endorse the legitimacy of these categories. Moreover, they accept that individuals might categorize themselves in various ways over-and-above or other than just these social constructed categories. Nevertheless, this study aims to locate the responses to the survey questions within the context of these groups. This does not mean that the individual endorses the category, rather that it provides a context for understanding their point of view or experience.

Appendix G:

Main Survey

Note: The construct name precedes the item(s) that relate(s) to the construct. These were not included in the final questionnaire presented to participants. Furthermore, only those items from the original project (Project number: SBE-2022-25682) that were included in the secondary data analyses undertaken in the present study are reported here.

Instructions: Please read through each of the following questions carefully and answer each question as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each question. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the question.

General intergroup contact

Instructions: Think about your daily face-to-face interactions (e.g., conversations) with South Africans in general. Read each of the following questions carefully and answer each one as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each question. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the question. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. How often do you have face-to-face interactions (e.g., conversations) with black (African) South Africans?

0	1	2	3	4
<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>All the Time</i>

2. How many friends do you have who are black (African) South Africans?

0	1	2	3	4
<i>None</i>	<i>One Friend</i>	<i>Two Friends</i>	<i>Three Friends</i>	<i>Four or More Friends</i>

3. How often do you spend time with your black (African) South African friends?

0	1	2	3	4
<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>All the Time</i>

General empathy

Instructions: Think about South Africa in general. Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. If I saw or heard that a black (African) South African was upset because they were suffering injustices relating to their ethnicity, I would also feel upset.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. If a black (African) South African I knew was feeling sad, I do not think that I would also feel sad.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

General empathic anger

Instructions: Think about South Africa in general. Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. I do not feel irritated when I think about the social inequality that affects black (African) South Africans.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. I feel angry when I think about the racism that black (African) South Africans endure daily.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

3. I do not feel furious when I see or hear about instances of racism towards black (African) South Africans.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

General collective guilt

Instructions: Think about South Africa in general. Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. I feel guilty when I think about the social inequalities that black (African) South Africans have experienced in the past and continue to experience in the present.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. I do not feel guilty about the degree of social inequalities that exist between white and black (African) South Africans.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

3. I do not feel guilty about the benefits and privileges that I receive as a white South African that many black (African) South Africans do not receive.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

General collective action intentions

Instructions: Think about South Africa in general. Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own opinion.

1. I would not be willing to attend a demonstration protesting racial injustice and social inequality in South Africa.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. I would be willing to attend meetings or workshops that facilitate discussions about privilege and social inequalities in South Africa.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

3. I would be willing to write a letter to public officials or other people of influence in South Africa to protest racial injustice and social inequality.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

4. I would be willing to sign a petition to support racial justice and social equality in South Africa.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

Context-specific intergroup contact

Instructions: Think about your daily face-to-face interactions (e.g., conversations) with South Africans at Stellenbosch University. Read each of the following questions carefully and answer each one as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each question. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the question. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. How often do you have face-to-face interactions (e.g., conversations) with black (African) South Africans at Stellenbosch University (e.g., in class, in cafeterias, at social events)?

0	1	2	3	4
<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>All the Time</i>

2. How many friends do you have at Stellenbosch University who are black (African) South Africans?

0	1	2	3	4
<i>None</i>	<i>One Friend</i>	<i>Two Friends</i>	<i>Three Friends</i>	<i>Four or More Friends</i>

3. How often do you spend time with your black (African) South African friends at Stellenbosch University (e.g., in class, in cafeterias, at social events)?

0	1	2	3	4
<i>Never</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>All the Time</i>

Context-specific empathy

Instructions: Think about Stellenbosch University in particular. Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. If I saw or heard that a black (African) South African was upset because they were suffering injustices relating to their ethnicity at Stellenbosch University, I would also feel upset.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. If a black (African) South African I knew at Stellenbosch University was feeling sad, I think I that I would also feel sad.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

Context-specific empathic anger

Instructions: Think about Stellenbosch University in particular. Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. I do not feel irritated at the slow pace of transformation at Stellenbosch University that continues to affect black (African) South African students.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. I do not feel angry when I think about the social and academic exclusion that some black (African) South African students endure daily at Stellenbosch University.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

Context-specific collective guilt

Instructions: Think about Stellenbosch University in particular. Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. As a white South African student at Stellenbosch University, I do not feel guilty that campus culture mostly reflects my own culture and heritage and does not adequately represent that of black (African) South African students.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. I feel guilty that the dominant languages of instruction at Stellenbosch University might privilege white South African students over black (African) South African students.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

3. As a white South African student, I feel guilty about the academic advantages I enjoy relative to black (African) South African students due to the dominant languages of instruction in my classes at Stellenbosch University.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

Context-specific collective action intentions

Instructions: Think about Stellenbosch University in particular. Please read each of the following questions carefully. Please answer each question as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each question. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the question. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own opinion.

1. I do not support protests that advocate for racial justice and social equality at Stellenbosch University.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. I often show my support for transformation at Stellenbosch University (e.g., sharing a post on social media to raise awareness)?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

3. I am likely to participate in protests that advocate for social change at Stellenbosch University?

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

Context-specific behavioural intentions

Instructions: In line with the theme of this study, we want to take this opportunity to identify volunteers who would be willing to distribute flyers on campus that advocate for racial justice and social equality at Stellenbosch University. This would not require much of your time and you would be able to choose the number of flyers you commit to distributing. Note, this is not compulsory. It is completely voluntary.

1. How many flyers would you be willing to distribute in support of black (African) South African students at Stellenbosch University, advocating for racial justice and social equality at the University?

0	1	2	3	4	5
0	10	20	30	40	50
<i>Flyers</i>	<i>Flyers</i>	<i>Flyers</i>	<i>Flyers</i>	<i>Flyers</i>	<i>Flyers</i>

** Message to those participants who indicated they are willing to distribute flyers: Thank you for volunteering to distribute these flyers. Please provide an email address in the textbox provided where we can contact you at the conclusion of this study to set up a meeting for you to collect the flyers. [These specific students will receive an email after the data has been collected to explain this manipulation and the motivation behind it.]*

Ingroup Identification

Instructions: Please read each of the following statements carefully. Indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please answer each statement as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on each statement. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own experiences.

1. I do not feel strong ties with other white South Africans.

5	4	3	2	1
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

2. I identify with other white South Africans.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>

3. I am glad to be a white South African.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Completely Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Neither Agree Nor Disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Completely Agree</i>


Outgroup attitudes

Instructions: Think about black (African) South Africans in general. Please answer the following question as honestly as possible. Please do not think too long on the question. Rather provide the answer that represents your immediate response to the question. There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your own opinion.

1. Thinking about black (African) South Africans in general (as a whole, so not any individuals you may know, but as a collective), use the sliding scale below to rate (between 0 and 100) your overall feelings towards black (African) South Africans. The lower the score, the more negative or cold you feel towards the group. The higher the score, the more positive or warm you feel towards the group. A score closer to 50 would reflect that you feel ambivalent (neither positive nor negative, neither warm nor cold) towards the group.

Slider

0
50
100



Change the slider above to set a response

[reset](#)

Lucky draw

Instructions: Thank you for participating in this study and completing the survey. Your contribution in time and effort is sincerely appreciated. As a means of expressing our thanks to you for your time and effort, we are offering you the opportunity to win one of 20 Takealot vouchers (valued at One Hundred Rand – R100 – each). If you would like to be entered into the Lucky Draw here, please provide an email address in the textbox provided where we can contact you if you are one of the twenty winners. Please note that if you do not provide an email in this textbox then you will not be entered into the lucky draw.

Appendix H:
Debriefing Email

Dear student,

I want to sincerely thank you for your participation in my study on intergroup relations and social change. The purpose of my study was to investigate whether intergroup contact can be used as an effective strategy for encouraging individuals to engage in social change within specific contexts.

As you may recall, I indicated that we were recruiting volunteers to distribute flyers. However, now that data collection has completed, I can reveal that the purpose of these questions was not to recruit volunteers but to measure the extent to which participants would be willing to engage in specific efforts of social change. I could not make this known in advance because I wanted to reduce the influence of social desirability bias. This design (approved by the Research Ethics Committee for Social, Behavioural, and Education Research at Stellenbosch University) helped to ensure that participants' responses were as natural and uninhibited as possible. It also allowed me to test the research aim outlined above, namely whether intergroup contact would predict intentions to engage in social change in support of racial justice and social equality at Stellenbosch University.

Your participation is sincerely appreciated, and it has made a valuable contribution to furthering our understanding of how intergroup contact can be used to promote social change.

I hope you have an excellent start to the new semester!

Warm regards,

Michael