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### The role of values and value-identity

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*Document Version*

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

*Publication date:*

2017

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Kutlaca, M. (2017). *The role of values and value-identity: Fit in motivating collective action*. University of Groningen.

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## Chapter 5

### General Discussion



This thesis sought to provide answers to two related questions, namely whether and how individuals' values motivate group identification and intention to engage in collective action, and how values can be effectively communicated in order to motivate individuals to participate in collective action. Building on value protection models (Skitka, 2010; Tetlock et al., 2000), I specifically examined the politicizing effects of value violations and found that value violations define and thus can transform the meaning of group identities (**Chapter 2** and **Chapter 3**).

The answer to the first question, according to my findings, is that values facilitate the creation of a psychological group that aims to change the disadvantaged situation. This, in turn, provides an important criterion for distinguishing those who belong from those who do not belong to the group. To answer the second question, I further explored the relation between values and both individual and group identities (Skitka, 2010; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Previous research suggested that value-identity fit is a particularly motivating factor with respect to collective action (Mazzoni et al., 2015; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Moving beyond previous work, this thesis investigated various consequences of value-identity fit on motivation of members of disadvantaged groups who may be differentially affected by the situation, hold contrasting ideological beliefs or action norms.

Specifically, I found that value-identity fit can, following Haidt (2013) phrasing, *bind* (**Chapter 2** and **Chapter 3**) but also *blind* (**Chapter 4**) members of the disadvantaged group who represent the movement's core support group (e.g. those who are highly affected, who share the movement's ideological background or who participate in actions). On the other hand, for those outside of the movement's 'choir' (e.g. disadvantaged group members who are less affected, who have different ideological background or those who are not active), values are less likely to have any politicizing effects and might even demotivate and chase them away. However, **Chapter 3** and **Chapter 4** suggest that not all hope is lost for those who seek social change, because fitting values to a group identity that resonates better with those outside of the 'choir' may pull them back closer. Thus, the answer to the second question is that taking seriously the fit between movement values and specific group identities in mobilization messages might increase movement's mobilization potential and prevent potential fallout with the group members who may not necessarily share its views.

Below I will first provide a summary of the key findings across the empirical chapters. I will then discuss their theoretical and practical implications and also outline limitations and possible venues for future research, particularly with an eye to the motivational and mobilization power of values and their perceived violation.

## Overview of Key Findings

### Politicization in the context of incidental disadvantages.

Theories about mobilization suggests that the first step towards participation in collective action requires the creation of shared grievances which then form the basis of politicized collective identities (Klandermans, 1984; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, theory and research on collective action and social movements typically focuses on the contexts involving structural disadvantages (e.g. gender or race; Simon et al., 1998; Simon & Ruhs, 2008; Van Zomeren et al., 2008), where the disadvantaged situation is already part of the group narrative. This thesis however provides insight into what happens in the situations involving incidental disadvantages where group-based injustice is not yet recognized and acknowledged by different members of the group.

My findings suggest that value violations facilitate collective action in contexts of incidental disadvantage in at least two ways. First, in the situation of technological disaster such as human-caused earthquakes where the disadvantaged group identity is defined by the local proximity to the source of the disaster, perceived violations of both personal/family rights and collective rights strongly predicted participants' identification with such a group (**Chapter 2**). Furthermore, perceived value violations and participants' identification with the province predicted the intentions to participate in collective action to change the disadvantaged situation. Thus, these findings contribute to previous research on politicization (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), and specifically on the link between values and politicized collective identities (Mazzoni et al., 2015; Van Zomeren et al., 2012) by showing that value violations have the power to define and politicize group identities which otherwise do not yet include, or are associated with, shared norms or beliefs related to actively fighting injustice and improving a group's status.

The second way through which value violations affect politicization is by strengthening the link between individuals' feelings of injustice and their politicized identification, at least among those who sympathize with the movement's cause. In the context of the budget cuts for higher education, **Chapter 3** revealed that communicating value violations (i.e. transgression of the human right to free education) made affective antecedents (i.e. feelings of injustice) more important predictors of students' politicized identification in comparison to instrumental antecedents (i.e. perceived group efficacy). Thus, by making the injustice of an issue salient, value violations can help overcome reliance on instrumental concerns, which may lead to free-riding and inaction (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009).

**Consequences of value-identity fit for the movement's choir.**

Previous research showed that the fit between values and politicized identities predicts individuals' engagement in collective action and therefore (presumably) *positively* affects mobilization (Van Zomeren, 2013; Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Although I found similar positive effects of value-identity fit among those who are considered as being part of the movement's mobilization potential, my findings also suggest that one should be aware of its negative effects, especially concerning the relations between active and passive members of the same group.

First, in the context of human-caused earthquakes I found that among those who were more affected and more motivated to act, perceived personal and collective rights violations overlapped to a great extent (both on the mean and the correlational level; see **Chapter 2**). The mixture of personal and group values illustrates the value-identity fit idea and is in line with the recent research on identity content of activists which also revealed that values play a key role in binding personal and political identity (Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2016). At the same time, however, the most disadvantaged were also more motivated to *leave* the area, which stands in sharp contrast with collective efforts to deal with the injustice. Moreover, these two opposite strategies were motivated by the same perceived violations of personal/family rights. These findings illustrate one potential negative consequence of value-identity fit in context of incidental disadvantages: those, for whom personal and group values and identities merge, may be faced with the difficult dilemma to stay and fight for the group or seek options to alleviate their personal suffering.

Second, a more alarming effect of value-identity fit on mobilization is that values may also blind those who stand to protect them and therefore reduce their effectiveness in mobilizing the larger ingroup to participate in actions. In **Chapter 4** I found that the protesters psychologically distanced and rejected those who did not participate in protests - and this effect was even stronger when the non-protesters disagreed with the values important to the protesters. In this case, the non-protester was seen as more selfish, more personally and ideologically dissimilar to the protester and also evoked more anger and moral outrage. These findings are in line with previous work showing that those who break moral norms are judged harshly (Skitka, 2010) and risk being ostracized by those who belong to the moral community (Tetlock et al., 2000). Thus, values can help define who we are and what we stand for, but they can also isolate those who share them and seem to make them more intolerant towards different views and opinions.

### Looking beyond the movement's "choir".

Most work on politicization and collective action focuses on group members who are either already part of the movement or are at least supportive of the movement, i.e. who represent the movement's "choir" (see for example Klandermans [1984] description of the first mobilization stage). This thesis sheds light on the questions such as how those *outside* of the movement's choir view the situation and how they can be mobilized to participate in actions. For example, in **Chapter 2**, I found that those in the least affected area were not only less motivated to do something, but they also perceived the disadvantaged situation in a different manner. For example, in contrast to those in the more disadvantaged areas, they felt their individual rights were not strongly violated. Moreover, those living in the least affected area clearly differentiated between individual and collective rights violations (as the correlation coefficient between the two measures was significantly smaller). More importantly, only *collective* rights violations had motivating effects on their action intentions in contrast to those in the most affected areas whose intentions were motivated by individual rights (or by mixture of both type of rights). Taken together, those outside of the core affected group perceived the same situation in a qualitatively (not only quantitatively) different manner, which is rarely taken into account in theory and research on mobilization. This is important because overlooking intragroup differences (e.g., those in and outside of the movement "choir") can negatively affect the movement's mobilization potential.

So, how can movements attract those whose views are different? One solution is to adjust their communication strategies. Based on the findings in **Chapter 2**, I argue that mobilization appeals emphasizing personal disadvantage may not resonate very well with those who do not perceive the situation as personally burdening. In **Chapter 3** I tackled this issue explicitly by looking at how value communication affects group members with a different ideological background. Importantly, linking the societal values to ingroup identity further *decreased* this group's feelings of injustice, which I interpret as a sign of a value-identity misfit and as an indicator of increased psychological distance towards the movement.

However, the study also identified a possible way to *facilitate* politicization among those with dissimilar ideological background by linking the value to national identity (a type of superordinate identity), which resulted in national identification becoming a strong positive predictor of politicized identification. This is in line with Simon and Klandermans' (2001) view of politicization, who also argued that national identity is one of the main antecedents of the politicized collective identity. Through creating a link between subordinate and superordinate group identities, it seems, values can at least indirectly motivate those outside of the choir by way of making the movement's cause important to the wider society and therefore worthy of support.

Furthermore, **Chapter 3** suggests movements should be careful when designing their mobilization calls as some group members may question their goals and actions. Namely, in contrast to the movement's choir that might blindly follow the movement, those outside of it are more likely to scrutinize movements' messages and actions. In **Chapter 4**, I found that the non-protesters paid more attention to the protester's communication and their evaluations were overall more nuanced and less one-sided than those of the protesters. For example, the non-protesters clearly differentiated and preferred the protester who communicated collective motivations in contrast to individual motivations for action. In addition, they evaluated the protester who communicated values as more realistic, and the one who emphasized collective moral motivation as the most representative of the ingroup's opinion. At the same time and in line with **Chapter 3** findings, communicating values (especially emphasizing ingroup values) as motivation for action was perceived as pushy and as an imposition (similar to the findings on rejection of moral rebels; Monin et al., 2008). Hence, this study implies that values can *politicize* and *mobilize* those outside of the movement's choir as they are regarded as a more valid reason for participation in contrast to the instrumental or external motives. At the same time, using values as mobilization tools comes with its risks as those who communicate may come across as self-righteous and chase away those whose support they seek.

### Theoretical Implications

As a whole, the main theoretical contributions of this thesis lie in further illuminating the process politicization, and specifying the role of values within it. Recent theoretical and empirical work in this area has posed critical questions about the type of identities that are important in predicting engagement in collective action (i.e. opinion-based groups; McGarty, et al., 2009), and the way politicization as a process has been operationalized and examined so far (Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2015). This work expands the view put forward by Simon and Klandermans (2001) and Stürmer and Simon (2004) that the pathway to political engagement begins with transformation of one's membership in a disadvantaged group through internalization and crystallization of norms related to group injustice, efficacy and actions.

However, there is still more work to be done, especially when it comes to understanding the initial step of the process where the situation of collective disadvantage becomes part of the group identity (i.e., of what it means to be a group member). Below, I propose that developing a clearer theoretical framework that encompasses values and value violations is important in addressing this issue. Furthermore, the majority of previous work has consistently overlooked the question of politicization of those members of



the disadvantaged groups who for various reasons fall outside of the movement's core support group. I believe that taking these intragroup differences into account will help us better understand how, for example, a political conservative may be mobilized by a left-wing party, or how "free-riders" might take part in a demonstration.

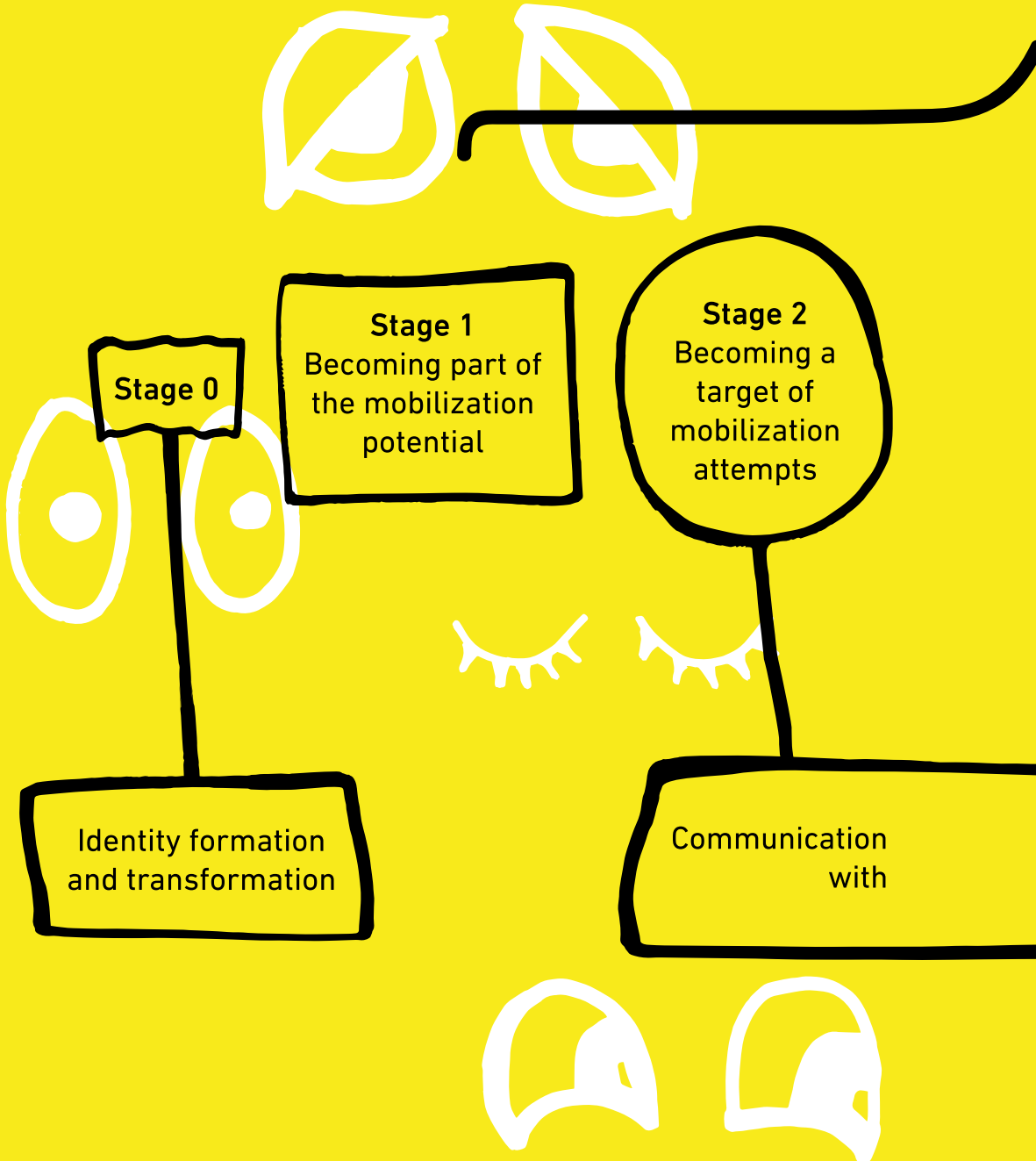
#### **Pathway to mobilization: initial stage.**

The process of mobilization for collective action is thought to consist of four stages (see Figure 5.1), with each stage having less group members taking part in it (Klandermans, 1997; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). According to the model, the first stage limits the movement's mobilization potential to those who share the collective action frame or in other words who have the sense of collective injustice, identity and efficacy. Although this explains why only very few members of disadvantaged groups act against the unjust situation, current mobilization model overlooks important questions such as *how do members of disadvantage groups come to develop those shared grievances* and *what happens with those who do not share the movement's frame*.

In my view, theory and research on mobilization and collective action would benefit from paying more attention to the qualitatively different initial stages in the contexts involving incidental or structural disadvantages (symbolized as Stage 0 in the model, see Figure 5.1). The reason for this is that in response to *incidental* disadvantages, individuals need to **form** a new identity around those shared grievances, whereas in the context of *structural* disadvantage they need to **transform** an already existing group identity which is part of a larger historical, social and cultural context (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Thus, to effectively model the process of politicization, one needs to elucidate the nature of the identities formed in response to incidental or structural disadvantages and the origin of those shared grievances. I discuss each in turn.

***The role of values in the context of incidental disadvantage.*** The emergence of new identities by no means implies that there are no pre-existing group identities in the contexts involving incidental disadvantages. On the contrary, people may feel connected to other members of their province or to their local communities/towns. Nevertheless, as McGarty et al. (2009) have argued, collective action is not simply about one's membership in a social category, but reflects individuals' relation and the contestation of it. For example, the Elaborated Social Identity Model (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 1999) argues that the meaning of a group identity transforms in relation to outgroup actions (e.g. peaceful protesters may become more radicalized after violent police reactions). Another possible solution, according to McGarty et al. (2009), lies in the formation of a new group identity defined by a common opinion (i.e., an opinion-based group identity), which lies between very broad social categories and very specific activist identities.

# Klandermans



# Mobilization Stages

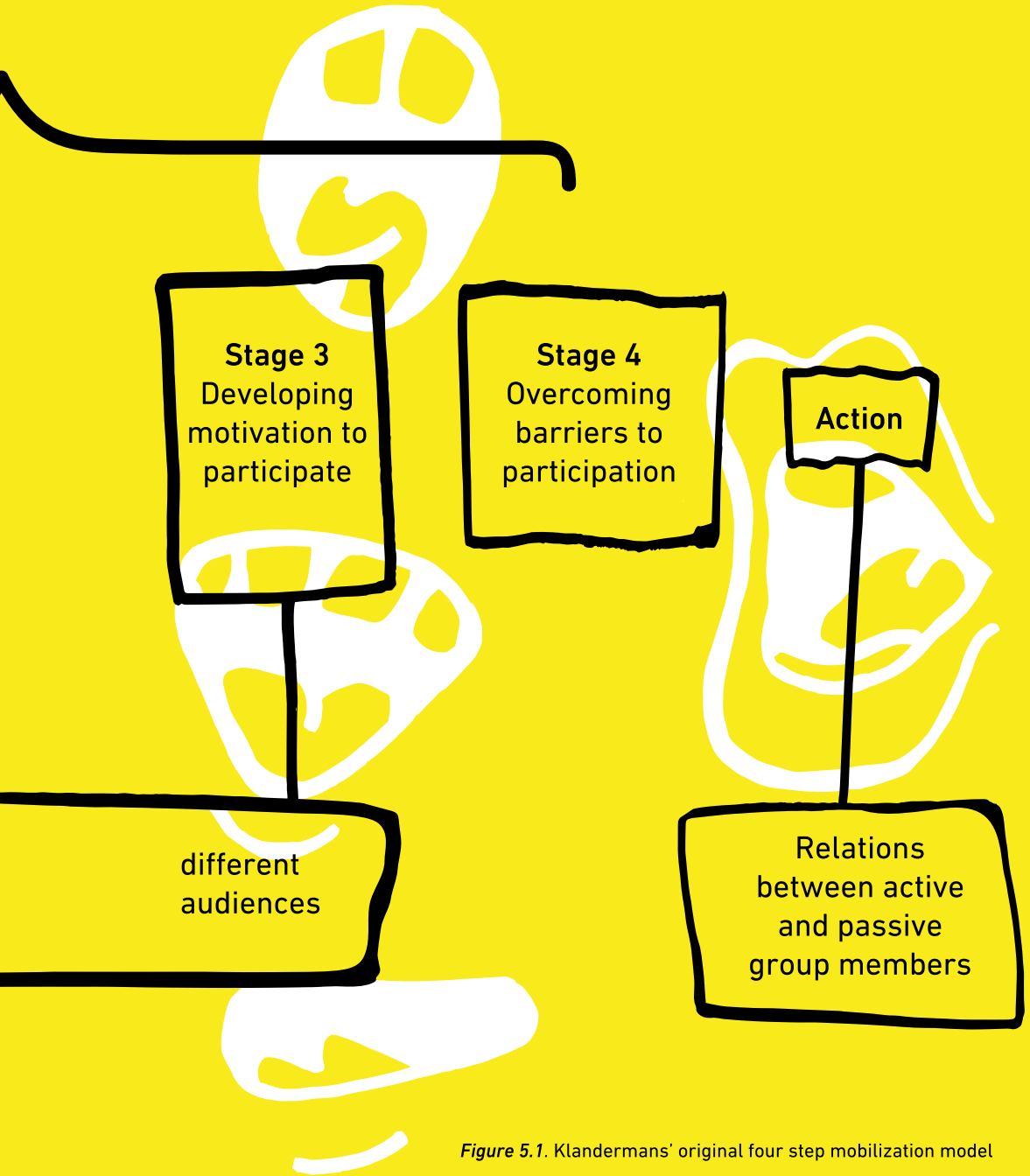


Figure 5.1. Klandermans' original four step mobilization model with added initial stage and final action stage.

In my view, the identities created in response to incidental disadvantages resemble such opinion-based group identities well, as people first need to reach a common view and agree they have been treated unjustly (symbolized as Stage 0 in the model, see Figure 5.1). However, the paradigm used to explore the psychological characteristics of opinion-based groups falls short in examining the factors leading to development of those similar views. Namely, the typical opinion-based group study begins with people categorizing themselves as having similar or dissimilar views and then engaging in group discussions (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009). Thus, the method captures how efficacy, emotion or action norms develop rather than how similar opinions form in the first place. This however, is precisely the issue when it comes to the emergence of groups in contexts of incidental disadvantage.

Previous research showed that discussing outgroup stereotypes or actions leads to formation of group norms (Smith & Postmes, 2009; 2011). Thus, having the same opinions is not necessary for norms to develop, though reaching a consensus in discussion energizes the actions. This thesis adds to this research by showing how value violations can act as the basis around which new (opinion-based) identities are formed in the context of incidental disadvantages. In my view, values offer a better explanation of how shared grievances develop than opinions (Thomas & McGarty, 2009), or than the traditional focus on relative deprivation (Smith et al., 2012). In fact, interpersonal and/or intergroup comparisons cannot fully explain the feelings of unjust treatment in the contexts where there may be no clear (out)groups to whom one could compare. On the other hand, values reflect internalized universal principles which can be used as standards for self or self /other comparisons (Smith et al., 2012), and also provide orientation in a novel situation. Thus, values and their violations serve a dual purpose: (1) they can unify various individuals in defending important principles and (2) also energize action as they are accompanied by stronger emotional reactions than violations of any other attitudes or norms (Skitka, 2010).

***The role of values in the context of structural disadvantage.*** Although I did not explicitly look into the role of values in the context of structural disadvantage, I believe that values and value violations can provide important insights into how existing group identities transform into politicized identities. For individuals faced with structural disadvantages, collective action is just one of the many options to deal with the unjust situation as suggested by Social Identity Theory (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Importantly, these alternative strategies such as individual mobility, tendency to justify the status quo or engagement in social creativity strategies all negatively affect the motivation for collective action (Becker, 2012; Jost et al., 2012). By focusing individuals on values they care about, movements may decrease

their tendency to engage in these alternative strategies and possibly empower them to seek societal and not individual change. The support for this assumption comes indirectly from the research showing that values motivate people to sacrifice themselves (Skitka et al., 2005; Tetlock, 2002), facilitate activism (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009) and the participation of advantaged group members in social struggle (Van Zomeren et al., 2012). Hence, in the context of structural disadvantage, values may facilitate collective action by transforming group identities to become more aligned with protecting individual and/or group moral standards and stressing the necessity to achieve social change as the only way to prevent further transgression of values.

### **Mobilizing the movement's "choir".**

Another contribution of this thesis lies in examining the consequences of value-identity fit on motivation of those inside and outside of the movement core support group. In line with previous research (Mazzoni et al., 2015; Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2016; Van Zomeren et al., 2012), this thesis showed that among those who belong to the movement's choir values facilitate collective action by merging personal and group identities (**Chapter 2** and **Chapter 3**), and by creating more sustainable politicized identities, which rely less on instrumental motivations (**Chapter 3**). This is particularly important in the contexts where there is no clear social movement organization that could mobilize and provide different incentives for action (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). In the case where the movement has to be built bottom-up (i.e., grassroots action), reinforcing an internal obligation for action by making justice concerns salient is a more viable strategy than focusing on more extrinsic factors that can quickly lose their power and appeal after possible initial setbacks.

*Values bind, but also blind.* The most intriguing effects of values, which has received little attention in the literature, is in shaping the intragroup boundaries between the 'active' minority and the 'passive' majority. This has important theoretical and practical implications, because disagreeing on what the values are (and how to achieve them) may lead to negative relations between the two subgroups and affect a movement's success.

**Chapter 4** suggests that activists dismiss passive members of the group, which is in line with the findings among the Dutch strikers who judged and punished those who kept working (Akkerman et al., 2013). Similarly, research by Becker et al. (2011) also showed that those who act for the group may deliberately disidentify from the larger ingroup if they perceive it as unsupportive (Becker et al., 2011). Irrespective of whether the activists reject some or all members of the passive ingroup, which most likely depends on whether those who disagree can be easily dismissed as a minority (such as in **Chapter 4**), this raises the question for whom, or for which group, those who act actually are standing

up for. In other words, this challenges the appropriateness of equating political activism with the highest levels of identification with the broader group (Simon et al., 1998). It also implies that the activists care for and identify highly with their politicized group (or their moral community according to Tetlock, 2002), whereas their feelings and perceptions of the larger ingroup may not be so positive.

Furthermore, negative perceptions of the passive ingroup may also affect a movement's success in reaching its goals. One of the key tasks of a social movement is to mobilize others to participate (Klandermans, 1984; Olson, 1968). However, this is not likely to happen if those who act for the group fail to accept that the majority of the ingroup may not share the same motivations. In other words, they may miss out on the power that, if mobilized, at least some part of the ingroup would bring (e.g. non-protesters who communicate individual instrumental motivations). However, this may be less the case among more experienced activists as their primary goal is to mobilize support which is equally (or even more) important as influencing the powerful outgroup (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Hornsey et al., 2006). Hence, those with more experience may become less blinded by their values (Haidt, 2013), and perceive the passive ingroup as a (potentially valuable) resource. In my view, a seasoned activist may not necessarily have more positive views of the passive ingroup, but may be more strategic in communicating and relating to those outside of the movement in contrast to the occasional protester.

### **Consequences of using values and identities in mobilizing those outside of the movement's "choir".**

In recent years, the field of political psychology has been opening up to more diverse methods (such as combination of quantitative and qualitative research, Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2015; 2016), but also to investigation of more diverse topics as a result of scholarly criticism for its ideological uniformity (Haidt, 2013). This thesis aims to illuminate a similar blind spot in research on collective action by examining how values and identities together may be used to motivate those who fall outside of the movement's choir and (by extension) outside of theoretical models of mobilization (Klandermans, 1984; Van Zomeren et al., 2008).

The first necessary theoretical and empirical step towards appropriately addressing this issue is to acknowledge important differences between the members of the same group, which may lead them to perceive the same situation in a qualitatively different manner. This thesis elucidated two of those: the level of objective affectedness and the difference in ideological backgrounds. While the difference in objective affectedness may matter more in the contexts involving incidental disadvantages, the differences in ideological beliefs are often found in the contexts involving structural disadvantages.

For example, there are cases of minority members who support policies and politician who do not work in their favour (e.g. Hispanic and Black Americans who vote for the Republican Party), or hold traditional and conservative values (e.g. Becker, 2010; Becker & Wagner, 2009). Although these views may be the consequence of endorsing system-justifying beliefs (Jost et al., 2012) or different cultural backgrounds, the net effect is that some members of minority groups do not feel that their group or they themselves have been unjustly treated.

This is important because recognizing that the intragroup differences are not only quantitative, but also qualitative, tells us something about why successful strategies in mobilizing those who sympathize with the movement may not have any effect, or could even be counterproductive for those who do not sympathize with the movement. It also suggests that movements need to tailor their messages to different audiences. As an illustration, theory and research on collective action suggests that one should increase identification with the (politicized) group to motivate action (Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). One possible way to achieve this is by making salient the common fate of the group as being disadvantaged or threatened (Simon et al., 1998). However, this was tested only among those who are already part of the mobilization potential and share the movement's view of the situation. Those who do not, are more likely to feel threatened and dismiss the movement either because they do not identify highly with their group (Derks, van Laar & Ellemers, 2009) or because they actually hold opposite values and beliefs (e.g. traditional vs. progressive women, Becker & Wagner, 2009).

A potentially even less successful strategy to mobilize those outside of the movement's "choir" is to emphasize values as reasons to join the struggle. First, communicating values might make the difference between the movement and this audience even more salient, and decrease the perception of common ground (Kouzakova et al., 2012; see also **Chapter 3**). Framing the mobilization messages in moral terms can also induce defensive reactions as a result of perceiving moral threat (Täuber & van Zomeren, 2013; Täuber et al., 2015). One could easily imagine an anti-capitalist movement advocating social welfare being completely ridiculed by a more right-wing audience. In reality, the activists who invoke values may be seen as preachers who want to impose their opinions rather than role models to look up to (Monin, 2007; see Study 2 in **Chapter 4**).

However, combining one's values with different group identities opens at least an indirect possibility to motivate and politicize those outside of the movement's "choir". For example, by fitting values to a superordinate identity one surpasses the problem of emphasizing a disadvantaged situation and disadvantaged group identity, which those

outside of the choir are less likely to identify with. For example, a student movement fighting against budget cuts may mobilize greater support if it stresses how investment in education improves society as a whole, rather than by arguing how students' rights have been transgressed. This is in line with Simon and Klandermans' (2001) conceptualization of politicized identity which stresses that the conflict between groups does not happen in a vacuum. Indeed, when the groups enter a political arena and seek social change, they need to align their cause with the broader social context in order to mobilize greater public support. By using values and identities together in mobilization messages, movements can circumvent potential problems associated with each strategy separately, and provide their followers with a more reasonable and realistic argument for their cause, which may resonate well with those in and outside of the movement's "choir".

### Future Research

One important avenue for future research is to look more deeply into the question why some movements manage to attract various audiences, whereas others fail. I suspect that the activists who become more strategic in their communication and more willing to compromise on their values have a greater mobilization potential. For example, one of the reasons why Malcolm X and Martin Luther King did not work together is that Martin Luther King was more ready to negotiate with the ingroup and the outgroup to achieve equal rights. However, becoming more strategic may not be something that all activists are ready to do, exactly because of the subjectively absolute experience of their values (e.g., Skitka, 2009; Van Zomeren et al., 2011, 2012).

More specifically, previous research suggests that those who become activists evaluate the fairness of the situation by judging whether important values or principles have been transgressed or not (they act as "intuitive theologians", Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). In other words, activists are presumably driven by deontological moral inclinations in contrast to the passive majority that is more often preoccupied with calculating (personal) benefits and costs (see Kant, 1785; Conway & Gawronski, 2013; Greene, Sommerville, Nystrom, Darley, & Cohen, 2001). Thus, adopting utilitarian logic in the communication may resonate better with the passive majority and those outside of the choir. However, some activists may perceive such concessions as transgressions of their values and principles. Also, there may be valid reasons to refrain from more strategic and utilitarian approach, because those who use utilitarian arguments may appear as less moral (Kreps & Monin, 2014). In any case, movements who wish to mobilize others for their goals face the important dilemma to either religiously stick to their principles yet risk possible



failure, or to be prepared to sacrifice some of their values to achieve the greater good. Another difference between Martin Luther King's and Malcolm X's approach to racial inequality lies in the preferred use of normative or radical means to achieve social change. In my opinion, one of the core differences between the two key figures of the US Civil Rights Movement lies in their focus on values as ideals vs. value violations. Dr. King's famous speech starts with the words "*I have a dream*" and illustrates the wish to achieve an ideal society, which is in contrast to Malcolm X's call for standing up against further violations of one's basic rights (e.g. "*Nobody can give you freedom... If you are a man you take it*"). Previous research has shown that moral convictions motivate both normative and radical forms of collective action. For example, women who care about gender equality are more likely to participate in collective action to improve the group status (Becker & Wagner, 2009; Zaal, Van Laar, Ståhl, Ellemers, & Derks, 2011). However, Zaal et al., (2011) found that among women high in prevention focus but not in promotion focus, moral convictions increase the support for radical forms of action. The authors argued that those in prevention focus are concerned with "oughts" while those in promotion focus are more concerned with "ideals". Future research could examine whether communicating values as ideals increases promotion focus and engagement in normative actions, in contrast to value violations, which may be more linked to prevention focus and radicalization.

Moreover, the link between values and politicization or radicalization may depend on the *type* of value violations. Namely, violations of harm or abstract rights evoke anger, but in general they are less emotionally involving in comparison to purity violations (e.g. risk of disease due to contamination of land or water). This is due to the fact that purity violations are more likely to induce emotions like disgust and contempt (Pizarro, & Inbar, 2015; Russell & Giner-Sorolla, 2011). The differences in type of value violations may explain why mobilization campaigns revolving around harm lose their appeal after a while (e.g. the photograph of a drowned Syrian boy published in September 2015 has initially stirred a lot of reactions, but was also relatively quickly forgotten). On the other hand, mobilization messages emphasizing violations of purity may not always be popular among more liberal audience (Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009; Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2009), however they can lead to stronger commitment and engagement in actions against individuals or groups who are seen as transgressors (Matsumoto, Frank, & Hwang, 2015). It would be important to further investigate whether communicating violations of values paired with different emotional reactions increases the extent to which people moralize an issue and are willing to act upon it.

## Practical Implications

This thesis suggests some practical pointers for social movements. Regarding the *content* of mobilization messages, overall I believe that activists can benefit from using values as mobilization tools to attract supporters. By being explicit about their values, movements can guide their followers through all the stages of mobilization process. First, previous research (Mazzoni et al., 2015; Van Zomeren et al., 2012) and **Chapter 2** suggest that values facilitate the creation of shared meaning and provide an initial impulse which can translate into both individual and collective efforts to deal with the disadvantaged situation. Since values provide people with important internalized standards, movements may help individuals to interpret the unjust situation especially when the context is novel and less clear, as often is the case with incidental disadvantages. Moreover, values are less susceptible to changes in external circumstances and can energize and provide motivations for participation despite potential failures and ensure long-term participation (since the goals derived from values are seen as more worthy of struggle). Additionally, they also have a positive impact on movements' image as the protesters who communicate values, but not instrumental motivations for action, were perceived as being more realistic and as reflecting the opinion of the larger ingroup better by those who remain passive (**Chapter 4**).

However, there are also two important caveats in using values as mobilization tools. First, values may decrease the motivation of those who have different ideological background (see **Chapter 3**). This problem can be surpassed, but movements need to consider that ideologically diverse subgroups require *different* value-identity communication. For example, aligning the values of the movement with the greater societal goals appears to be a good strategy.

Another issue often observed in research and practice is that although people care about values, they do not seem to necessarily act upon them. The lack of a direct effect of value communication on action intentions in Chapter 3 and also noted in prior research (Mazzoni et al., 2015) suggests that just talking about values, especially when the struggle is already been going on for a while, is not enough to get people out on the street. One solution to the issue is to more clearly communicate how a particular situation or a group violates important societal values. **Chapter 2** provides evidence that value violations can also directly predict both individual and collective action intentions, because transgressions create a clearer and more straightforward link between values and behaviours.

In order to ensure a good relation with their audience and increase the mobilization potential, movements need to be sensitive to the needs and the ideological background of their potential followers. This implies that activists have to keep an open mind and tune their communication to different audiences, potentially even adjust their goals, and reframe their values to be able to reach those who may not in the beginning sympathize with their cause. Still, movements need to ‘put their money where their mouths are’ and not use values and group identities only as an effective communication strategy; they should provide their followers with clear steps to achieve those values, rather than just reminding them of something they already believe in.

### Limitations

A first potential limitation of this work concerns the type of disadvantage investigated across the chapters. As mentioned previously, the initial stage of mobilization follows a different path in the contexts involving incidental and structural disadvantages due to different type of pre-existing group identities (Van Zomeren et al., 2008). As this thesis focused on the cases of incidental disadvantage, it does not capture how values affect politicization of members of structurally disadvantaged groups. In my view however, values and their violations may facilitate collective action in the context of structural disadvantage by giving a new “moral” layer to the group identity and transforming those who are oppressed into those who struggle to protect important individual and group standards.

Furthermore, this thesis explored contexts typically associated with more left-wing ideologies. As such, it still falls short of addressing Haidt’s (2013) criticism about lack of political diversity in research topics in psychology in general, and psychology of morality specifically. This is important to consider as more right-wing or conservative issues are associated with different type of value violations, such as violations of loyalty, authority and purity (Graham et al., 2009). It is questionable whether mobilization messages linking values associated with more conservative ideologies to superordinate identities would resonate at all with the more liberal audience. However, this strategy is often used by more conservative politicians (Verkuyten, 2013) and right-wing parties tend to gain wider public support at least in times of crisis. Thus, it would be important to examine whether their popularity may result from using values and identities to evoke emotions such as disgust or contempt (Pizarro, & Inbar, 2015; Russell & Giner-Sorolla, 2011).

There are also two important methodological limitation of the present work. First, it used cross-sectional designs, which cannot fully grasp the dynamic process of politicization and mobilization. A longitudinal design following the formation and changes in

politicized identities as people pass through different stages of mobilization process (Klandermans, 1984) would allow a more thorough analysis of how value violations help merge personal and group identities (Turner-Zwinkels et al., 2016). Second, although **Chapter 3** and **Chapter 4** focus on value-communication, the studies lack the richness of real-life discussions between activists and their potential followers. **Chapter 4** moves in that direction by capturing both the perception of those who act and those who do not, however communication is a two-sided process and both movements and their audiences may change their initial goals and motives as a result of the contact. By putting activists and non-activists in the same room, one could see if the activists try to win the others' support and what kind of strategies they may use to achieve this goal depending on whether they are faced with those who doubt the movements' values or efficacy.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis tried to illuminate both positive and negative consequences of using values in mobilizing people to achieve social change. Indeed, I found that values bind and guide those who find themselves struck by injustice. Nevertheless, they may also blind them and make them intolerant even to those who share their fate, but not their views. One of the key practical insights of this work is that social movements need to be careful when using values to motivate different audiences as they may risk chasing them away. However, if framed appropriately they can also pull them back in, although this implies that activists need to be more strategic in their communication and prepared to compromise. As such, this thesis suggests that values are central to understand individuals' motivation to engage in social change efforts; and although they often lay at the core of conflicts as well, they can also be used to solve them.

