

Context Matters: Explaining How and Why Mobilizing Context Influences Motivational Dynamics

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The emphasis in the social-psychological collective action literature is on why individuals take part in collective action; however, it does not elaborate on how different mobilizing contexts may appeal to distinct motivational dynamics to participate. The present study connects the microlevel of motivational dynamics of individual protesters with the mesolevel of social movement characteristics. To do so a field study was conducted. Protesters were surveyed in the act of protesting in two different demonstrations in two different town squares simultaneously organized by two social movements at exactly the same time against the same budget cuts proposed by the same government. But with one fundamental difference, the movements emphasized different aspects of the policies proposed by the government. This most similar systems design created a unique natural experiment, which enabled the authors to examine whether the motivational dynamics of individual protesters are moderated by the social movement context. Previous research suggested an instrumental path to collective action, and the authors added an ideology path. The authors expected and found that power-oriented collective action appeals to instrumental motives and efficacy and that value-oriented collective action appeals to ideological motives, and, finally, that efficacy mediates on instrumental motives and motivational strength, but only so in power-oriented action.

The general picture of Dutch society has been one of steady progress, up to 2001 the Dutch were happy and satisfied people (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2004). However, a break in this trend occurred, and since 2001 the Dutch social and political climate has been characterized by unrest. A number of notable events took place, including acts of international terrorism and a political (Pim Fortuin) and radical religious (Theo van Gogh) assassination within The

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Netherlands, with serious social and political consequences, and on top of this, the economy deteriorated. All in all, Dutch society appeared to be in relatively rough weather, and Dutch people turned from happy and satisfied people into more dissatisfied and indignant people. A climate of social and political unrest increases people's demands on the government, because the population seeks greater protection against perceived risks (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2004). Political protest is one way to address demands to the government.

Indeed, both willingness to participate and actual participation in political protest increased after a relatively quiet period. On Saturday, October 2, 2004, for instance, more than 300,000 people took to the streets in Amsterdam to protest against austerity plans regarding early retirement rights. This demonstration formed the stage for the present field study. Most of these protesters (about 250,000) were mobilized by the labor union, whereas the remaining 50,000 were mobilized by an alliance called "Keer het Tij" (Turn the Tide, TTT), an anti-neo-liberalism alliance. What motives do people have to participate in this demonstration? Moreover, do unionists have different motives to participate compared to the anti-neo-liberals? And if so, can this be explained by differences in the mobilizing context which appeal to distinct motivational dynamics to protest?

These questions relate to the dynamics between the individual protester and mobilization strategies of movement organizations. Such dynamics are at the core of the social psychology of protest: individual participation and social movements in society. Individuals participate in collective action when they act as representative of their group and the action is directed at improving the conditions of the entire group (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). However, although typically many members of disadvantaged groups are dissatisfied with their in-group's situation and thus strongly sympathize with the goals of collective actions, often only a small proportion of them actually participate in protest to achieve these goals (e.g., Klandermans, 1997; Marwell & Oliver, 1993). In collective action research the motives underlying participation have therefore become a key issue (Klandermans, 1997). Over the last two decades, social psychologists investigated participation motives and demonstrated that instrumental reasoning (Klandermans, 1984), identification (e.g., Simon et al., 1998), and group-based anger (van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & van Dijk, 2008; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) influenced people's participation in collective action. Surprisingly, ideological factors until recently were absent in explanations of collective action participation (for exceptions, see Hornsey et al., 2006; van Stekelenburg et al., 2008, van Zomeren & Spears, this issue).

Although the emphasis in the social psychology of protest is on the individual level, protest participation takes place in a wider context (Klandermans, 1997; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007). The current social psychological literature on protest participation, however, does not elaborate on how different social contexts may appeal to distinct motivational dynamics to participate in protest. Yet

variation in the social context may be attractive to different protesters with distinct motivational dynamics (Klandermans, 1997, 2004), and social movements are important actors in the social context. Indeed, participation because of common interests requires a shared interpretation and social movements do their utmost to communicate how they interpret a social, political, or economic change (its diagnosis) and what should be done (prognosis) as a reaction to perceived losses or unfulfilled aspirations (Benford & Snow, 2000). Besides this so-called consensus mobilization, social movements gear up for “action mobilization” (Klandermans, 1984), a process in which they aim to activate people to participate in the actions staged by movements. In the process of consensus and action mobilization, movements emphasize different reasons as to why people should participate. For a theoretical distinction on these different reasons we will build on Turner and Killian’s (1987) notion that demonstrations have different action orientations. In the present research we investigated whether the motivational make-up of individual protesters is contingent on the action orientation of the social movement involved. In the remainder of this introduction we will elaborate on the motivational dynamics of individual protesters¹ and the moderating role of social movement context. Subsequently, we will present and discuss results of a field study.

Instrumental Path to Collective Action Participation

Instrumentality became the focus of the sociological literature on collective action participation when resource mobilization (e.g., McCarthy & Zald, 1976) and political process approaches (e.g., McAdam, 1982) became the dominant paradigms of the field. It was emphasized that collective action participation is as rational or irrational as any other behavior. Participants are regarded as people who believe that a situation can be changed through collective action at affordable costs. The social-psychological literature emphasized efficacy as a key variable in this respect. That is, people’s willingness to protest collectively is a direct reflection of their estimates of success or efficacy (Finkel & Muller, 1998; Klandermans, 1984; Simon et al., 1998; van Zomeren et al., 2004). Hence, when people take the instrumental path to political protest they are involved in problem-focused coping oriented toward instrumental strategies expected to improve their situation (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2004) and participate “for the purpose of changing reality” (Lazarus, 1991, p. 48). Previous studies have provided empirical support for this instrumental path to collective action in collectives as varied as the labor union (Klandermans, 1984), university students (van Zomeren et al., 2004), and obese, gay, and elderly people (Simon et al., 1998).

¹Although we acknowledge the influence of identification and group based anger on collective action participation, in this article we will focus on instrumental and ideological factors.

Ideology Path to Collective Action Participation

Very little systematic empirical work is available on ideology and on the way people's ideas and values generate passionate politics (Klandermans, 2004). Indeed, the role beliefs, values, and ideologies play in motivating protest participation has recently received more attention (Hornsey et al., 2006; Jasper, 2007; Klandermans, 2004). Nevertheless, more systematic and empirical research is required. In the present research we try to fill this gap by examining an ideology path to collective action participation. More specifically, we investigate whether wanting to express one's views after violated values motivates people to participate in protest.

Values, according to Schwartz (1992, p. 4), "(1) are concepts of beliefs, (2) pertain to desirable end states or behaviors, (3) transcend specific situations, (4) guide selection or evaluations of behavior and events, and (5) are ordered by relative importance." Moreover, violated values are "worth challenging, protesting, and arguing about" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 13; see also Feather & Newton, 1982) let alone violated "sacred" values that arouse moral outrage responses (see van Zomeren and Spears, this issue). Hence, conceptualized in this manner, values are individual phenomena about which people usually feel strongly. A violation of these values instigates a motivation to express one's view and protest participation is one way to do so. People's value systems influence to what extent social or political situations are evaluated or perceived as illegitimate, unjust, unfair, and thus "wrong." This personal set of values functions as a compass in determining directions to people in complicated and sometimes foggy social and political matters. Like a real compass, values help us to find where we stand, where others stand, where we want to go, and as such reveal discrepancies between actual and ideal situations. The larger these discrepancies or the more they stem from a violation of central values, the more strongly people will be motivated to express their view. Therefore, value violation plays a key role in the ideological path to collective action.

Social Movement Context

If one considers an instrumental and ideological path to collective action, the question arises as to what factors determine which path is taken. Social movements work hard to create moral outrage and anger and to provide a target against which these can be vented. They must weave together a moral, cognitive, and ideological package of attitudes and communicate a specific appraisal of the situation. However, they may emphasize different aspects of the situation or the solution. In doing so, social movement organizations play a significant role in the selective process of construction and reconstruction of collective beliefs and in the transformation of individual discontent into collective action.

Individual members of a collectivity incorporate a smaller or larger proportion of the interpretations provided by “their” collectivities; but there is an abundance of frames in our social and political environment, so why would people adopt certain frames rather than others? Benford and Snow (2000) propose that the underlying process is frame alignment, whereby individual orientations, values, and beliefs become congruent (or aligned with) activities, goals, and ideologies of social movement organizations. A successful process of frame alignment results in a fit between the collective action frame of an organization and that of an individual, and this enhances the likelihood that this individual will participate in a protest event staged by this organization. In case of successful frame alignment, that is when ideas of individuals and movements line up, we expect to ascertain shared action orientations and thus a motivational constellation that inspires and legitimates the reasons why people should take part in protest.

Following Klandermans (1993) we argue that different social movements may appeal to different participation motives. In a comparison of three movements (the labor movement, the women’s movement, and the peace movement) Klandermans was able to show that the action for which each of the three movements was mobilizing—a strike, women’s groups in the community and a peace demonstration—appeals to different participation motives. He defined action orientation in terms of Turner and Killian’s (1987) description of action orientations that can determine the course of a mobilization campaign. Turner and Killian distinguish three action orientations of which the first two may be relevant in the context of the present research: (1) power orientation, or an orientation toward acquiring and exerting influence; (2) value orientation, or an orientation toward the goals and the ideology of the movement; and (3) participation orientation, whereby collective action activities are satisfying in and of themselves.² Because strikes are power oriented Klandermans expected and found that the expectancy component was important in explaining trade unionists’ willingness to strike. While in participation-oriented actions like the women’s groups, women participated because participation in itself was perceived as satisfying. In the value-oriented demonstration of the peace movements, the value component rather than the expectancy component carried great weight.

Because instrumentally oriented participation implies that participation is seen as an opportunity to change a state of affairs at affordable costs, we assume that a power-oriented protest event will be appealing to people who take the instrumental pathway. Moreover, we assume that feelings of efficacy impact on motivational strength in the context of power-oriented rather than value-oriented protest. After all, “the more power-oriented a campaign is, the more strongly it will emphasize the movement’s effectiveness, its ability to exert influence. Therefore, a

²In our studies we did not assess participation orientation, and therefore we will not elaborate this orientation further.

movement must convince the individual that the planned action will be successful” (Klandermans, 1993, p. 389).

“The more value-oriented a campaign is, the more it will emphasize the importance of its goals and the ideology behind them” (Klandermans, 1993, p. 389) and the more it will give participants the opportunity to express their discontent with a given state of affairs. Because participation on the basis of an ideology motive is aimed at expressing one’s views and venting one’s anger against a target that has violated one’s values, we assume that protest events with a value-action orientation will be appealing to people with ideology motives.

The Present Research

To test these contentions we conducted two surveys among participants in two different demonstrations. These demonstrations were in two different town squares organized by the labor movement and TTT at exactly the same time against the same budget cuts proposed by the same government. But there was one fundamental difference: the movements emphasized different aspects of the policies proposed by the government. This most similar systems design (Przeworski & Teune, 1970, p. 32) created a unique natural experiment. Indeed, these two cases are similar with respect to crucial variables such as time, place, issue at stake, and opponent but differ in the variable we wish to explain: mobilizing context. This natural experiment enabled us to examine whether the motivational dynamics of individual protesters are moderated by the social movement context. In doing so, the present study replicates and extends the findings of Klandermans (1993) that motivational dynamics are contingent on mobilizing context. However, due to the most similar systems design, the present study can be seen as a more robust test to demonstrate that context indeed matters. What makes the design of the present study so robust? First of all, take Klandermans’ 1993 paper as a comparison: The three social movements acted at different points in time, against different issues, against different authorities, and employing different activities. In the design of the present study all these matters are identical whereas the variable of interest—social movement context—differs. This reduces the possibility of alternative explanations and thus achieves a large measure of control to test our claim that context matters. A second point relates to coalition formation. To mobilize large numbers of participants, individual movement organizations must build coalitions. In order to do so they must set aside their differences and speak with one voice. Such an emphasis on similarities rather than diversity may blur possible differences present in the mobilizing contexts of the individual movements that form a coalition. As a consequence, coalition formation may hide from view differences between movement organizations (e.g., ideological, instrumental, or more practical organizational differences) and thus obscure how context relates to motivational dynamics. In the present study the movements did not form

a coalition, but communicated their own diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames (Benford & Snow, 2000) and in doing so made it possible to test our argument that different mobilizing contexts appeal to different motivational dynamics in a powerful way.

Mobilizing Context

The aim of the present research is to provide empirical support for our contentions regarding instrumentally and ideologically motivated protest participation as a function of mobilizing context. However, first we will provide background information on the mobilizing context. Our intention here is not to analyze deeply the social and political setting (as it is the same for the two movements) but rather to provide some background information on the mobilizing context that is needed to appreciate the argument.

Labor movement. In a reaction to the deterioration of the economy, the government announced a comprehensive package of severe cost-cutting measures (most notably the austerity plans regarding early retirement rights), which worsened the relation between employers and labor unions. The controversy resulted in a breakdown of the consultations between government and employers and unions and eventually the government “arrogantly” (van Leeuwen, 2004) exclaimed that it would put its own plans through. This is notable in a consensus democracy as The Netherlands. Indeed, one of the characteristics of a consensus democracy is an almost continuous process of consensus-oriented consultation between employers’ associations, unions, and the government. The labor movement declared that although they support the Dutch “consultative model,” at the moment that consultation with the government no longer seems fruitful, they saw no other alternative than to launch collective action. In their mobilization campaign the labor movement did its utmost to emphasize its effectiveness and ability to exert influence via collective action since consensus-oriented consultation seems no longer effective. Therefore, we assume that the labor movement demonstration fits the description of action that is predominantly power oriented.

Turn the tide alliance. TTT was the second movement staging for collective action. TTT is an alliance founded by organizations that were active earlier in the antiglobalization movement. They were founded in 2002 in reaction to a stark shift to the right in the political climate, during the 2002 national election campaign. These tumultuous times witnessed the rise of anti-immigrant politician Pim Fortuyn, and his assassination, just a few days before the election. The alliance has made it its goal to oppose the harsh right-wing climate in the country and the antisocial government policies. At the moment of the mobilization against the austerity of early retirement rights, this alliance consisted of 550 political and

civil organizations staging collective action twice a year. By stressing anti-neoliberal and progressive policies the organizers emphasized the ideology behind their claims, thus giving participants an opportunity to express their discontent and indignation with proposed government policies. Therefore, we assumed that this social movement context was value oriented.

Two movements simultaneously organizing a value- and a power-oriented demonstration provided us with a unique opportunity to examine which path would prevail as a result of power- and value-oriented mobilizing context. We expected that the instrumental rather than the ideological path would prevail in the power-oriented context, whereas in the value-oriented context the ideological path would dominate the instrumental path.

Motivational Strength

The instrumental and ideological paths aim to account for motivational strength, that is, the strength of the motivation to participate. Theoretically, motivational strength ranges from 0 to infinite with a normal distribution, whereby zero motivational strength concerns people who will never ever participate in protest and infinite motivational strength concerns people who are impatiently waiting for just another call for action. Motivational strength can be seen as motivation to participate in protest in general but can also be motivation for an action with a specific goal or as is the case in the present study motivation for a specific action (Klandermans & Goslinga, 1996). In the remainder of this article, we report a study in which we examine the motivational strength of people actually participating. Sampling those people who actually participate implicates that these people are motivated, and they fall necessarily on the right side of the normal distribution. This does not necessarily imply that all participants were identically motivated. On the contrary, one may assume that the motivational strength and—important for our study—the motivational configuration of these people vary. It is this variation that we are interested in.

Method

Procedure

Data were collected during the demonstrations. This kind of field research implies that it is conducted in a crowded, unpredictable, and erratic environment. In order to guarantee the representativeness of the findings we relied on two techniques employed by Walgrave and colleagues (van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001). Although obtaining data by using a protest survey is not new, this systematic application is. So, we outline its basic principles.

The first technique is a device to guarantee that every protester in the area where the protest event was taking place had an equal chance of being selected by one of the interviewers with the request to complete a survey and mail it back to the researchers in a postage-paid envelope. Interviewers were equally distributed around the square on the outer edge of the protest event. The interviewers were instructed to hand a questionnaire to a protester on the outer circle, followed by another, 10 steps inwards, and so on until the centre of the circle was reached. The second technique was to conduct, in addition to the postal survey, face-to-face interviews before the protest event set off. After introducing themselves the interviewers asked approximately 10 waiting protesters whether they would like to take part in a study which investigates why people protest. After confirmation the interviewer posed a short set of questions concerning the main predictor variables and some demographics. We reached a response rate of close to 100% for the face-to-face interviews. Hence, provided proper sampling, these face-to-face interviews can serve to assess the reliability of the postal survey data. These short, face-to-face interviews were used primarily to evaluate the representativeness of the postal survey.

The organizers planned the demonstrations on two different squares in Amsterdam. Therefore, we collected data on these two squares. For the face-to-face interviews, two times 10 interviewers posed 123 (TTT) and 115 (labor movement) protesters a short set of questions. Subsequently, 500 questionnaires were handed out twice of which 442 questionnaires (209 TTT and 233 labor movement) were returned. The overall response rate was 44% (42% TTT and 47% labor union). Comparisons with the face-to-face interviews revealed no significant difference between the two samples. Hence, we concluded that the postal sample provides a fair approximation of the population of protesters.

Participants

In the value-oriented protest event 56% of the participants were men. Mean age of these participants was 44 years, and the level of education was high (1% primary school, 11% lower secondary, 5% middle secondary, 29% higher secondary university preparatory, 11% nonuniversity higher education, 42% university). Fifty-six percent of these participants were members of an organization affiliated to the social movement that organized the protest event. In the power-oriented protest event 48% of the participants were men. The mean age of these participants was 52 years, and the level of education was high as well (2% primary school, 19% lower secondary, 19% middle secondary, 30% higher secondary university preparatory, 7% nonuniversity higher education, 22% university). Eighty-one percent of these participants were members of an organization affiliated to the trade union federation. All but one of the participants were of Dutch nationality (the remaining participant was from Spain).

Measures

Data for the analyses were taken from the postal survey questionnaires.

Instrumental motives. Instrumental motives were assessed by averaging participants' responses on the following two items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$): "To what extent is your personal situation affected by the government plans concerning early retirement rights?" and "To what extent is the situation of relatives affected by the government plans concerning early retirement rights?" These items were measured on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Efficacy. Perceived efficacy was assessed with one item: "To what extent do you think that this protest event will contribute to persuading the government not to implement its plans concerning early retirement rights?" The efficacy item was measured on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Ideology motives. Ideological participation motives were assessed by averaging participants' responses on the following four items ($\alpha = .80$): I am protesting because: "I want to take my responsibility," "The proposed government policy is against my principles," "I find the proposed government policy unfair," "I find the proposed government policy unjust." The ideology items were measured on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*).

Motivation to participate in the protest. Respondents indicated the strength of their motivation to participate with the following item: "How determined were you to participate in this protest event?" Motivational strength was measured on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all determined*) to 7 (*very much determined*).

Typically, gender, age, and education are the most important demographic predictors of protest participation (e.g., van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001). Higher educated, male, and young to middle-aged are most prone to participate in protest. Therefore gender, age, and education will be controlled for in our statistical analyses.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table 1 provides the correlation matrices, means, and standard deviations of the value- and power-oriented protest event of the variables measured in this study. Correlation analyses showed that instrumental and ideological motives were positively correlated with motivational strength in the context of the power-oriented protest. In contrast, in the value-oriented protest only ideological motives were

Table 1. Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Instrumental Motives, Efficacy, Ideology, and Motivational Strength

Value Oriented	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Instrumental motive	4.19	2.43	–			
2. Efficacy	4.37	1.70	.20***	–		
3. Ideology	6.42	0.77	.08	.14*	–	
4. Motivational strength	6.29	1.27	.11	.05	.52***	–
Power oriented	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	
1. Instrumental motive	4.93	2.42	–			
2. Efficacy	4.51	1.82	.27***	–		
3. Ideology	6.40	0.74	.18***	.21***	–	
4. Motivation strength	6.51	0.83	.12°	.21***	.33***	–

Note. Valid *N* (listwise) Value oriented = 209, Power oriented = 238; all variables on a scale ranging from 1 = *not at all*—7 *very much* ° $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

positively related to motivational strength. Both in the context of value and power-oriented protest, efficacy appeared to be positively correlated to instrumental and ideological motives. Important for our hypothesis, however, only in the context of power-oriented protest efficacy was related to motivational strength. This is in contrast to the value-oriented protest, where efficacy was not related to motivational strength.

The motivational strength in the value-oriented protest of actual protesters varied from 1 to 7 (on a 7-point scale), the mean was 6.29, and the standard deviation was 1.27. In the power-oriented protest the motivational strength varied from 2 to 7, the mean was 6.51, and the standard deviation 0.83. This indicates that despite the fact that all the respondents took part in the collective action (and apparently were sufficiently motivated) they happened to diverge in their motivational strength.

The Instrumental and Ideological Path as a Function of Mobilizing Context

To test whether participants' instrumental motives and efficacy affected their motivation in the context of power-oriented protest, whereas ideological motives affected motivation in the context of value-oriented protest, two separate hierarchical regressions were conducted (see Table 2). For both mobilizing contexts gender, age, and education were entered first (Step 1), followed by instrumental motives and efficacy (Step 2), and ideological motives (Step 3).

Concerning the analysis for the value-oriented protest, results revealed that educational level was a significant predictor of motivational strength, indicating

Table 2. Hierarchical Regressions of Motivation to Participate in Power- and Value-Oriented Protest Events on Instrumental and Ideology Motives

	Motivational Strength					
	Value Oriented			Power Oriented		
	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 3 β	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 3 β
Gender	.04	.04	-.03	.11	.14*	.09
Age	.13	.12	.04	.31***	.30***	.29***
Education	-.17*	-.16*	-.15*	.02	.05	.03
Instrumental motive		.08	.07		.12 ^o	.08
Efficacy		.03	-.04		.15*	.11 ^o
Ideology			.53***			.26***
Model <i>F</i>	4.04***	2.71*	15.51***	7.22***	6.61***	8.64***
<i>df</i>	(3, 189)	(5, 187)	(6, 186)	(3, 212)	(5, 210)	(6, 209)
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.05	.05	.33	.08	.12	.18
<i>R</i> ² change		.00	.27***		.04***	.07***

Note. Coefficients are standardized regression weights (betas).

^o $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

that a higher level of education was associated with less motivational strength. Furthermore, results showed that neither instrumental motives ($\beta = .08$, *ns*) nor efficacy ($\beta = .03$, *ns*) was a significant predictor of motivational strength. Importantly, and as predicted, ideological motives were a significant predictor of motivational strength (R^2 change = .27, $p < .001$).

Concerning the analysis for the power-oriented protest, results showed that age was a significant predictor of motivational strength; the older the participants, the more motivated they were. It can be argued that this is not surprising in light of the goal of the demonstration (i.e., early retirement rights). As predicted, results showed that both instrumental motives ($\beta = .12$, $p < .10$) and efficacy ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$) were significant predictors of motivational strength. Unexpectedly, results showed that ideology motives were also significant predictors of motivational strength ($\beta = .26$, $p < .001$).

We hypothesized that the relationship between motivational strength and instrumental/ideology motives would be contingent upon social movement context. In the above-mentioned analyses, context was not taken into account as a variable, although the effect of context was inferred from the difference between the power- and the value-oriented protest. To test our hypothesis concerning the moderator model of social movement context

more precisely, we combined the two samples and regressed motivational strength on the interaction terms from mobilizing context (0 = *alliance*, 1 = *union*) X instrumental motives, mobilizing context X efficacy, and mobilizing context X ideology.

Important for our argument all three two-way interactions were significant: Ideology motive X Context: $F(1, 440) = 15.33, p < .001, \beta = .18, p < .001$; Instrumental motive X Context: $F(1, 430) = 5.59, p = .02, \beta = .12, p = .02$; Efficacy X Context: $F(1, 439) = 4.85, p = .03, \beta = .11, p = .03$, indicating that the relationship between instrumental and ideology motives and efficacy on the one hand and motivational strength on the other varied across mobilizing context.

To interpret these significant interactions, we plotted the relationship between motivational strength and low and high levels of instrumental and ideology motives and efficacy for power- and value-oriented protest separately. First, each predictor was standardized. Subsequently motivational strength was regressed on the interaction effects from the standardized regression equations. Predicted values were computed using scores that were one standard deviation below and above the mean of instrumental and ideology motives and efficacy (for value- and power-oriented protest, respectively). The influence of ideology motives, instrumental motives, and efficacy on motivational strength in power- and value-oriented protest are shown in Figure 1a–c, respectively.

Figure 1a reflects the finding that the motivational strength of participants in the context of value-oriented protest strongly increased as the strength of their ideological motives increases (simple slope $\beta = .41, p < .001$), whereas the motivational strength of participants in the context of power-oriented protest remained invariably high (simple slope $\beta = .12, ns$), irrespective of the level of ideology motives. As predicted, the motivational strength of protesters in the value-oriented protest increased as their ideology motives increased, whereas the level of ideology motives did not influence the motivational strength of participants in the power-oriented protest. The influence of ideology motives on motivational strength of participants in the power-oriented context was invariably high. We will return to this unexpected finding in our discussion section.

Figure 1b reflects the finding that the motivational strength of participants in the context of value-oriented protest increased as the strength of their instrumental motives increased (simple slope $\beta = .19, p = .05$), whereas the motivational strength of participants in the context of power-oriented protest remained invariably high (simple slope $\beta = .09, ns$), irrespective of the level of instrumental motives. This implies that irrespective of the level of instrumental motives, instrumental motives had a stronger impact on motivational strength in the context of power- rather than value-oriented protest.

Figure 1c reflects the finding that efficacy was a significant predictor of motivational strength in the power-oriented protest (simple slope $\beta = .25, p <$

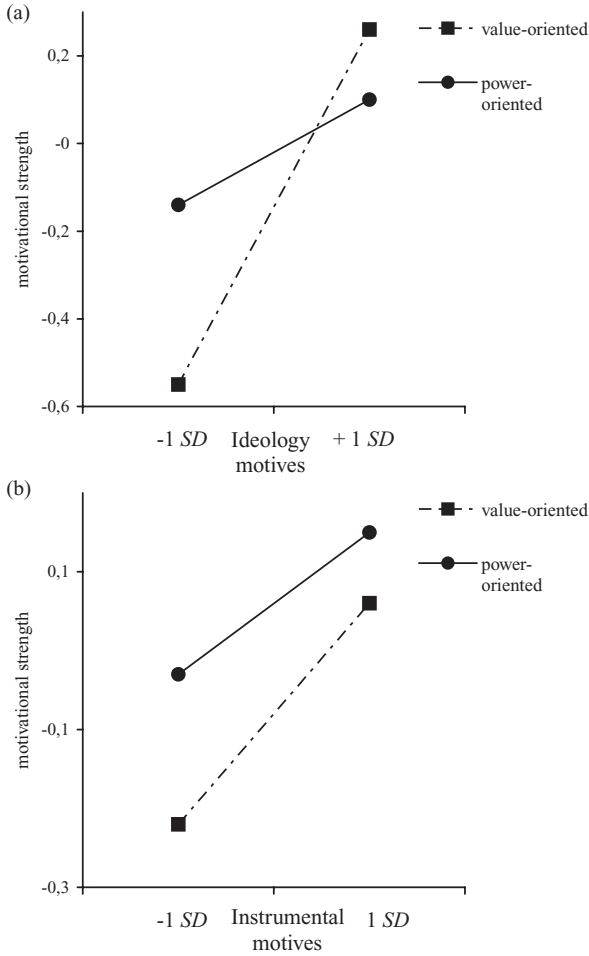


Fig. 1. The influence of ideology motives, instrumental motives and efficacy on motivational strength in power- and value-oriented protest. (a) Ideology motives, (b) instrumental motives and (c) efficacy.

.03), whereas the motivational strength of value-oriented protest was unaffectedly low (simple slope $\beta = .06, ns$). Hence, for efficacy the opposite pattern as for ideology motives was observed. Efficacy strongly influenced motivational strength in power-oriented protest and this influence was invariably low in value-oriented protest, whereas ideology motives strongly influence motivational strength in value-oriented protest and this influence was invariably high in power-oriented protest.

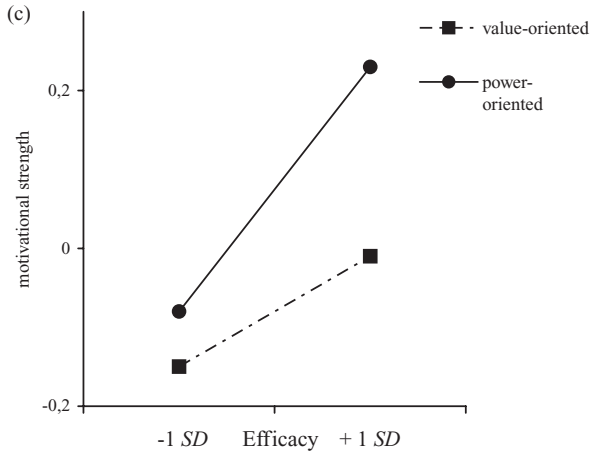


Fig. 1. Continued.

The Mediating Role of Efficacy

Taking mobilizing context into account may bring us in the position to fine-tune the findings of Simon et al. (1998) and van Zomeren et al. (2004). These authors showed that efficacy mediates on instrumental motives and motivational strength. Although we wholeheartedly agree that efficacy plays a mediating role in the instrumental path, we believe that such an effect will only emerge in the context of power-oriented protest. After all, specifically power-oriented actions (rather than value- or participation-oriented action) are appealing to feelings of efficacy (Klandermans, 1993). To test whether efficacy mediates instrumental motives conditionally on the mobilizing context we conducted two mediation analyses.

In the context of power-oriented protest the indirect relation in the instrumental path—that of instrumental motives via efficacy—was significant (Sobel's Z -value = 2.40, $p < .02$). Mediation analysis revealed that the regression coefficient of instrumental motives reduced from $\beta = .12$ ($p = .09$) to $\beta = .06$ ($p = .36$) when efficacy was entered in the equation. This suggests full mediation. Thus, in power-oriented protest the relation between instrumental motives and motivational strength can be completely explained by feelings of efficacy.

In the context of value-oriented protest the indirect relation in the instrumental path—that of instrumental motives via efficacy—was not significant (Sobel's Z -value = .44, $p = .66$). Just like in the power-oriented context, stronger instrumental motives were marginally accompanied by increasing motivational strength ($\beta = .12$, $p = .09$). However, adding efficacy did not reduce the strength of the

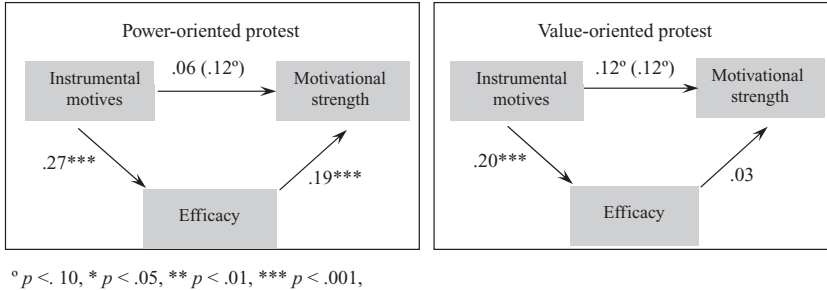


Fig. 2. Mediation model of efficacy on instrumental motives and motivational strength for power- and value-oriented protest.

relation between instrumental motives and motivational strength. This was probably because efficacy was not related to motivational strength ($\beta = .03, p = .65$). The observed mediation models of the instrumental path in power- and value-oriented protest events are presented in Figure 2. As can be seen, instrumental motives were completely translated into efficacy (cf. Simon et al., 1998; van Zomeren et al., 2004) but only so in the context of power-oriented collective action. Thus, in a mobilizing context in which movements disseminate messages of its effectiveness and its ability to exert influence, efficacy plays a key role in the motivational dynamics of participants and not in a value-oriented collective action. This confirmed our hypothesis regarding efficacy-as-mediator as a function of mobilizing context.

Discussion

In the present research we examined whether different mobilizing contexts appeal to distinct motivational dynamics. We argued that a value-oriented mobilizing context would appeal more to ideological motives, whereas a power-oriented mobilizing context would appeal more to instrumental motives. To test these ideas we conducted a field study during two demonstrations against the same governmental policy organized by two different movements. Thus we were able to set up a natural experiment to test whether differences in the mobilizing context appeal to different motivational dynamics. We found that ideological motives were important in the context of value-oriented action, whereas both instrumental and ideological motives played a role in the context of power-oriented action. Moreover, taking mobilizing context into account made it possible for us to fine-tune the repeatedly reported effect of efficacy on collective action participation. Indeed, instrumental motives were fully translated into efficacy (cf. Simon et al., 1998; van Zomeren et al., 2004), but only so in the context of power-oriented protest.

Individual Motivational Dynamics

Our results suggest that it is relevant to conceive of an ideology path next to an instrumental path. Indeed, our study demonstrated that the wish to express one's view when one's values have been violated influences someone's motivation to take part in protest (see for a similar argument, Hornsey et al., 2006). In the context of value-oriented protest the ideology motive added 27% to the variance explained by instrumental motives and even in the context of the power-oriented protest, ideology motives added 7% to the variance explained. This suggests that motivation to take part in protest is strongly influenced by the desire to express one's view when one's values are violated, net of perceiving protesting as an effective strategy to defend imperiled interests. By introducing an ideology path next to the instrumental path we hope to show that people do take part in protest even if the perceived likelihood of success is relatively low. They do so, not because they assume that participation will be effective in defending imperiled interest, but because protest participation is seen as a means to express their indignation when their values have been violated.

The rational choice perspective focused attention on goals and efficacy as important explanations of collective action participation. According to this perspective "rational individuals [will] attempt to achieve collective goods through political participation but only when the collective chances of success and their own personal influence are high" (Finkel & Muller, 1998, p. 39). In a world where the norm of self-interest is pervasive (Miller, 1999) it seems "natural" to participate in protest in the pursuit of one's own material interests, but in the skeptical modern world the pursuit of distant ideals needs explanation (Jasper, 2007). Consequently, in earlier studies of collective action participation much attention was given to efficacy, but less attention has been paid to expressing one's view after violated values as explanation of action participation. Our research, however, suggests that reducing protest participation to rational, structural and organizational processes neglects important reasons why people take part in such actions. Indeed, a narrow focus on instrumentality may fail to disclose other motivations, such as strengthening solidarity, influencing third parties (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), and the urge to express one's values (Hornsey et al., 2006; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007; van Stekelenburg et al., 2008; van Zomeren & Spears, 2009).

By introducing an ideological path to protest we have attempted to contribute to the newly emerging interest in "expressive" motivations contrary to instrumental motivations within collective action studies. We do not want to leave the impression that instrumentally based participation is rational, whereas ideologically based participation is irrational. We want to emphasize that taking the ideological path to action can be as rational or irrational as taking the instrumental path to action. Hence, instrumentally based participation is seen as purposeful in solving a social

or political problem whereas ideologically based participation is seen as purposeful in maintaining moral integrity by voicing one's indignation.

Social Movement Context

Our results suggest that campaigns of different social movements appeal to distinct individual participation motives; thus context seems to matter. Indeed, probably the most important finding of our study is the importance of context effects. As expected, in the context of value-oriented protest only the ideology path influenced the motivation to participate, whereas the instrumental and, unexpectedly, the ideology path prevailed in the context of power-oriented protest. Moreover, taking context into account also specified the effects of efficacy: efficacy is a key variable in the instrumental path to protest, but only in the context of power-oriented protest. The present study connects the microlevel of cognitions, feelings, and behaviors of individual protesters with the mesolevel of social movement characteristics. As such, it speaks to the theoretical debate about structural-level explanations of collective action participation versus individual-level explanations. Few collective action scholars have actually linked characteristics of the mobilizing context to the motivational configuration of individual protesters (for an exception see Klandermans, 1993). Our results suggest that it is worthwhile to study the reasons why people take part in protest as a function of various movement characteristics (e.g., type of action orientation). Such variation is easily overlooked. Had we aggregated the data and neglected the variation in context, we would not have discerned the diverging motivational patterns in response to the differences in context. Indeed, without comparative studies of different campaigns, we would never be able to sort out these individual sources of variation (Klandermans, 1993).

Moreover, aggregation of the data would not have revealed the interesting, but unexpected, finding of an ideology path in the context of power-oriented protest. On further consideration, the ideology path was not so unexpected in the context of trade unions. Various studies have found support for both an instrumental and an ideological route to union commitment and support, including studies examining motives for joining a union (de Witte, 1995), union commitment (Sverke & Sjöberg, 1997), and trade union participation (Sverke, 1996). Indeed, "there is now general support for there being two main routes for union commitment and union support, the instrumental route and the ideological route" (Blackwood, Lafferty, Duck, & Terry, 2003, p. 488). This has (at least) two potential implications for the results of our studies. It may indicate that, even in the context of power-oriented protest, ideological considerations influence the motivation to participate, or it may suggest that the action orientation of the trade union federations was not "purely" power oriented. The latter reasoning corroborates Turner and Killian's (1987) view that all three orientations play a role in every mobilization campaign.

Future research might investigate whether the findings about instrumentality and ideology are related to this specific event or are a more general effect due to the combination of the two motives into a single model.

Recently, it has been widely acknowledged that the dynamics of protest participation are created and limited by characteristics of the societies people are embedded in (see Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005). As social psychologists, however, we are never tired of asserting that people live in a perceived world. They respond to the world as they perceive and interpret it, and if we want to understand their cognitions, motivations, and emotions we need to know their perceptions and interpretations. Hence, people perceive the macro- and mesopolitical, socioeconomic, cultural, and mobilizing contexts that influence and shape a mental model about what the social world looks like and what it ideally should look like. Indeed, these collective mental models may create and limit goals, aims, objective opportunities of both individuals and organizations, and therefore may shape the reasons why people participate in protest. Therefore we argue that, while context matters, perceptions of the context matter even more. Yet, little is known about the relation between sociopolitical context and motivational dynamics of protest, let alone about how perceptions of the sociopolitical environment relate to motivational dynamics. Future research could investigate this issue.

Broader Applications

What are possible broader implications for the current study? First of all, organizers of protest should be aware of the fact that potential participants can have different motives to take part in the actions they organize. It suggests that organizers of protest might benefit from tailoring their campaigns to the motivational makeup of their potential participants. They should realize that persuasive messages are not only about consensus formation (i.e., raising consciousness) and consensus mobilization, but should preferably provide reasons to participate that fit the motives of potential participants. A related issue is the link between the choice of the means of action and the motives they appeal to. Hence, power-, participation-, and value-oriented actions appeal to different motives and organizers may increase the level and intensity of participation and decrease the level of disengagement if they are able to create a fit between the individual participation motives and the right choice of means of action.

Methodological Considerations

Prior to discussing possible limitations of our study and some future directions, we want to devote a few words to the method we employed. Collecting valid and reliable data on protest behavior is a complicated matter. Therefore researchers tend to focus on investigating past protest participation (e.g., World

Value Survey) or intentions to participate in future protest. However, both methods hamper a thorough investigation of protest participation: the former because the survey questions relate to protest in general and the latter because intentions to participate are weak predictors of actual participation (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). A third option is the one employed in the current research, namely, approach participants in the act of protesting. Very few empirical studies are available in the literature on actual participants. Obviously, field research investigating people's motives in the act of protesting calls for completely different research methods to get reliable data. The two strategies developed by Walgrave and colleagues (van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001) seem appropriate to do so. Area sampling helps to ensure that every protester has a relatively equal chance of being selected, and comparing face-to-face interviews with returned questionnaires provides a check for response bias. In our view, this method should be applicable, with appropriate modifications due to local circumstances, to static and moving demonstrations (e.g., marches, parades, etc.). The method is particularly designed to obtain data on attitudes, motivations, emotions, sociodemographics, mobilization channels, and recently it has also been used to collect data on organizational networks tying organizers to their constituencies (Diani, in press). All in all, we believe that it is an appropriate method to get reliable data on (social) psychological motivational dynamics of the people who are actually taking part in political protest.

Possible Limitations and Future Directions

Before we discuss implications of our study for future research, we will make a few remarks on possible limitations. First, in our present research, we only studied people in the act of protesting. Hence, we are not able to predict why some do participate, while others do not. Despite the fact that our dependent variable—motivational strength—showed enough variability to enable us to study the variance of the motivational concepts as a function of variability in motivational strength, it begs the question whether the findings can be generalized to predict why some do participate, while others do not. The elements we have integrated into our model originate from studies that were designed to test hypotheses regarding participation and nonparticipation; hence, we presume that our model will also work in those settings. However, future research is needed to test this assumption.

In terms of future directions, we would like to raise the question of whether being a member of a disadvantaged or advantaged group influences participation motives. Is it self-interest or solidarity and how does that relate to instrumental and ideology motives? A formal theoretical version of this distinction is made by the sociologists McCarthy and Zald (1976), who propose that participants in social movements may be classified as conscience constituents or potential beneficiaries. The first type includes people who support a movement even though they do not stand to benefit directly from its success in goal accomplishment—in other words

“they believe in the cause” (Turner & Killian, 1987, p. 32). Potential beneficiaries are those who would benefit directly and personally from accomplishment of the movement’s goals. Little is known about group status and motives to take part in collective action. It would be worthwhile to elaborate on the moderating effects of context on the relative weight of the various motives as a function of group status.

Future research might theorize on the relationship between the structural location of social actors and their individual preferences and show how this leads them to participate in collective action. For instance, currently we are working on group identification as a mechanism that might link the individual level with the meso- or macrolevel. Group identification has pervasive effects on what people feel, think, and do (Terry & Hogg, 1996). Therefore we assume that the stronger the identification with a collective the more “the group is in me,” the more group-based grievances are incorporated. As such group identification might function as a link between meso and macro collectives and individuals.

Finally, in terms of the direction future research could take, we would like to focus on the process rather than the act of protest participation. When an individual participates in collective political action staged by a social movement organization, this is the result of a sometimes lengthy process of mobilization. Successful mobilization gradually brings what Klandermans (2004) calls “demand” and “supply” together. Our theoretical framework is a first cautious step in studying the complex relation between demand and supply; this may make it a fruitful bridge builder between the micro-, meso-, and macrolevels of protest. But the present study also leaves unanswered a lot of questions regarding the process by which societies generate demand for participation and the transformation of demand into actual participation by appealing supply factors (Diani & McAdam, 2003; Klandermans, 2004). For instance, why is it that the one grievance translates into action while others do not? Or why is it that the same problem in the one society leads to mobilization whereas it remains quiet in the other? Indeed, a more dynamic approach could explore the question of whether social movements appeal to motives already prominent in someone’s mind or raise to prominence in someone’s mind the motives they appeal to.

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