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El Pueblo Unido: Analyzing Group-Based Activism

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EL PUEBLO UNIDO: ANALYZING GROUP-BASED ACTIVISM

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EL PUEBLO UNIDO: ANALYZING GROUP-BASED ACTIVISM

by

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The United States is often known as The Land of the Free. This title, in large part, is reflective of our first constitutional amendment, guaranteeing freedom of speech, assembly, and the right to petition the government. Throughout history, social activist groups of all backgrounds have exercised their right to speak, protest, and gather in the interest of their group. The psychological basis of what motivates someone to engage in or support collective efforts has been studied. Several theories including the politicization of one's group identity, and the presence of others are discussed as predictors of collective action. The current research investigates how support for collective action is predicted by social facilitation, or the behavior change brought on by the mere presence of others. Latino individuals were primed with the threat of an outgroup, thereby politicizing Latinos' group identity. I predicted that the simple act of being in the presence of another person, an ingroup or outgroup member, coupled with politicized identity would heighten a person's support for collective action. Those who experienced threat while in the company of another Latino would report both higher politicized Latino identity and support for collective action. Results showed politicized identity predicted collective action following the threatening message. In post-hoc analyses social facilitation predicted collective action for those who identified as more liberal on social issues. This research comes at a time when people are actively protesting white supremacy, police violence, immigration reform plans, and political officials. This research reveals unique predictors of collective action.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Preliminary Research	14
Chapter 3: Present Research	18
Chapter 4: Discussion	30
References.....	37
Appendix.....	47
Vita	49

List of Tables

Table 1: Correlations between Measured Variables.....	45
Table 2: Summary of Principal Components Analysis Results for Support for Politicized Identity Measure.....	46

List of Figures

Figure 1: Collective action predicted by the interaction of leader type and collective angst	15
Figure 2: Activism predicted by the interaction of group type and political affiliation on social issues	24
Figure 5a: Activism predicted by Ethnic Identity	27
Figure 5b: Activism predicted by American Identity	27
Figure 6: Threat predicted by the interaction of condition and American identity	29

Chapter 1: Introduction

On February 14, 2018, a man opened fire at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Florida. Seventeen people were killed including students and teachers. This would mark the 7th school firearm attack¹ in the country since the beginning of the year (Emery, 2018). These students fell victim to an act that has seemed to become routine in the country. Surviving students of the school shooting made national news with public marches, debates, and calls for boycotts (Grinberg & Almasy, 2018; Stanglin, 2018). The students and their supporters, some including fellow mass shooting victims (Torralva, 2018; Kaye, 2018), have rallied under the social media hashtag NeverAgain, which calls for an end to gun violence. Their cause centers on gun policy reform and safer schools. Also following the shooting, supporters of gun ownership exercised their right to donate to the NRA.

The NRA received more than a threefold increase of donations, compared to the previous month, following the Florida school shooting (Mikelionis, 2018). The NRA was established in 1871 and currently has an estimated 5 million members (Abramson, 2018). The organization has a past and current political presence (NRA, 2018). Here, we see a juxtaposition of two groups acting in collective interest. One group with newly forming identities, a small following and little power, another with a long and loyal history which also carries political power. On the other side of the country, similar protests are erupting. A movement is forming in response to unjust killings and police accountability.

¹ Snopes.com categorizes school shootings based on a number of categories such as during (or not) school hours, on school property, and intention. According to Snopes.com, the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School shooting was the 7th school shooting in 2018 categorized as a “Firearm attack during school hours” with deliberate intention.

On the night of March 18, 2018, Stephon Clark was gunned down in his grandmother's backyard by Sacramento police. Clark was shot primarily in the back and was found to be unarmed, carrying only a cell phone (Robles & Del Real, 2018). Shortly after the shooting, Black Lives Matter and residents of Sacramento, California took to the streets in protest. People have blocked sporting events and organized marches and rallies against local police following the killing of Clark (Bizjak, 2018).

Clark's death is one of 16 at the hands of Sacramento police, since July 11, 2016 (Garrison, 2018). After that date in July, public protest boiled over when Sacramento police shot a mentally ill man 14 times, killing him. Police took two months to release camera footage. Public outcry prompted a city review that ended in reforms that require police to wear body cameras and release camera footage publicly within 30 days of an incident such as a killing (Schuppe & Schwartz, 2018). The footage of Clark's death was released after three days.

These are current examples of social movements. It starts with a problem that some people perceive as unjust. Students may feel unsafe, maybe betrayed by the very systems designed to keep them safe. An entire ethnic group may be feeling unfairly targeted. The perception of these injustices are group based but are experienced by *individuals*. Following such unjust experiences, an individual may experience a change from neutral to resistant. The individual, having had no prior need to mobilize or voice their resistance is faced with injustice they can no longer ignore. The need to resist may form a new identity, may be reinforced by an existing identity. People around these individuals may experience a similar change, merely by sharing their presence. The present research explores both the individual and collective occurrences that lead to collective action.

Collectively, resistance builds and unfolds into a movement that has the potential to make a lasting difference. Research has investigated the psychological predictors of collective action that I will discuss further in detail. However, research has yet to study *collective* action as a *collective* activity. That is, psychologists have not investigated the effect of merely being in the presence of a group and how that might influence collective action. I tested both the individual and the group conditions necessary that will result in a social movement.

Social movements in the modern era are often rely on community and collective interest, much like the movements mentioned. Social change is rarely brought on by a single person. Change occurs politically through group cooperation and unity (Bidgood, 2017). The power to make lasting change within a society lies with the group (Gontcharova, 2018; Johnson & Hawbaker, 2018; Schuppe & Schwartz, 2018). What has not been investigated thoroughly is how the presence of company might affect an individual's motivation to act collectively. Can being in the presence of a group have an effect similar to being a part of a social movement group? I propose that the very act of being in a group can compel a person to act in the interest of an even larger social group.

Predictors of collective action

Collective action can be defined as any collective effort to improve one's group standing or position in a society (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Often, in a society made up of different groups, some will emerge more privileged than others. This imbalance can be interpreted in a number of ways. Some interpretations of power balance however, can lead to collective resistance of the disadvantaged group (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001). I will begin by outlining several predictors of collective action that have been observed and studied in past psychological literature. I will then provide an overview of preliminary and current proposed research.

Group Identity. Social identity theory describes a person's sense of belonging to their respective social groups, such as gender, ethnicity, or political affiliation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity theory further states that we have a need to view our social groups as positive and distinct, compared to other groups (Turner, 1999; Zárate & Garza, 2002; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). As an individual must maintain their own integrity, one's group identity is meant to maintain group bonds and thus creating an optimal sense of distinctiveness (Brewer, 2003). This can be a challenge, however as many different groups must coexist together in one society. When it becomes evident that certain social groups have advantages, or power over other groups, conflict can and often will arise. Depending on whether those social groups in lower status positions perceive their own group boundaries to be changeable or not (Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 1993), and whether they view the overall societal structure as stable or not, can determine the action they take to achieve their own positive group identity (Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). One option that these lower status groups have when they view their group boundaries as impermeable, and the status structure as unstable, is collective action. The action comes about as a need to bolster one's group identity (Van Zomeren et al., 2008; Alberici, & Milesi, 2016).

Recent research on social group membership and collective action was conducted in the current lab. Latinos, residing on the border between Mexico and the United states were primed with the threat of restrictive immigration laws. Following the prime, Latinos' intentions to act civically, through voting, and collectively, through protest, were measured. Results revealed that even conservative Latinos will actively disengage from civic participation when threatened with restrictive immigration legislation (Ramos & Zarate, unpublished manuscript). Though their political ideology suggests that they would support stricter immigration laws, and especially laws

that are proposed by their own political party, we see a form of collective action when conservative Latinos deliberately *withhold* their political voice.

A second experiment showed that when presented with restrictive immigration legislation, Latino citizens experience heightened collective angst and in turn reported higher support for collective action. Collective angst, defined as the feeling of fear for one's own groups' future vitality (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008) mediated the relationship between the threat for restrictive immigration legislation and collective action. Two studies showed that Latinos, after being threatened with legislation that *could* target Latino citizens, made a choice. Latinos chose to act in collective interest. This research shows the influence that one's social group membership can have on the willingness to engage collectively. Recent research among Latino immigrants also shows how national identity can affect support for collective action.

Research has demonstrated that when Latino immigrants perceive their ethnic group to be rejected by other Americans, they experienced lower American identification (Wiley, Lawrence, Figueroa, Percontino, 2013). These Latino immigrants who identified less with Americans after perceived ethnic rejection were also less likely to engage in activism for their ethnic group's behalf. Further research among Latino immigrants and their identity found that those high in dual American/Latino identity also reported higher intentions to engage in collective action for immigration reform (Wiley, Figueroa & Lauricella, 2014). However, when Latino immigrants read laws that restricted immigrant rights, dual identity no longer predicted higher intentions to protest. In two studies we see identity affecting protest intentions. In one, Latinos identify less with the group that was rejecting them, and then were less likely to engage in action. In another, although a higher dual national/ethnic identity predicted higher protest intentions, we did not see this relationship after Latinos were faced with restrictive legislation, or another form of rejection

from their host nation. Will Latino citizens react similarly to threat? Although this research investigated Latino immigrants, the target for the current research is Latino citizens. The current research was conducted in a city with a dense (82%, U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) Hispanic population.

Politicized Identity. Building on social identity as a predictor of collective action, psychologists have proposed a specific type of identity that may go beyond that of social group identity. Simon and Klandermans (2001) speak of power struggles among different groups within a society. They define politicized collective identity as “a form of collective identity that underlies group members’ explicit motivations to engage in such a power struggle” (p. 323). Simon and Klandermans propose that collective, or social identity can become politicized through a series of steps.

In the first step, a feeling of shared grievances must become apparent. This first step falls in line with social identity theory. In order for groups to fight for a positive group identity, they must first recognize something negative about their social group. Here, the perception of students feeling unsafe at school, or Black Americans feeling targeted may be apparent. The source of the negativity is then identified in the second step. The second step in politicization is the identification of an adversary, or an outgroup which to place the blame. We can assume, for example, that the Black Lives Matter movement, opposing police brutality and unjust killings has identified an adversary and that outgroup is biased police. Before the third step, the marginalized group having recognized their shared grievances and identified an opponent has already attempted to reconcile with the opponent. In keeping with the current example, the Black Lives Matter participants would have identified their grievance (police brutality, unjust killings), and their opponent (the biased police) and have attempted a reconciliation by request (i.e.

mandatory body cameras for all on-duty police officers). At this point, if the opponent complies, politicization ceases. If the adversary does not comply, the marginalized groups' politicization continues.

The third step for the Black Lives Matter participants would be to involve a third party in their struggle. The third party in the current example would include the American people. In order for politicization to fully occur, Simon and Klandermans propose that the marginalized group members must force society (or representative members, such as the government) to take sides with either the ingroup or the opposing outgroup. Here, Black Lives Matter and everyone else viewing the protests in their city or on TV will get a sense of who is with the movement, and who is not. Through a series of public protests, the Black Lives Matter movement is forcing society at large to either support their cause, or become a part of the opposition. This theory, in contrast with social identity theory, depends entirely on one's identification and involvement in a social movement organization. Research has shown that, following the steps to politicize social identity, groups will engage in collective protest.

A longitudinal study of gay males aimed to investigate the relationship between collective identity and actual participation in collective protest within the existing German gay rights movement (Stürmer & Simon, 2004). Gay males who were registered members of a gay social movement organization were tracked for three years. Their identification with gay men and with the organization was measured as well as their actual participation within the organization and in protests. Results showed that identification with the organization was a unique predictor of participation in collective protest 12 months later. Three years after initial contact with participants, the political climate in the region shifted as gay marriage was being considered by government officials. Those opposing gay marriage had become vocal, prompting

researchers to follow up with participants. As the political climate surrounding intensified, and gays and lesbians had a clear adversary (opponents to gay marriage legislation), measured identification with gay men, three years prior, was shown to significantly predict future collective protest. More recent research investigated how politicized identity and unique interactions predicted collective action.

Research also investigated the effect of internet discussions on collective action (Alberici, & Milesi, 2016). Of interest in the study was politicized identity. Political activists in Italy, who had a strong online presence, were given a survey that measured their politicized identity, collective action intentions and other factors such as frequency of online political discussions, and collective efficacy, or their belief that the group can achieve their desired change. Results revealed that, among these activists, higher collective efficacy predicted higher politicized identity with more frequent online discussions than with fewer online discussions. This finding illustrates the group discussion, or the implied presence of others, coupled with perceived group power can predict politicized identity. In a second study, politicized identity was shown to mediate the effect of the interaction between online frequency discussion and collective efficacy on intentions to engage in collective action. That is interaction between online frequency discussion and collective efficacy predicted collective action *through* politicized identity. A similar analysis investigated politicized identity as a mediator will be conducted in the current research.

Past research and theory show the importance of the individuals' identification with a social group, as well as their participation, and the effect that the group has on predicting collective action. The present research aims to investigate whether being in the presence of others will predict intentions to engage in collective action. The evidence discussed above lends

support to different forms of identity effectively predicting collective action in the laboratory as well as the community. Research shows the effects of identity on action through correlational results but has yet to incorporate an experimental design. Prior research has yet to explore whether collective action can be predicted simply by being in the presence of another, or rather experiencing disadvantage in a collective environment.

Further, along with an experimental design, with the current research I aim to investigate not only internal mechanisms such as identity, but also outside mechanisms that lead to collective action. Research illustrates that people may become compelled to act by outside influences. Conformity, or the compliance with the group, as well as arousal have been studied as ways in which people become compelled to act.

Conformity and arousal. Conformity is a well-studied phenomenon (Asch, 1956; Cialdini & Trost, 1998; Hatcher, Cares, Detrie, Dillenbeck, Goral, Troisi, & Whirry-Achten, 2016). Likewise, arousal is understood to influence behavior as we seek to increase or decrease our own arousal for optimal levels (Zuckerman, 2015). Research investigates the relationship between conformity and levels of arousal. In a study measuring peoples' physiological levels of arousal, lower arousal levels were observed in settings where participants conformed to a majority group compared to when they did not conform on attitude measures (Hatcher, Cares, Detrie, Dillenbeck, Goral, Troisi, & Whirry-Achten, 2016). Further, researchers found that since non-conformity leads to higher levels of arousal, participants conformed to a majority group who was giving chance, or non-informational responses to a questionnaire. This research shows the effect that arousal and conformity can have on one's own attitudes. Arousal, much like conformity, increases while someone is in the presence of another person (Zajonc, 1965).

Shared experiences. Simply put, social facilitation is the effect of the mere presence of another on one's behavior (Zajonc, 1965). Research on social facilitation shows how the mere presence (it need not be interaction) of other people, can improve and even increase one's performance on a number of activities from mathematics to eating (Dashell, 1930; De Castro & Brewer, 1992). Zajonc and Sales (1966) studied social facilitation in the laboratory. Participants were tasked with learning a series of nonsense words. The participants were given different amounts of training for the words. Recognition of the words was tested either with a non-participating audience, or without one. Results showed that the presence of an audience was more beneficial to those who received more training, but more detrimental to those who received less training. This research illustrates how learning becomes enhanced, whether good or bad, in the presence of other people. The mere presence of others provokes stronger responses.

Considering these past findings, I can speculate as to how Latinos might react to an arousing, or politically threatening stimulus while in the presence of another. To reduce arousal levels, I predict that Latinos would conform to the assumed group's position. That is, if in the presence of another Latino, we would see a negative reaction toward the threat and thus higher resistance or support for collective action. Further, the mere presence of any one person while Latinos experience threat will heighten their politicized identity and in turn their support for collective action. Social facilitation will account for any differences in identity and support for collective action when Latinos are in the presence of another person, versus when they are alone. Related research on social facilitation and physiological responses has investigated different types of reactions beyond recall.

Past research studied the cardiovascular responses of participants who performed tasks in the presence of an observer or alone (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter & Salomon, 1999). In this two

phase study, participants were involved in a learning phase and a testing phase. The tasks performed were either ones that were well-learned and mastered by the participant, or ones that were unlearned. During the testing phase, participants' cardiovascular responses. Results revealed that participants who performed well-learned tasks in the presence of an observer had cardiovascular reactions consistent with motivation patterns of challenge. In contrast, participants who performed unlearned tasks in the presence of an observer had cardiovascular reactions consistent with motivation patterns of threat. This research illustrates how social facilitation and previous experience can evoke different responses and reactions. Of interest to the current research are reactions to threat while in the physical presence of another person. When experiencing threat, will the presence of another person amplify action against the threat? Will the presence of an ingroup member amplify action while the presence of an outgroup member dampens action? More recent research studied the phenomenon of social facilitation not with an audience, but with a confederate that was partaking in the same activity as the participant.

Research demonstrates that experiences, whether pleasant or unpleasant, become amplified when in the presence of others who are sharing the same experience (Boothby, Clark, & Bargh, 2014). Boothby, et al. explored this phenomenon in the laboratory with a confederate. Participants were tasked with tasting a piece of flavorsome chocolate. The chocolate was rated as more pleasant when participants tasted the candy the same time as the confederate. Though the participants' "partner" was not a friend and did not engage in friendly chatter, the presence of another person sharing the sensations amplified the participants' experience. To demonstrate that the effect was not only present because the very act of eating good candy is so enjoyable, the experiment was replicated with very unpleasant chocolate (bitter, dark, etc.). After tasting the

bitter chocolate, results showed participants found the chocolate that much more *unpleasant* when in the presence of the confederate research assistant. This research illustrates the social facilitation effect (Zajonc & Sales, 1966). The participants had no bond or connection other than their shared experience, which affected their own judgments. Can the presence of another person then affect significant social aspects of life? Of interest to these questions is the influence that the ethnic group membership of the partner has on an unrelated, but ethnically similar person.

Research from the same authors reveals that relationships among the participants and the observer may affect the outcome of participants. In one study, researchers investigated the social facilitation effect between socially distant (strangers) and socially proximate (acquaintances) partners (Boothby, Smith, Clark & Bargh, 2016). Results revealed that a pleasant experience was enjoyed more when participants shared the experience with a partner, but only when that partner was socially proximate. Similarly, ratings of pictures were enjoyed more by participants who rated them in the presence of a friend versus with a stranger (Boothby, Smith, Clark & Bargh, 2017). Two studies show a social facilitation effect based on the relationship among the participants. The current research aims to produce similar findings after making ethnic membership salient among the participants. Will social facilitation be affected by the ethnic group membership of the partner? Furthermore, can shared experiences explain group-based phenomena that is happening around us?

Let us consider the 2016 president election. Candidates from political parties campaigned aggressively, holding massive rallies where they presented their platform and made promises. People witnessed the masses on TV with their families, but they also voiced their own opinions of the candidates to friends and coworkers. Candidate choice defined some people, and in some cases may have even affected their personal relationships (Farrell, 2017). People were not alone

in that election. Further, the results were a surprise. Multiple polls predicted now President Donald J. Trump as the loser (Cohn, 2017; Mercer, Deane & McGeeney, 2016). However, whether many polls were wrong, or people were swayed by a sense of comradery with fellow Trump supporters after visiting a rally, having a lively group discussion, or even while waiting in line to vote, has yet to be determined. The current research aims to answer the question of whether or not social facilitation has an effect on one's intentions to act collectively, for political or social purposes. In line with research on identity, arousal, and conformity, I propose that a threatening experience of a political nature will be met with higher politicized identity and subsequent support for collective action when people are in the presence of another in-group member.

Chapter 2: Preliminary Research

Research in the current laboratory investigated the effects of leadership type on feelings of collective angst and collective action toward restrictive immigration laws. The two forms of leadership studied were charismatic versus non-charismatic. A charismatic leader can be defined as a person using persuasive words and body language to convince others to follow their lead. A non-charismatic person lacks these persuasive techniques.

Two studies investigated the broad hypothesis that a charismatic leader would compel people to engage in collective action. SB1070-like laws were used as a prime to threaten Latinos. Participants were exposed to videos of a charismatic (or non) leader delivering a threatening message regarding imminent local restrictive immigration laws. Of interest in the study was also the effect of empowering, or not empowering participants to act collectively.

Experiment 1

Participants and procedure. The first study used data exclusively from self-identified Latino students ($N = 121$). Most participants were female ($n=67$) with a mean age of 20.94 ($SD=4.37$). Participants were recruited to participate in the laboratory based study in exchange for course credit. Participants were randomly assigned to read a passage describing a law requiring people to carry documentation proving their citizenship. The passage concluded in either stating that similar laws have been overthrown by the collective voice of the people (empowerment condition) or that while high profile cases have been brought against such laws, the people have no power over this legislation (disempowerment condition)². Following the passage, participants were either assigned to view a video of a charismatic or non-charismatic person speaking on the law and how it is unjust. The participants viewed this message together in

² There were no effects of empowerment and this part of the study will not be commented on further.

groups, in front of a computer monitor with the sound turned up. The method of which the participants viewed the video is of particular importance because they viewed the video *together*.

Results and Discussion. Study 1 showed support for collective action was predicted by the interaction of leader type and collective angst $R^2 = 0.24$, $F(1, 120) = 12.45$, $p < .0001$. That is, higher levels of collective angst predicted higher support for collective action, but only when participants received a threatening message from a charismatic leader ($\beta = .65$, $p < .0001$). Collective angst did not predict collective action in the non-charismatic leader condition ($\beta = .18$, $p = .13$), (See Figure 1).

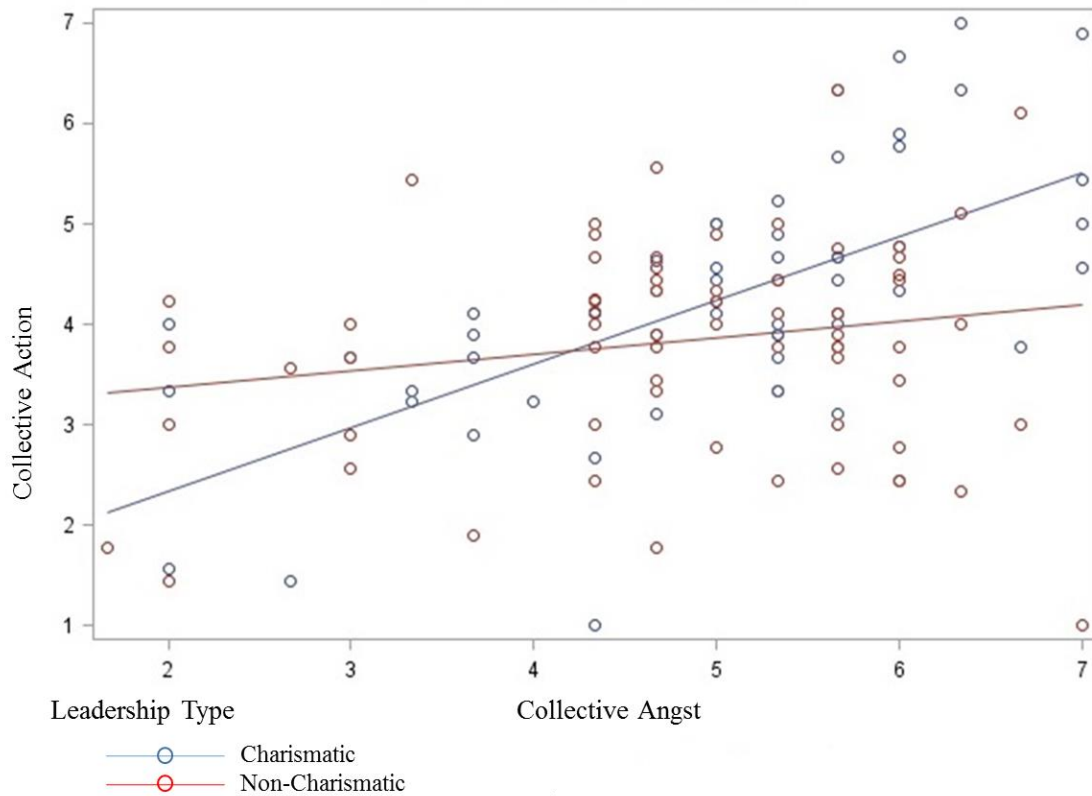


Figure 1. Collective action predicted by the interaction of leader type and collective angst $R^2 = 0.24$, $F(1, 120) = 12.45$, $p < .0001$.

These data lend support to the theory that a charismatic leader can incite a collective movement. Important consideration, however should be given to the fact that participants were not exposed to the empowerment prime individually, but viewed the leader prime together. A follow up study aimed to investigate further the factors that lead to support for collective action.

Experiment 2

A second study in the same laboratory tested the same basic hypotheses. In addition to investigated leader type, threat type was manipulated to determine if a proximal versus distal threat would produce different results with regard to participants' collective angst and support for action. It was hypothesized that Latinos, under the influence of a charismatic and empowering leader, would have heightened collective angst when proximally (as opposed to distally) threatened. Furthermore, collective angst would compel threatened Latinos to engage in collective activism and radicalism. Finally, Latinos would have heightened ethnic identity when proximally threatened, empowered, and under the influence of a charismatic leader.

Participants and procedure. The study used data exclusively from self-identified Latino students ($N = 165$). Most participants were female ($n=108$) with a mean age of 22.21 ($SD=6.11$). Participants were recruited to participate in the laboratory based study in exchange for partial course credit. Participants were randomly instructed to write one to two paragraphs on why it is important to be empowered in a society (empowered condition) or why individuals lack power in a society (disempowered condition). Participants then read a fictitious summary of a law that was to be passed that allowed any person living within 200 miles of the border (distal threat) to be deputized and given the power to arrest those who have a reasonable suspicion to be in the United States illegally. This summary also included a description of an incident involving the detainment of two males near the border at Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. In the proximal threat

condition, participants read a fictitious summary of a law that was to be passed that allowed police officers to question, make arrests or detain any individual, if the officers have a reasonable suspicion that those people are in the United States illegally. This summary also included a description of an incident involving the detainment of two males in El Paso, Texas. Following the readings, participants viewed a video of a person speaking against the law in either a charismatic (leader conditions) or non-charismatic manner. Participants completed dependent measures and demographics, were thanked and debriefed.

Results and Discussion. Again, we used videos of a charismatic (and non) leader communicating their opposition to the law to participants. For this study, participants were given headphones, thus that they did not have to view the video together. Overall, collective angst predicted of collective action, predicting both activism, $R^2 = .23$, $F(1, 164) = 48.99$, $p < .0001$, and radicalism $R^2 = .09$, $F(1, 164) = 16.72$, $p < .0001$. No effects of threat or leader type were found.

One possible explanation for the effects being present in the first study but not in the second were the simple use of the headphones. In the second study, while wearing their own headphone device, participants viewed a threatening message by themselves, and then responded to measures of a *group* nature. They indicated their level of collective angst and willingness to engage in collective forms of action but their experience with the threat prime was *alone*. The first study may be an example of social facilitation within the context of collective action, something that has yet to be studied in research. The current research will attempt to investigate whether collective action is most supported after collectively experiencing an injustice.

Chapter 3: Present Research

For the present study, I used the same group paradigm as Boothby, et al (2014). I predict that the simple presence of another person experiencing threat will amplify someone's politicized identity, and in turn increase their support for collective action. This effect will be strongest when the participant is in the presence of a member of their own ingroup. Specifically, I predict that (1) collective action will be higher when threat is experienced in a group, rather than alone, (2) those who experience threat while in the presence of a member of their own ingroup will have the highest levels of politicized identity and politicized identity will mediate the effects of the presence on action. Finally, (3) politicized identity will predict collective action.

Method

Participants

The study took place at The University of Texas at El Paso. The target sample was Latino American citizens. Those who self-identified as Mexican American, Hispanic/Latino, Chicano, Mexican, or Hispanic & Caucasian (mixed-race) were included in the analyses. Only participants who are U.S. citizens were included in analyses. Furthermore, only those who passed two attention checks and a manipulation check within the survey were included in the analyses. An a priori power analysis was conducted using the effect size from Study 1 ($R^2 = 0.24$). Based on the analysis, no less than 164 participants were needed for the current study. I collected 294 participants. After exclusions, the final sample included 197 participants, mostly female ($n = 119$).

Partial course credit was awarded to all participants. Participants were recruited through the online campus Sona Systems. Participants signed up for a 45-minute timeslot during the day and arrived at the laboratory to complete the study. Participants completed the computer-based

study in a laboratory equipped with four computers that had computer towers set between them in such a way to act as partitions. Upon arrival, participants completed informed consent procedures, were seated at their own computer station and began the study.

Procedure

The design of the study is a single factor, between-subjects design with three levels of group (ingroup vs. outgroup vs. no group (control)). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions. All participants watched a short video clip showing a demonstration including white nationalist and conservative groups advocating for their rights. The video was approximately 8 minutes in length and included footage from three protests. The first two protests showed people holding signs and chanting anti-immigrant, pro-border wall, and white nationalist views (i.e. “I thank God for the White man who settled this nation”). Also visible are counter protestors gathered in front of the conservative protestors. One protest showed a man being brought to tears after facing an anti-immigrant protestor. The third protest shown was the “Unite the Right” gathering held in Charlottesville in 2017 (Fausset & Feuer, 2017). Along with chants like “Jews will not replace us.” The footage included interviews with rally participants stating they would like a president more racist than the current president.³ It should be noted that all protests included anti-immigrants as well as white nationalist views. Although the video also contained homophobic and religious epithets, the protests were predominately focused on white nationalist views and far-right conservative views on immigration.

A third of the participants watched the clip independently, while wearing headphones. These participants entered the lab, gave their informed consent, and were seated at their own computer station with headphones. This group of participants was in the control group, or “no

³ The full clip can be viewed at <https://zaratelab.weebly.com/current-research.html>

group” condition. Following the clip, they completed the survey. The other groups of participants were seated with a confederate to watch the clip. These participants, along with the confederate who was feigning participation in the study, entered the lab, gave informed consent, and answered one question asked by the research assistant proctoring the study. The researcher asked “May I please have your name and ethnicity?” The participants answered. The confederate, while in the presence of the participants, gave either an ethnic sounding name (e.g. Corina Quezada, for ingroup), or an American sounding one (Rebecca Price, for outgroup). The confederate then self-identified as either “Hispanic” or “White.” These participants were in the ingroup and outgroup conditions, respectively.

The participants along with the confederate then watched the clip together in front of one computer. The confederate was instructed not to engage in conversation with the participants or react to the video clip. Following the prime, participants then completed a series of dependent measures. They were then debriefed, thanked and dismissed. Following the clip, participants sat at their own computer station to complete the survey.

Measures

Collective action. To assess the participants’ willingness to engage in acts of collective protest, they completed the Activism and Radicalism Intentions Scale (ARIS) (Moskalenko & McCauley, 2009). Participants completed 10 items measuring their Activism Intentions and Radicalism Intentions. Activism alone is measured using 4 items ($\alpha = .91$). Radicalism is measured using 6 items ($\alpha = .85$). In addition, they completed five items measuring their extremism intentions ($\alpha = .58$). The focus of the current analyses is activism. Responses were recorded on a 1-7 point Likert-type scale (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree), with higher numbers indicating higher intentions of acting collectively. Items included: “I would join/belong

to an organization that fights for my group's political and legal rights," "I would continue to support an organization that fights for my group's political and legal rights even if the organization sometimes breaks the law," and "I would go to war to protect the rights of my group."

Politicized identity. Politicized Latino identity was measured using 6 items used to assess politicized gender identity (Duncan & Stewart, 2007). Items were modified to measure Latino politicized identity (See Appendix) ($\alpha = .70$). Responses were on a 1-7 point Likert-type scale with higher scores meaning more politicized identity. Items included: "Do you think what happens generally to Latinos in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" and "White Americans have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against Latino Americans."

Principal components analysis was conducted using quartimin rotation with Kaiser normalization to determine the number of factors for the politicization scale. The analysis indicated three factors for the scale (see Table 2) explaining a total of 59.5% of the variance for the set of variables. This 8-item scale had 5 items load onto factor 1, 2 items onto factor 2 and 1 item loading onto a third factor. Two items that were reverse scores were deleted from the original scale. The analysis was repeated to reveal the remaining 6 items loading onto a single factor.

Group Identity. Participants completed 5 items developed by Meyer-Lee and Evans (2008) to assess American Identity. These items comprise the Commitment Affirmation subscale of the American Identity Measure (AIM). The Cronbach's alpha for American Identity is .92, indicating good reliability. Items included such items as "I think of myself as being American," and "Being American plays an important part in my life." To assess ethnic identity, participants

completed 3 items developed by Phinney (2007) that comprise the Commitment subscale of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure- Revised (MEIM-R). This scale also had high reliability (3 items; $\alpha = .86$). Items included: “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group,” “I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me” and “I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.” For ethnic and American identity measures, participants rated their level of agreement with each statement along a 7-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree) with higher numbers indicating higher identification.

Political Climate Threat Measure. To assess that the video viewed was threatening in nature, three questions assessing threat of the current political climate were administered following the survey. These questions were “The president’s policies are racist,” “People who support Donald Trump are racist,” and “White people in the U.S. face discrimination (reverse coded).” The third, reverse coded item correlated poorly with the other two items and was deleted from the measure. The remaining two items correlate significantly, $r(195) = .72, p < .0001$. This measure is analyzed as threat in response to the current political climate. This variable was examined in post-hoc analyses.

Results

The current study used a single factor between-subjects design with 3 levels of condition (racial/ethnic ingroup vs. racial/ethnic outgroup vs. no-group). All data collected were analyzed using SAS statistical software. To test hypothesis 1, I first collapsed the ingroup and outgroup conditions into one group, for group. This group was then compared to the no-group condition on their support for collective action, using a t-test. The collapsing of conditions lead to large but uneven sample sizes (group = 130 vs. no-group = 67). To account for these uneven sample sizes,

I conducted a Welch-Satterthwaite t-test. There was no significant difference in support for collective action for those who experienced threat in a group ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.49$) and no group ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 1.34$); $t(146.73) = -1.24$, $p = 0.22$. The same analyses were conducted using radicalism and extremism as dependent variables. No significant effects were found for either radicalism or extremism, $t(121.36) = -.18$, $p = 0.86$, $t(151) = .94$, $p = 0.35$, respectively. Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Hypothesis 2 stated that those who experience threat while in the presence of a member of their own ingroup would have the highest levels of action through politicized identity. Given that the results of hypothesis 1 were unfound, it would be purposeless to test hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 was not supported. Further exploration as to the relationship between politicization and activism is warranted.

To test hypothesis 3 that politicized identity predicted collective action, I regressed collective action on politicized identity. Indeed, politicized identity predicts collective action, $\beta = .46$, $t(196) = 7.33$, $p < .0001$. Further, politicized identity explained 23% of the variance in collective action, ($R^2 = .22$, $F(1, 195) = 53.77$, $p < .0001$). This results shows a clear predictive relationship between the politicization of one's group identity, and their support for collective action efforts, giving support for hypothesis 3.

Post-Hoc Analyses

Of interest in the current research are any replications from previous research. Research from the same laboratory, investigating voting intentions of Latinos who read about restrictive immigration legislation resulted in a suppression of voting intention. Conservative Latinos were shown to actively disengage from civic participation when threatened with restrictive

immigration legislation (Ramos & Zarate, unpublished manuscript). Political affiliation and action were explored in the current study.

I conducted a general linear model using support for activism as the dependent variable, and condition, political affiliation and the interaction as independent variables. Political affiliation was measured on a 7-point Likert type scale (1= Very Conservative, 7= Very Liberal) using two self-report questions. The first asked participants to indicate their lean on fiscal issues, the second asked about social issues. The model of the total effect was significant, $R^2 = .10$, $F(5, 191) = 4.47$, $p = .0007$. There was a significant interaction of condition and political affiliation on social issues, $F(2, 191) = 4.59$, $p = .01$ (see Figure 4).

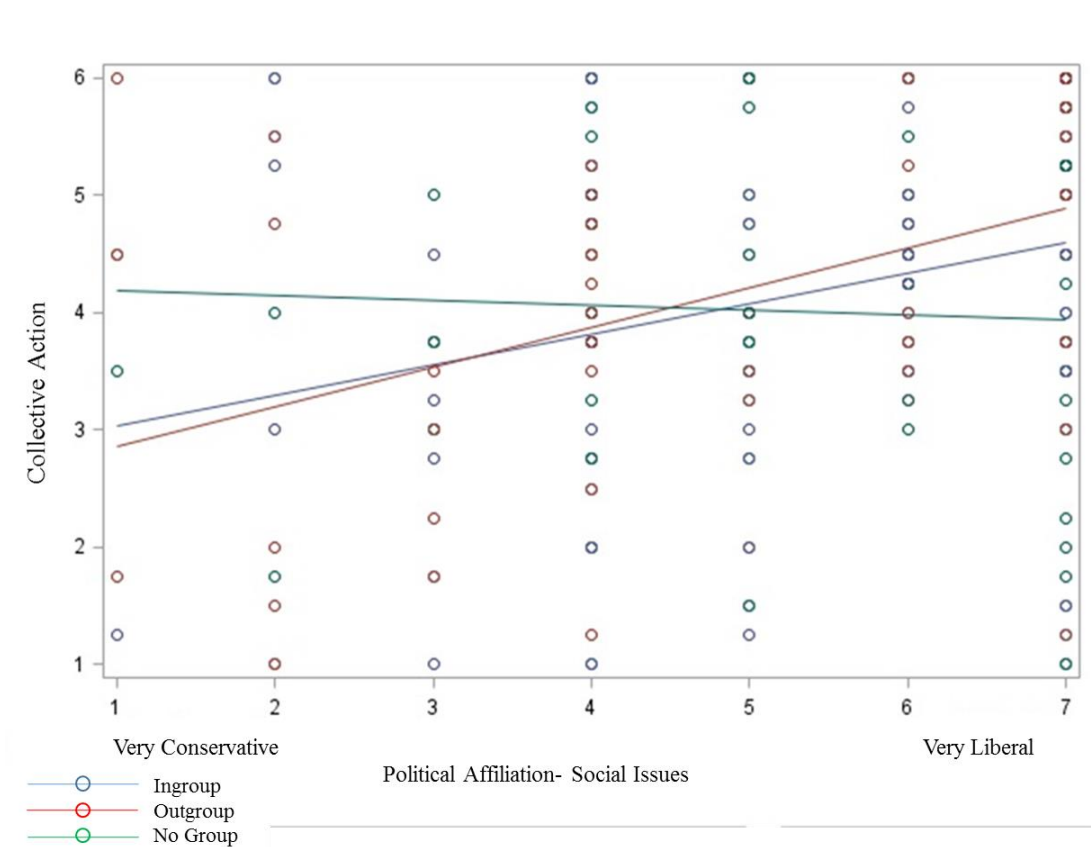


Figure 2. Collective action predicted by the interaction of group type and political affiliation on social issues $F(2, 191) = 4.59$, $p = .01$.

Participants who viewed the stimulus in the presence of a self-identified White individual ($\beta = .46, p = .0002$), or in the presence of an ingroup member ($\beta = .26, p = .03$), showed higher support for activism as their political affiliation leaned more *liberal* on social issues. While those who saw the stimulus alone, did not show the same increase in activism as their social political affiliation increased ($\beta = -.11, p = .36$).

This result indicates that more liberal political affiliation on social issues is predictive of higher support for collective action when faced with threat, but only when one is experiencing the threat in the presence of another person. We see here that after viewing a socio-politically charged rally centered on White nationalism, Latinos experienced an increase in their support for protest as their political affiliation on social issues leaned more liberal. However, we did not see this tendency when Latinos were viewing the video without a partner. This effect illustrates the premise of social facilitation. In addition to political affiliation, group identity was also of interest in the current research. As I investigated participants from a heavily dense Hispanic region, it was appropriate to measure both ethnic and American identity. The two forms of identity were analyzed to identify possible predictive relationships to collective action.

I regressed collective action on ethnic identity. Higher ethnic identity predicts higher support for collective action. Ethnic identity explained 22% of the variance in collective action, ($R^2 = .22, F(1, 195) = 54.78, p < .0001$). The same analysis was conducted for American identity. Higher American identity predicts lower support for collective action. American identity explained 2% of the variance in collective action, ($R^2 = .02, F(1, 195) = 3.70, p = .055$). These analyses show predictive relationships between identity and intentions to engage in collective action. The relationship between the type of identity and collective action differ, however. Ethnic

identity is positively correlated with collective action whereas American identity is negatively correlated (See Figures 5a and 5b, and Table 1). The interaction of the two slopes was non-significant, $F < 1$.

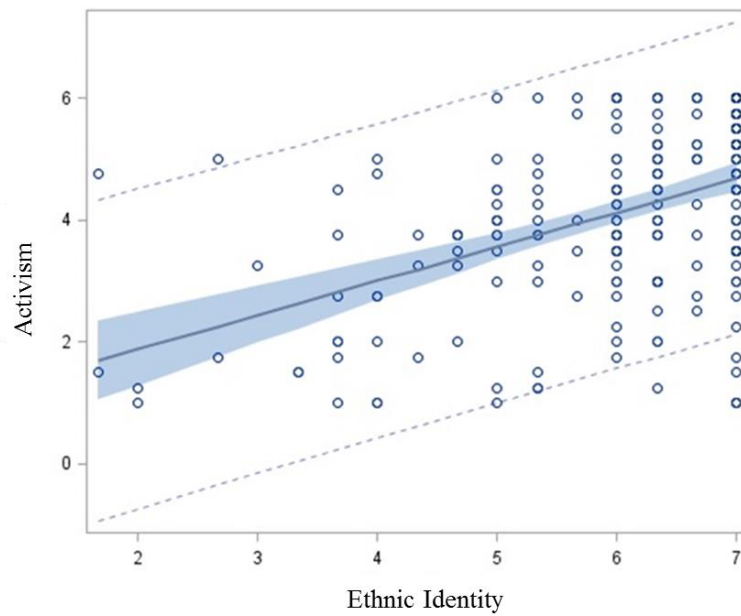


Figure 5a. Activism predicted by Ethnic Identity $F(1, 195) = 54.78, p < .0001$.

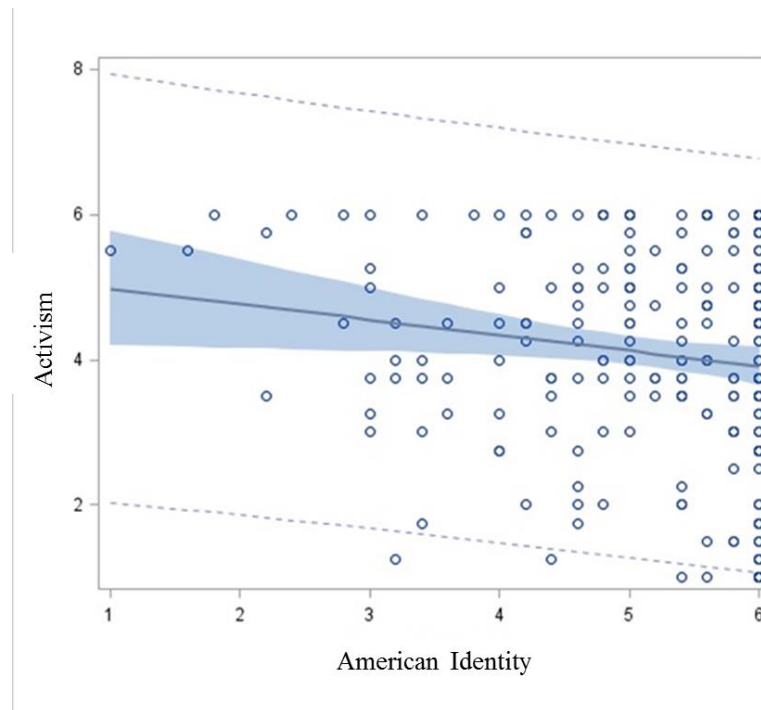


Figure 5b. Activism predicted by American Identity $F(1, 195) = 3.70, p = .055$.

Following the video, I measured participants' own threat level with the current political climate using the questions "The president's policies are racist," and "People who support Donald Trump are racist." Higher levels of threat were shown to predict higher levels of collective action, $R^2 = .16$, $F(1, 195) = 36.22$, $p < .0001$, and radicalism, $R^2 = .06$, $F(1, 195) = 12.27$, $p = .0006$, but not extremism, $F < 1$. The threat measure was also a strong predictor of politicization $R^2 = .32$, $F(1, 195) = 92.21$, $p < .0006$.

I conducted a general linear model using the threat measure as the dependent variable, and condition (collapsed, group vs. no-group), American identity and the interaction as independent variables. The model of the total effect was significant, $R^2 = .08$, $F(3, 193) = 5.34$, $p = .002$. There was a significant interaction of condition and American identity, $F(1, 193) = 3.78$, $p = .05$ (see Figure 6).

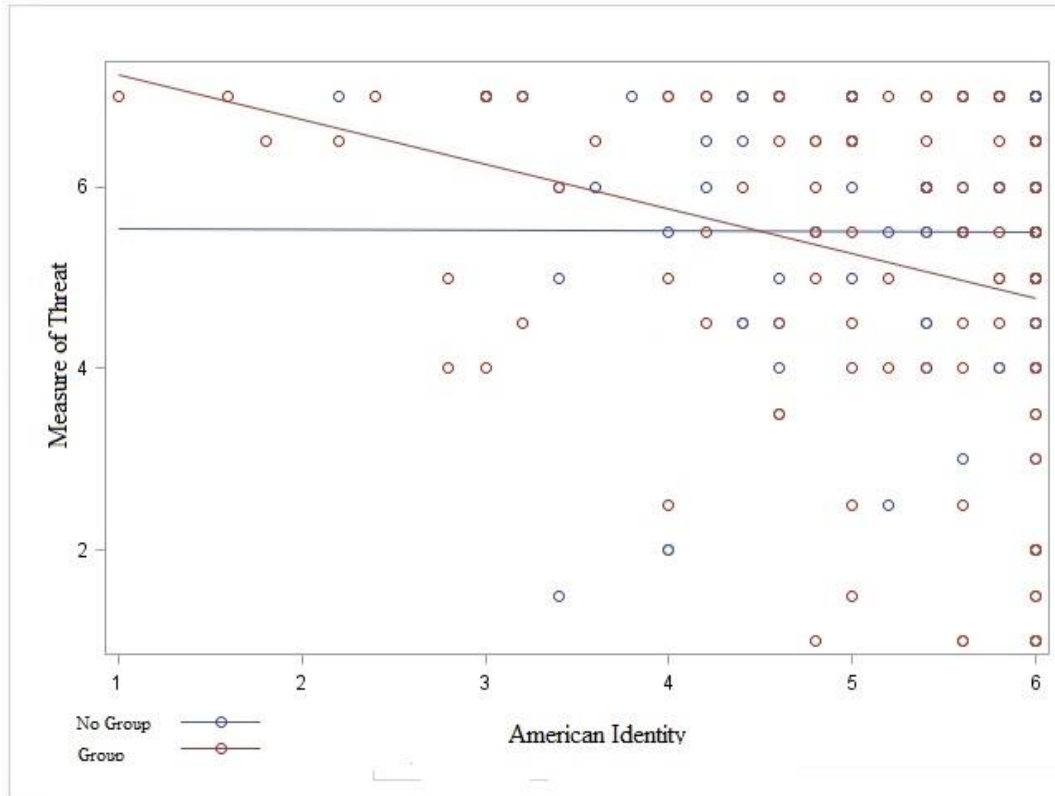


Figure 6. Threat predicted by the interaction of condition and American identity $F(3, 193) = 5.34, p = .002$.

Participants who viewed the stimulus in the presence of another individual ($\beta = -.31, p = .0004$), showed lower levels of threat of the current political climate ($M = 5.23, SD = 1.78$) as their American identity increased. While those who saw the stimulus alone, did not show the differing levels of threat of the current political climate as their American identity increased ($\beta = -.003, p = .98, M = 5.51, SD = 1.46$). Latinos, likely having a heightened sense of arousal while viewing white supremacists clips in the presence of another person, have conformed to the current political climate by reporting *lower* threat.

In an effort to assess if perceptions of the current administration affected the results of the experiment, I repeated the analyses while excluding participants who scored below the midpoint

(4) on the measure of threat of the current political climate. Hypothesis 1 stating that collective action would be higher when threat is experienced in a group, rather than alone was not supported. Higher collective action was seen in those who viewed the stimulus in a group ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.32$) compared to alone ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.32$), $t(122.07) = -2.07$, $p = 0.041$. Here, we see evidence of the social facilitation effect. While alone, even those who already had a high level of threat over the current political climate reported lower support for collective action compared to those who were in the mere presence of another person. Threat of the current political climate is relevant as support for the political climate may have served as a buffer for participants who were included in the previous analyses. Further, this provided more evidence to social facilitation being context specific. This is discussed further in the next section.

Analyses among all measures were conducted to determine any present gender effects. Females reported higher levels of politicization, $F(1, 195) = 16.43$, $p < .0001$, collective action, $F(1, 195) = 4.91$, $p = .03$, and the measure of threat following the video, $F(1, 195) = 4.94$, $p = .03$. All confederates in the study were female.

Chapter 4: Discussion

The current research was conducted in a socially relevant and highly timely context. In the midst of a very controversial and protested administration, groups from different walks of life; minorities, women, LGBT persons, students, and even children have come together in opposition of the president and those who support him. Protesting and organizing began almost immediately following the day when many of these people were gathered together, most likely in close proximity to one another, as they waited to cast their vote. There is no doubt that people can form strong opinions while listening to and watching political candidates on TV, while in the privacy of their own living rooms. But this act of collectively gathering and then, almost immediately after, witnessing what you perceive to be an injustice, may spark a willingness to protest that you had not previously experienced throughout the campaign. Although results did not support all predictions in the current study, data were clear on the relationship between different identities and activism, as well as the effect of social facilitation.

Hypothesis 1, that collective action would be higher when threat is experienced in a group, rather than alone was not supported. Hypothesis 2, that those who experienced threat while in the presence of a member of their own ingroup would have the highest levels of politicized identity and action, also was not supported. Data however did lend support to my third prediction.

Hypothesis 3 that stated politicization would predict intentions toward collective action was supported. The strong predictive relationship between politicized group identity and activism was a conceptual replication of previous research in the current lab. Previous research investigated the impact that threat had on Latinos' collective angst and intentions toward collective actions (Ramos & Zarate, unpublished manuscript). The previous study showed

collective angst predicting collective action after Latinos were threatened with restrictive immigration legislation. Collective angst, again is the anxiety felt for one's own social group's vitality. Collective angst in that scenario could be viewed as a fearful reaction to the power structure bringing about restrictive immigration laws. In the current study, however, when priming Latinos with footage from White nationalist demonstrations, we may have evoked a reaction more closely related to anger, that appears to be fueling politicized identity. Collective angst and politicized identity both predict collective action in Latinos being threatened, though the type of threat may arouse a different predictor. Further exploration of different threat, and different predictors of action is warranted. Research has shown that social facilitation and prior experience can elicit different physiological responses (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter & Salomon, 1999). Likewise, different types of threat may affect ways in which people aim to act against the threat.

Post-hoc analyses revealed interesting effects. One of the main areas of focus for the current study was the effect of social facilitation on one's support for collective action, specifically within a sociopolitical context. I primed participants with footage from politically conservative and White nationalist protests and rallies. I then measured their support for collective action, and a number of other factors including political affiliation of both social and fiscal issues. I observed that when threat was witnessed in the presence of another individual, participants expressed higher support for collective action, among those who expressed having more *liberal* views on social issues. Being primed with politically charged social issues, it is expected that those opposed to the views presented would have heightened support for collective action. However, this support for collective action as political social views leaned liberal was only seen in participants who experienced the video in the presence of another person. These

participants did not speak about the issue, share their own views, or even exchange pleasantries, they were merely present for the same experience. This mere sharing of a political experience increased their support for collective action. The effect of social facilitation was seen when examining political ideology but not when examining identity. This may be because political identification is stronger than politicized identity. Though politicized identity can be seen as a reaction to injustice, political ideology has been formed and practiced likely before any injustice was perceived, and certainly before the current participants were primed in this study. Research does show how political ideology can move others to act (Ramos & Zarate, unpublished manuscript).

Two important and opposite relationships were observed in the current study. Support for collective action was predicted by ethnic and American identity, though in different directions. Higher ethnic identity predicted higher support for collective action whereas higher American identity predicted lower support. We also see that those in the presence of another person, and with higher American identity showed a lesser threat response to the white supremacist footage. These results are both a theoretical replication of previous research in the current lab. Previous research studying Latinos' reaction toward restrictive immigration legislation found that conservative Latinos had lower intentions of voting when the national immigration debate was made salient. Conservative Latinos, primed with restrictive immigration laws that may affect them or those close to them, but that were also part of their chosen political affiliation, made a choice to suppress their own voting intentions. Similarly, Latinos high in American identity are presented with political demonstrations, an exercise of America's First Amendment right to assemble. However, those who are exercising their right to protest, are promoting White nationalist views. Latinos who highly identify as American are presented with an act that is

American, performed by people who are anti-Latino. Here, Latinos made a choice to suppress their own support for collective action. What is also shown by these results is a move away from their group identification.

Prior research on group identification shows the impact that highlighting perceived negative aspects of one's group membership. Whites who are made aware of white privilege report lower ingroup identification as well as guilt (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). Likewise, in a study investigating age groups, a relationship between perceived age discrimination and harm to one's well-being was present among older adults. Further, increased ingroup identification was related to improved psychological well-being. What is evinced by Latinos' disengagement with higher American identity is their own disidentification with their national identity. Further, their move to suppress their collective action intentions is likely a way to reduce the arousal brought on by their national identification. Although high in American identity, Latinos cannot go against American values, nor can they support white supremacy. Likewise, those viewing white supremacists while in the presence of another may also have heightened arousal, and therefore have a need to reduce that arousal. Here, we saw how Latinos report less threat with the current political climate, which can also be viewed as conformity, in an effort to reduce their arousal. In addition to optimal levels of arousal explaining Latinos' disidentification with their national identity, optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 2003) may also provide some insight.

Optimal distinctiveness theory is an extension to social identity theory. Though social identity theory posits that we need to have a positive and distinct group identity, it does not specify why or how this distinction occurs. Optimal distinctiveness theory explains that a person strives for a necessary level of both assimilation and differentiation (Leonardelli, Pickett, &

Brewer, 2010). What may have occurred in the current research were Latinos, striving for higher levels of assimilation via their American identity, while wanting lower levels of differentiation, likely in reaction to the white supremacist prime recently viewed.

Another effect present in post-hoc analyses was shown when I removed those who reported lower threat of the current political climate. Once this omission occurred, hypothesis 1 was supported. Those higher in threat reported higher support for collective action after viewing the white supremacist message in a group. Again, social facilitation is evident within a specific context. Those lower in threat may also have been supporters of the current administration and therefore may have been sympathetic to the stimulus presented, as protesters in the videos expressed support for the current president and his policies. Not everyone protests, or even considers protesting. Thus, by looking only at those who perceived more threat, I may have tapped into the exact population of interest. Future studies should test this process in an a priori fashion.

Results give insight to a number of movements happening today, including the ongoing phenomenon of college-campus protest. Activism appears common in the early adult, or college aged years (Eagan, Stolzenberg, Bates, Aragon, Suchard, & Rios-Anuilar, 2006; Hope, Keels, & Durkee, 2016). Social facilitation may explain, in part, why political activism is so common in college students. When a young person attends college, they are exposed to new ideas, new ways of thinking, and are given a sense of freedom otherwise foreign to them back home. These factors coupled with the very presence of a large number of people create the perfect environment for protest and the beginning of social movements.

Results can be applied to the theoretical triangulation of politicized identity proposed by Simon and Klandermans (2001). In the current study, when participants are exposed to threat in

the presence of another person, they then appear to accept that person as part of their ingroup regardless of ethnicity. This also helps to identify an outgroup, in this case, the outspoken White nationalists and conservative voices in the protest video. Finally, the participant must engage a third party to either join them or oppose them. In the current study, the third party is implied when the participant makes their stance clear with their willingness to engage in collective action. Similarly, in the example about the current president, those who voted in the election identified themselves as Trump (or non) voters, with the opposite being the outgroup. Those who did not vote for the president then chose to engage in protest after their loss, forcing other American voters (the third group) to choose to support them, or to support the president and his followers. Finally, in line with previous research showing a sense of collective angst predicting collective action, results support hypothesis 3 stating that politicized identity will predict collective action.

Future Directions and Limitations

Future directions will investigate different type of threat such as real vs. symbolic threat, or national vs. ethnic threat. Of interest are motivators and predictors of politicization, collective angst, and collective action. I will investigate whether different kinds of threat provoke fear vs. anger and how that in turn affects intentions toward collective and civic action. The current study did not produce the desired effects regarding social facilitation and race, however effects of social facilitation alone were observed.

Social facilitation was shown to have an effect regardless of the race of the partner. We saw that that in the presence of another person, collective action was amplified for those who leaned liberally on social issues. This may indicate that social facilitation and its effect on

collective action is context specific. Future directions aim to investigate this phenomenon further.

Future directions will aim to improve the method of assessing politicization. The current scale used to measure politicized identity had a low reliability score. This may have been due to the fact that the items mainly offered a comparison between Latino and White opportunity in America, especially with regard to jobs. While these are issues that may politicize one's identity, they were not directly related to the threat presented of a White nationalist movement, a growing conservative political voice, or racist others. Different items that are more related to the threat at hand may accurately and reliably measure one's politicized identity. Research has measured politicization based on social movement organization membership and further collective action in support of that group (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Alberici & Milesi, 2016). Further research may include an improved measurement of politicization and an indicator of social movement organization membership and activity.

The current study measured participants' attitudes toward, or intentions to act collectively. I did not measure one's actual collective participation. Although I have made conclusions as to the implications of intentions, I have yet to explore how someone's actual collective participation initiates. Research on the theory of planned behavior, which describes the factors leading to behavior intentions, shows how intentions explain about 20 to 40% of the variance in actual behavior (Rivis & Sheeran, 2003; Armitage & Conner, 2001; Sheeran & Orbell, 1998). Though I am confident in presenting intentions to act collectively, future studies will aim to measure act of collective resistance in addition to intentions.

Conclusion

Together, the current research shows how the presence of other people, and heightened politicized group identity can effectively trigger the beginning of a social movement. Motivation to collectively participate has been shown to stem from a number of factors. Research has shown a trend that each factor predicting collective action is also complimented by group identity. Further, politicized group identity goes beyond the feeling of being a part of a group and incorporates grievances, an outgroup, and a third party that will inevitably aide in the growth of a social movement. The aim of this body of research is to demonstrate how a collective movement begins and how it succeeds. I have shown that Latinos will act when their group identity becomes politicized, and when they are in the presence of other people. Given the correct context as well as external and internal conditions, a movement will ignite. This dissertation is complimentary to a framework I am developing that outlines the conditions under which activist movements may affect change.

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Table 1.

Correlations between Measured Variables						
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. American Identity	-					
2. Ethnic Identity	-0.06	-				
3. Politicization	-0.13	0.42***	-			
4. Activism	-0.15*	0.47***	0.48***	-		
5. Radicalism	-0.1312	0.27***	0.32***	0.48***	-	
6. Extremism	-0.1208	0.13	0.06	0.09	0.399***	-

Note. N = 211

*Correlation is significant at the .05 level.

***Correlation is significant at the .0001 level.

Table 2.

Summary of Principal Components Analysis Results for Support for Politicized Identity Measure (N = 208)

Item	Factor Loadings		
	1	2	3
If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems	.42	.04	.73
It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others (reversed scored).	.19	.72	-.35
White Americans have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against Latino Americans.	.81	-.15	-.24
White Americans have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than Latino Americans. (reversed scored).	.09	.79	.33
Latinos today face a lot of job discrimination.	.73	-.16	-.22
If Latinos, other minorities, the poor and women pulled together, they could decide how this country is run.	.53	-.05	.42
How much power and influence in American society do you think White Americans have?	.57	.19	-.17
Do you think what happens generally to Latinos in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?	.66	-.06	-.05
Eigenvalues	2.44	1.25	1.07
% of variance	30.5	15.6	13.4

Note: Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold.

Appendix

Politicized Latino Identity

Items will be rated on a 1-7 Likert-type scale.

Common fate

Do you think what happens generally to Latinos in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much

Power discontent

How much power and influence in American society do you think White Americans have?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Very much

System blame

If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others (reversed scored).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

White Americans have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against Latino Americans.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

White Americans have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than Latino Americans. (reverse scored).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Latinos today face a lot of job discrimination.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Collective orientation

If Latinos, other minorities, the poor and women pulled together, they could decide how this country is run.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree						Strongly agree

Vita

Corin Ramos is a self-identified Chicana activist. She was born and raised in Northern California by her mother and father, both Mexican immigrants. She earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology in 2010 from California State University, Sacramento. Corin began her graduate studies at The University of Texas at El Paso under the mentorship of Dr. Michael Zárate. She earned a Master of Arts degree in 2004. Her Master's thesis was entitled "Sí Se Puede: The Effect of Collective Angst and Identity on Group Activism among Latinos during the National Immigration Debate." After attaining her M.A., she continued on to pursue a doctorate with Dr. Michael Zárate. Corin co-authored a book chapter on immigration issues and co-authored papers published in *Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research* and *Personality and Individual Differences*. Corin has been awarded scholarships and grants from The University of Texas at El Paso College of Liberal Arts, the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, the Society for Personality and Social Psychology, and the Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race, for her continued research and commitment to diversity and equality. Corin currently works as an institutional research analyst for El Paso Community College.