

Cross-Group Relationships and Collective Action: How do International Students Respond to Unequal Tuition Fee Increases?

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Although positive cross-group contact can reduce prejudice, it also can undermine disadvantaged group members' engagement in collective action (CA). However, some initial research suggests that contact with advantaged group members who are openly supportive of the disadvantaged group may not decrease, and may actually increase disadvantaged group members' CA. This research used the unequal tuition fee increases at Simon Fraser University (SFU) to investigate international students' CA intentions. We manipulated the contact partner's (Canadian student) supportiveness and whether Canadian students directly benefited from the unequal tuition fee increases. The results indicated that when Canadian students were beneficiaries of the inequality, supportiveness from a Canadian student increased international students' intentions of engaging in organizational disloyalty towards SFU (a form of CA) via increased group-based sadness. However, when Canadian students were bystanders, supportiveness decreased intentions of engaging in organizational disloyalty via reduced group-based sadness and fear.

Keywords: collective action, cross-group interaction, group-based emotion, position, supportiveness

Des contacts intergroupes positifs peuvent réduire les préjugés, mais peuvent aussi réduire l'engagement des groupes désavantagés dans des actions collectives (AC). Pourtant, des recherches préliminaires suggèrent que le contact avec les membres d'un groupe avantagé explicitement solidaires au groupe désavantagé pourrait favoriser les AC des membres du groupe désavantagé. Nous avons utilisé l'augmentation inégale des frais de scolarité à Simon Fraser University (SFU) pour étudier les intentions d'AC des étudiants étrangers. Nous avons manipulé la solidarité du partenaire du participant (étudiant canadien) et si les étudiants canadiens bénéficiaient directement de l'augmentation des frais de scolarité ou non. Les résultats indiquent que quand les étudiants canadiens bénéficiaient de l'inégalité, leur solidarité augmentait l'intention de l'étudiant étranger d'émettre des comportements déloyaux envers SFU (une forme d'AC) via une plus forte tristesse groupale. Cependant, lorsque les étudiants canadiens n'en bénéficiaient pas, leur solidarité diminuait les intentions de comportements déloyaux via de plus faibles niveaux de tristesse et de peur groupales.

Mots-clés : action collective, contact intergroupe, émotion groupale, position, solidarité

Relationships between members of advantaged groups (those groups with more status, power, and resources) and disadvantaged groups are often marked by inequality and conflict. For example, members of racial minority groups often face discrimination and mistreatment at the hands of racial majority group members. In an effort to both understand and contribute to the amelioration of these problems,

social psychologists have conducted hundreds of studies investigating potential strategies for improving the attitudes of advantaged group members. In 1954, Gordon Allport proposed that under a specific set of conditions, contact between individual members of different groups called "cross-group contact" could reduce prejudice and improve attitudes. There were four specific sets of conditions set out by Allport (1954). First, the equal status between the members of the two groups within the contact situation. Secondly, the contact participants should share common goals. Thirdly, the interaction should involve cooperation between the participants, and fourthly, the contact should be supported by relevant authorities.

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A recent meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) supported Allport's hypothesis and

demonstrated that cross-group contact helped to reduce prejudice in 94% of the 515 studies in their analysis. Thus, many theorists have concluded that encouraging cross-group contact (under a specific set of conditions) is a key strategy for improving intergroup relations (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Pettigrew, 1998; Wright, Brody, & Aron, 2005). The beneficial outcomes of such contact in terms of prejudice reduction and attitude change is typically referred to as “positive cross-group contact.”

Reducing the prejudice of advantaged group members through positive cross-group contact can have important benefits for members of the disadvantaged group, and can help to combat intergroup inequality. However, some researchers have recently suggested that positive cross-group contact is not necessarily positive for members of disadvantaged groups, because it may undermine their interest and engagement in collective action (Wright & Baray, 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Collective action by members of the disadvantaged group represents another important route to reduced intergroup inequality, one that has been the topic of considerable social psychological research (Wright, 2010; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008).

While research on the negative effects of positive cross-group contact on collective action is growing (Dixon & Levine, 2012), there has been relatively little research investigating possible solutions to this problem. Thus, in the current research we examine a specific form of positive cross-group contact called “supportive contact” (Droogendyk, Louis, & Wright, 2015; Droogendyk, Wright, & Louis, 2013), which may help to maintain or increase disadvantaged group members’ collective actions. In addition, we considered whether the position of the advantaged group member in terms of their relationship to the intergroup inequality (i.e., as a bystander or a beneficiary) influences the effectiveness of supportive contact. We also examined the mediating role of group-based emotions. We conducted this research using the context of cross-group contact between international students and domestic students at Simon Fraser University. We were able to take advantage of an especially salient example of inequality between these two groups, as the university had recently increased tuition fees five times higher for international students compared to domestic students. Finally, while most research on collective action has focused on public actions (e.g., protests, attending rallies), this particular intergroup context offered an opportunity to examine a more subtle form of collective action called “organizational disloyalty.”

How Positive Cross-Group Contact Can Undermine Collective Action

Collective action is defined as any action that is taken by an individual on behalf of the in-group with the aim of improving the in-group’s status (Wright, 2001; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). For example, efforts by women to improve women’s rights (e.g., the suffragette movement) and efforts by Aboriginal people in Canada to take back their traditional territories are collective actions. However, according to Wright and Lubensky (2009), positive cross-group contact between advantaged and disadvantaged group members may undermine several important psychological determinants of collective action engagement. Two of these are particularly relevant to the current research: collective identity and perceptions of injustice.

Collective identity refers to that part of a person’s sense of self that is determined by the groups that he or she belongs to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is a key pre-requisite of engaging in collective action on behalf of one’s group (Stürmer & Simon, 2004; Wright, 2010). That an individual engages in collective action when he or she identifies with the group demonstrates an important part of who he or she is, and the collective identity that is currently salient allows them to think of themselves in terms of being a group member. However, positive cross-group contact may weaken collective identity. In fact, de-emphasizing the salience and importance of collective identity has been described as the key to successful cross-group contact. For example, the decategorization model (Brewer & Miller, 1984) and the common in-group identity model (Dovidio, Gaertner, Shnabel, Saguy, & Johnson, 2009; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) advise that successful contact is likely to occur when people are explicitly encouraged to ignore their in-group membership and focus on their individual identities, or larger collective identities that are shared with out-group members. However, this weakening or ignoring of collective identity is especially problematic for disadvantaged group members because this can undermine their motivation to engage in collective action (Greenaway & Louis, 2010). Perceptions of injustices are also crucial to collective action engagement. When disadvantaged group members perceive the existing group-based inequality as illegitimate, they are more likely to engage in collective action to seek social change (Wright, 2010). Negative stereotypes that depict the advantaged group as an oppressor can strengthen these perceptions of injustice and serve to legitimize collective action (Cakal, Hewstone, Schwär, & Heath, 2011; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). However, positive cross-group contact breaks down negative stereotypes and generates positive attitudes towards the out-group

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(Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Wright et al., 2005), thus potentially undermining perceptions of injustice among disadvantaged group members.

In addition, when disadvantaged group members perceive their in-group's disadvantaged position as unjust, negative group-based emotions such as anger and frustration can be functional responses. Group-based anger invokes an action tendency to confront those responsible for the injustice and to seek change through collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, through positive cross-group contact, group-based anger may be undermined because it is inconsistent with the trust, empathy and positive emotions that are encouraged by friendly cooperative cross-group contact.

Thus, it appears that several of the key factors that support engagement in collective action can be undermined by positive cross-group contact (Wright & Baray, 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Evidence of the proposed undermining effect of positive cross-group contact on collective action has been provided by a growing number of studies (Becker, Wright, Lubensky, & Zhou, 2013; Dixon et al., 2010; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009).

Supportive Contact

However, recent research also suggests that this incompatibility of collective action and cross-group contact may not necessarily be irredeemable. Recently, Droogendyk et al. (2015) have introduced the concept of "supportive contact." This refers to a positive cross-group contact in which an advantaged group member demonstrates personal opposition to intergroup inequality, and/or support for social change. They argue that this form of contact will not only erase the usual undermining effect of positive cross-group contact, but will also empower disadvantaged group members and heighten their collective action engagement.

The key psychological motivators of collective action described above (collective identity and perceptions of injustice) may be strengthened by supportive contact. First, when advantaged group members acknowledge and oppose intergroup inequality, group-based differences become explicitly salient, potentially strengthening collective identity among members of the disadvantaged group. Second, when advantaged group members openly discuss the unequal treatment of the disadvantaged group, disadvantaged group members' dissatisfaction with the status quo may seem more justified, because it is shared by someone who is not a target of that injustice (Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006). Thus, supportive

contact might empower disadvantaged group members by heightening at least two of the key motivators of collective action engagement. Specifically, research by Droogendyk et al. (2013) has empirically demonstrated the potential of supportive contact among Australian international students. Those who recalled positive contact with a clearly supportive domestic student reported higher collective action intentions regarding international students' rights, compared to international students who recalled a positive contact with a domestic student who was ambiguous regarding his/her level of support.

Potential Moderator: Position of Advantaged Group Member

In the current research, we aimed to further explore the impact of supportive cross-group contact and examine the possible mediators and moderators of this effect. One potential moderator of the effectiveness of supportive contact may be the advantaged group member's position relative to intergroup inequality. In real-world examples, advantaged group members can be seen to hold one of two different positions relative to intergroup inequality. Since advantaged group members have more power, privileges and resources compared to disadvantaged group members, they may be seen as direct beneficiaries of the intergroup inequality (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Walker & Smith, 2002; Wright, 2001). However, since the policy and practices that create group-based disadvantage are often made and enforced by governments or broader social institutions, advantaged group members (or subgroups within the advantaged group) could be seen as not playing a direct role in this institutional practice. Thus, they could be understood to be bystanders (or third parties) in relation to intergroup inequality (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Subašić, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008; Turner, 1970; Wright, 2009). Which of these two different positions is salient may moderate the effect of supportive contact on disadvantaged group members' collective engagement, because of their effect on perceptions of injustice. Specifically, perceptions of injustice may be especially heightened during contact with a supportive advantaged group member who is seen as a beneficiary. That is, disadvantaged group members' dissatisfaction with the status quo may seem even more justified if the intergroup inequality is apparently unfair even to advantaged group members who directly benefit from it and they appear to be arguing against their own self-interest.

Emotions as Mediators

According to intergroup emotions theory (Ray, Mackie, Rydell, & Smith, 2008), when disadvantaged group members appraise events that are relevant to their in-group as unjust, they may experience group-based emotions. These are emotions experienced by the individual but resulting from the actions or treatment of a group they identify with. In some cases, these emotions can motivate behaviors on behalf of the in-group. Smith, Cronin and Kessler (2008) demonstrated that anger, fear and sadness are three distinct group-based emotional responses to a collective disadvantage. Of these, group-based anger may be particularly related to motivations to confront those responsible for the collective disadvantage. Thus, group-based anger can mediate the relationship between collective disadvantage and disadvantaged group members' willingness to take assertive collective action. In contrast, sadness and fear are associated with escape and withdrawal from the context of inequality. For example, Smith et al. (2008) investigated university faculty members' emotional responses regarding pay inequality. They found that group-based sadness and fear in response to inequalities in this workplace setting led to actions involving organizational disloyalty, such as quitting the job, or reducing one's engagement in the work.

In addition to motivating both collective action and withdrawal, group-based emotions may also serve as a mediator of the relationship between supportive contact and collective action engagement. Specifically, disadvantaged group members' group-based anger may be heightened during supportive contact, because the support of the advantaged group member increases the salience of the injustice of intergroup inequality (Czopp et al., 2006). Conversely, when positive cross-group contact is not supportive, disadvantaged group members may experience an increase in group-based fear and sadness. This could occur because disadvantaged group members feel a growing sense of hopelessness when they interact with friendly advantaged group members who are apparently unwilling to take part in efforts to produce social change (Smith & Kessler, 2004).

Types of Collective Action

Typically, collective action has been measured by assessing relatively assertive and public forms of collective action such as willingness to protest, participate in rallies, and sign petitions (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007). We argue that there are more subtle and less public forms of collective action that may emerge in specific cross-group contexts (Smith et al., 2008). In some contexts, personal

concerns will reduce the likelihood that individuals will engage in open public protest (Stürmer & Simon, 2004). However, even when disadvantaged group members are particularly afraid of getting into trouble as a result of their participation in public action, they may still be willing to participate in private resistance. For example, they may be willing to engage in acts of disloyalty towards the agent seen to be the perpetrator of collective disadvantage – referred to as *organizational disloyalty*. The current research utilized a cross-group context where such concerns were likely to be relevant, and thus offered an excellent context to investigate this understudied form of collective action.

Contributions of the Current Research

This research stands to make four main contributions. First, it contributes to the very small literature on potential solutions to the conflict between positive cross-group contact and collective action by disadvantaged group members (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Second, it is the first study to directly investigate the impact of the position of advantaged group members (beneficiary vs. bystander) in relation to intergroup inequality and to consider whether these different positions moderate the effects of supportive contact on collective action engagement. Third, it contributes to the important work on the mediating role of group-based emotions in predicting collective action (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Our research considers the group-based emotions of sadness and fear, which have received much less attention than anger and frustration. Fourth, we examined a form of collective action - organizational disloyalty - that has received very little attention in the social psychological literature on collective action (Smith et al., 2008, for an exception).

Overview of Study

North American universities have seen a large growth in the number of international students and many now actively recruit international students. However, many international students face disadvantages in daily life, such as discrimination from fellow students, as well as from their professors (Reitmanova, 2008). In addition to these obstacles, international students typically pay far higher tuition fees than domestic students. At Simon Fraser University (SFU) in British Columbia, for example, Canadian undergraduate students taking a full course load pay about \$2506 per term, whereas international undergraduate students pay more than 3 times as much: \$8118 per term. Recently, the economic load on international students at SFU became even heavier and the disparity between Canadian and international

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students became even greater. In fall 2013, the SFU administration increased tuition fees for international students by 10%, while increasing Canadian students' tuition fees by only 2%. Thus, this context provides an ideal setting for examining the impact of supportive contact on disadvantaged group members' collective action engagement. Our research was conducted immediately after these unequal tuition fee increases were implemented. International students face many forms of group-based disadvantages (Reitmanova, 2008) not faced by Canadian students. Thus, they can be seen as a disadvantaged group, while Canadian students represent the advantaged group. In this particular instance, the disadvantage faced by international students is made salient by the fact that they face a heavier financial burden, as well as a much larger increase in that burden. Thus, we investigated how supportive contact with a Canadian student would affect international students' intentions to engage in collective action in response to the inequality in tuition fee increases.

The issue of the position of advantaged group members in relation to an injustice is also relevant in this context. Canadian students could be seen to hold one of two different positions in relation to the issue of unequal tuition fee increases. On one hand, since the policy of unequal tuition fees increases is implemented by the university administration, Canadian students could be understood as bystanders who, although fortunate to avoid paying extremely high tuition fees, do not play a direct role in this injustice. On the other hand, the majority of the funds brought in by tuition fees go towards the maintenance of school buildings, providing student services, hiring faculty and staff, and the like. Thus, Canadian students could be seen to enjoy direct benefits of the increased tuition fees paid by international students. It is possible that Canadian students could be described as either bystanders or direct beneficiaries of the cross-group injustice.

In addition, we explored whether interactions with Canadian students who differ in position relative to the inequality (i.e., beneficiary vs. bystander) can influence which group-based emotions international students are likely to experience, and thus impact their collective action participation. Different group-based emotions (i.e., anger, sadness, and fear) should predict different reactions to intergroup inequality: group-based anger should motivate engagement in traditional forms of collective action (e.g., protest, petition signing), whereas group-based fear and sadness may play a role in withdrawal or less public collective action (Smith et al., 2008). In our research, we expect that when international students not only compare themselves to Canadian students in terms of how

much tuition fees they pay, but are also reminded that Canadian students get benefits from unequal tuition fee increases, their sense of deprivation will increase, leading them to experience more group-based anger and/or sadness. This prediction is consistent with relative deprivation theory (Walker & Smith, 2002), which argues that when individuals realize that their group faces undeserved disadvantage compared to other groups, they feel a sense of deprivation, and experience negative emotions such as group-based anger, depression and resentment (Smith & Kessler, 2004).

Thus, the current research investigated how supportive versus non-supportive cross-group contact with Canadian students who were described as either beneficiaries or bystanders would influence international students' engagement in both public collective action and organizational disloyalty towards SFU. We also examined the degree to which these effects can be accounted for by differences in relevant group-based emotions. Thus, we orthogonally manipulated two independent variables: Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member (Supportive, Non-supportive, Control) and Position of Advantaged Group (Beneficiary, Bystander), and measured group-based emotions and willingness to engage in a variety of collective actions in response to a clear intergroup inequality.

Hypotheses

(1) We hypothesized that compared to non-supportive contact or a control condition, supportive contact with a Canadian student would increase international students' willingness to engage in public collective action against unequal increases in tuition fees.

(2) We hypothesized that compared to non-supportive contact or a control condition, supportive contact with a Canadian student would heighten international students' willingness to engage in organizational disloyalty towards SFU.

(3) We hypothesized that these effects of supportive contact would be moderated by Canadian students' position relative to the intergroup inequality. Therefore, international students' willingness to engage in both public collective action and organizational disloyalty would be strengthened when they have supportive contact with a Canadian student who is described as a beneficiary, compared to a Canadian student who is described as a bystander.

(4) We hypothesized that the influence of supportive contact on both public collective action and

organizational disloyalty would be mediated by group-based emotions, collective identity, and perceptions of injustice.

(5) We hypothesized that the influence of the position of the advantaged group member on both public collective action and organizational disloyalty would be mediated by group-based emotions and perceptions of injustice.

Method

Participants

One hundred and forty-five undergraduate international students studying at Simon Fraser University (51 male, 94 female, $M = 20.90$, $SD = 2.25$) were recruited from undergraduate psychology classes or by email invitation. Participants indicated their ethnicity was Chinese (50.3%), White/European (13.1%), Korean (8.3%), South Asian (6.2%), mixed ethnicity (13.8%), or other (8.3%). Each participant received two credits towards his/her psychology course or \$15.

Procedures

Manipulation of position of advantaged group. Participants completed the study in a laboratory and read an information page that described the unequal increases in tuition fees. Following this introduction, participants were randomly assigned to read one of two descriptions of the position of Canadian students, which described them either as Beneficiaries or as Bystanders in terms of the unequal tuition fee increases.

In the beneficiary condition, participants read: “Canadian students will benefit from the increased tuition fees paid by international students. The money raised from increasing tuition fees for international students will in part be used to pay for the increasing costs of student services at SFU (e.g., the cost of teaching materials, extracurricular programs). Canadian students will be able to freely access the services paid for by the additional funds. Thus, Canadian students at SFU are direct ‘beneficiaries’, since they will benefit considerably from the increased tuition fees, at the expense of international students.”

In the bystander condition, participants read: “Canadian students will not be affected by the increased tuition fees paid by international students. The money raised from increasing tuition fees for international students will be used to pay for the increasing costs of administration at SFU (e.g.,

salaries for staff and administrators). Thus, Canadian students at SFU are ‘bystanders’, since they are unlikely to benefit from the increased tuition fees paid by international students.”

Manipulation of supportiveness of advantaged group member. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: supportive, non-supportive and control. Participants completed an imagination task consistent with other studies of imagined cross-group contact (Dovidio, Eller, & Hewstone, 2011). Participants were asked to imagine an interaction with a Canadian student (“Matthew Williams” or “Sarah Williams”—named to match participant’s gender) who was described as a classmate and friend of theirs. Specifically, participants were asked to imagine that “after talking and realizing you have some similar interests, you have become friends with him/her outside of university.” To facilitate the imagination task and ensure that participants imagined a detailed, realistic interaction, participants were asked to write down some details about their imagined conversation, for example, “Where might you be when you have this conversation?” and “Imagine the things that you and the Canadian student might say to each other.”

Following this introduction to the imagined contact partner, we introduced the manipulation of Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member. Participants were asked to imagine that they were discussing the issue of differential tuition fees with their imagined contact partner, and read that their partner made one of three comments.

Participants in the supportive condition read that their friend said, “I’m a little angry, as it’s not fair that international students have to pay so much more,” and also read that the Canadian student had indicated that he/she was willing to sign a petition protesting the unequal tuition fee increases.

Participants in the non-supportive condition read that their friend said, “I do not feel sympathy for international students, who can choose to study at home too,” and also read that the Canadian student had indicated that he/she was unwilling to sign a petition protesting the unequal tuition fee increases.

Participants in the control condition completed a different imagination task that did not involve an interaction with a Canadian student. They were asked to think about the street that they lived on and to write down a description of the street.

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Measures

After completing the imagination task, participants completed a paper and pencil questionnaire including the dependent measures, mediators, and demographic variables. Unless otherwise noted, all scales were responded to using a 7-point Likert-type scale bounded by “not true at all” (1) and “very true” (7).

Dependent Variables

Willingness to engage in public collective action. A 12-item scale ($\alpha = .89$) created specifically for use with this population, but consistent with items typically used to assess collective action (Becker et al., 2013) measured international students’ willingness to engage in collective action against the unequal tuition fee increases. It included items such as: “I am willing to hand out flyers on the SFU campus that describe the unequal increases in tuition fees.”

Organizational disloyalty. A 4-item scale ($\alpha = .84$) created specifically for this population measured intentions to engage in organizational disloyalty towards SFU. It included items such as: “I will be more likely to complain about SFU when I talk with my friends, because of these unequal tuition fee increases for international students.”

Mediators

Group-based sadness. A 3-item scale ($\alpha = .85$) adapted from Smith et al. (2008) measured the extent of participants’ sadness regarding the unequal increases in tuition fees. It included items such as: “When I think about the unequal tuition fee increases, I feel depressed.”

Group-based anger. A 3-item scale ($\alpha = .86$) adapted from Smith et al. (2008) measured the extent of participants’ anger regarding the unequal increases in tuition fees. It included items such as: “When I think about the unequal tuition fee increases, I feel angry.”

Group-based fear. A 3-item scale ($\alpha = .84$) adapted from Smith et al. (2008) measured the extent of participants’ fear regarding the unequal increases in tuition fees. It included items such as: “When I think about the unequal tuition fee increases, I feel worried.”

Perceptions of injustice. A 3-item scale ($\alpha = .75$) created specifically for this population measured perceptions of the fairness of the unequal tuition fee

increases. It included items such as: “It is unfair that international students face a larger tuition fee increase than Canadian students.”

Identification with international students. A 4-item ($\alpha = .76$) scale adapted from Cameron (2004) measured participants’ psychological connection to the international student in-group. It included items such as: “I identify strongly with other international students.”

Demographics. Finally, participants completed demographic questions, including age, gender, and ethnicity.

After completing the questionnaire, participants were sensitively debriefed and probed for suspicion.

Results

Primary Analyses

In order to test Hypotheses 1 to 3, 2 x 3 ANOVAs were performed on Public Collective Action and Organizational Disloyalty, with Position of Advantaged Group (Beneficiary, Bystander) and Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member (Supportive, Control, Non-supportive) as between-subject factors (see also Table 1).

Willingness to engage in public collective action. This analysis yielded no significant main or interaction effects (Advantaged Group Position: $F(1, 138) = 1.15, p = .285, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Advantaged Group Member Supportiveness: $F(2, 138) = 1.09, p = .340, \eta_p^2 = .07$. Interaction: $F(2, 138) = 0.93, p = .396, \eta_p^2 = .01$).

Organizational Disloyalty. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of Position of Advantaged Group, $F(1, 138) = 5.58, p = .020, \eta_p^2 = .04$, indicating that participants in the Bystander condition ($M = 4.79, SD = 1.49$) reported stronger intentions to engage in Organizational Disloyalty towards SFU than those in the Beneficiary condition ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.67$). The main effect of Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member was not significant, $F(2, 138) = .04, p = .965, \eta_p^2 = .00$.

In addition, the interaction was significant, $F(2, 138) = 3.14, p = .046, \eta_p^2 = .04$ (see Figure 1). This interaction emerges as a result of opposite effects of supportiveness in the Beneficiary condition and Bystander conditions. In the Beneficiary condition, the pattern is as predicted. Imagining a supportive Canadian student resulted in the highest level of

Organizational Disloyalty towards SFU, and imagining a non-supportive Canadian student led to the lowest levels of Organizational Disloyalty towards SFU, and the Control condition fell between these two. In the Bystander condition, the pattern is opposite to predictions. Imagining a supportive Canadian student resulted in the lowest level of Organizational Disloyalty towards SFU, and imagining a non-supportive Canadian student led to the highest level of Organizational Disloyalty towards SFU, and the Control condition fell between those two.

Given our particular interest in the effects of supportive contact, we probed this interaction further using planned comparisons. Within each level of Position of Advantaged Group, we performed two contrasts: one comparing the Supportive condition to the Non-Supportive condition, and a second comparing the Supportive condition to the Control condition. In the Beneficiary condition, the contrast between the Supportive condition ($M = 4.51, SD = 1.74$) and the Non-Supportive condition ($M = 3.80, SD = 1.62$) was not significant, $t(70) = 1.51, p = .136$, nor was the contrast between the Supportive condition and the Control condition ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.64$), $t(70) = 0.68, p = .497$. In the Bystander condition, the contrast between the Supportive condition ($M = 4.39, SD = 1.49$) and the Non-Supportive condition ($M = 5.25, SD = 1.55$) was significant, $t(69) = -2.05, p = .044$. However, the contrast between the Supportive condition and the Control condition was not significant ($M = 4.74, SD = 1.34$), $t(69) = -0.84, p = .405$.

Mediation Analyses

In order to test hypotheses 4 and 5, six separate bootstrapping analyses were performed (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) to test for indirect effects of the interaction between Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member and Position of Advantaged Group on Organizational Disloyalty.

For these analyses, we excluded the Control condition, for two reasons. First, as predicted, the Control condition fell between the Supportive and Non-supportive conditions, but was not significantly different than either of these other conditions. In addition, participants in this condition were given no information about advantaged group members (there was no imagined interaction at all). Therefore, the six separate moderated mediation models tested the indirect effect of the critical contrast between the Supportive and Non-supportive conditions on Organizational Disloyalty, treating Group-based Sadness, Group-based Anger, Group-based Fear, Perceptions of Injustice, and Collective Identity as mediators and Position of Advantaged Group as a moderator.

Mediation by group-based sadness. When the three group-based emotions are run simultaneously in the same model, no significant mediation emerges. This test would provide the most conservative analysis, but it also likely masks interesting effects, due to shared variance among the emotions. To highlight the role of each individual group-based emotion, the models in the text test the mediating role of each emotion separately. Position of Advantaged Group moderated the indirect effect (IE) of Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member on Organizational Disloyalty via Group-based Sadness ($IE = -0.94, SE = 0.34, 95\% [CI] = [-1.71, -0.36]$). The indirect effect of Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member on Organizational Disloyalty via Group-based Sadness was significant in both the Beneficiary condition ($IE = 0.37, SE = 0.20, 95\% [CI] = [0.05, 0.85]$) and the Bystander condition ($IE = -0.56, SE = 0.24, 95\% [CI] = [-1.14, -0.17]$).

This analysis indicated that, in the Beneficiary condition, imagining a supportive advantaged group member led to more Organizational Disloyalty compared to imagining a non-supportive advantaged group member, and this effect was accounted for by increased group-based sadness. In the Bystander

Table 1
Descriptive statistics of measured variables

Variables	<i>M (SD)</i>	Skewness	Kurtosis
1. Collective action	5.35 (1.17)	-0.85	0.70
2. Organizational disloyalty	4.48 (1.61)	-0.25	-0.73
3. Identification with international students	4.61 (1.42)	-0.32	-0.43
4. Perceptions of injustice	6.14 (1.01)	-1.73	4.85
5. Group-based anger	5.09 (1.48)	-0.54	-0.41
6. Group-based sadness	4.49 (1.78)	-0.22	-1.03
7. Group-based fear	4.72 (1.70)	-0.35	-0.87

Note. $N = 145$.

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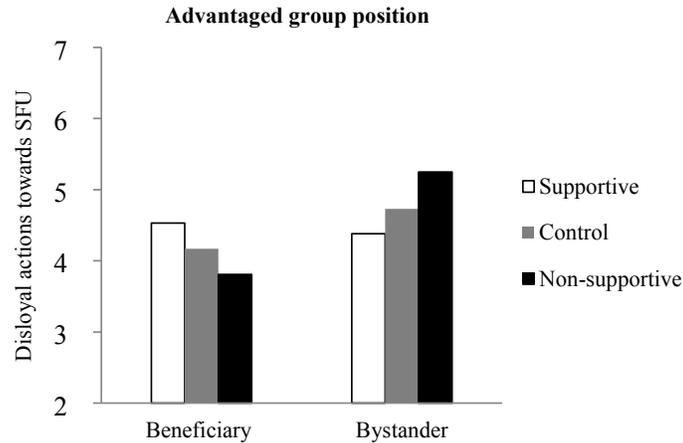


Figure 1. Mean scores of disloyal actions towards SFU divided by advantaged group position and advantaged group member supportiveness.

condition, imagining a supportive advantaged group member led to less Organizational Disloyalty compared to imagining a non-supportive advantaged group member, and this effect was accounted for by decreased group-based sadness.

Mediation by group-based fear. Position of Advantaged Group moderated the indirect effect of Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member on Organizational Disloyalty via Group-based Fear ($IE = -0.66$, $SE = 0.29$, 95% $[CI] = [-1.35, -0.18]$). The indirect effect of Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member on Organizational Disloyalty via Group-based Fear was significant in the Bystander condition ($IE = -0.44$, $SE = 0.21$, 95% $[CI] = [-0.98, -0.11]$), but not in the Beneficiary condition ($IE = 0.23$, $SE = 0.17$, 95% $[CI] = [-0.08, 0.62]$).

This analysis indicated that in the Beneficiary condition, group-based fear did not mediate the relationship between imagining a supportive advantaged group member and acting disloyal towards SFU. In the Bystander condition, imagining a supportive advantaged group member led to less Organizational Disloyalty compared to imagining a non-supportive advantaged group member, and this effect was accounted for by decreased group-based fear.

Mediation by group-based anger. There was no significant indirect effect of the interaction between Position of Advantaged Group and Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member on Organizational Disloyalty via Group-based Anger ($IE = -0.43$, $SE = 0.34$, 95% $[CI] = [-1.10, 0.20]$).

Mediation by perceptions of injustice. There was no significant indirect effect of the interaction between Position of Advantaged Group and Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member on Organizational Disloyalty via Perceptions of Injustice ($IE = -0.32$, $SE = 0.25$, 95% $[CI] = [-0.85, 0.15]$).

Mediation by collective identification. There was no significant indirect effect of the interaction between Position of Advantaged Group and Supportiveness of Advantaged Group Member on Organizational Disloyalty via Collective Identification with International Students ($IE = -0.09$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% $[CI] = [-0.02, 0.36]$).

Discussion

The current findings revealed the predicted pattern of results for Organizational Disloyalty (see Hypotheses 2 and 3) when international students imagined interacting with a Canadian student who was described as a direct *beneficiary* of unequal tuition fee increases. We found that imagining a supportive advantaged group member who was a beneficiary led to stronger intentions to engage in Organizational Disloyalty towards the organization responsible for the inequality than when the advantaged group member was openly non-supportive. However, inconsistent with our predictions (see Hypotheses 4 and 5), this effect was not explained by the “usual” psychological mediators – collective identity or perceptions of injustice (Wright, 2010) – but only by a measure of group-based sadness (Smith et al., 2008).

For international students who imagined interacting with a Canadian student who was described as a *bystander* (not directly benefiting from the unequal tuition fee increases), the results for Organizational Disloyalty revealed a result that was inconsistent without predictions (see Hypotheses 2 and 3), and opposite to the pattern observed when students imagined interacting with a beneficiary. Imagining a supportive advantaged group member who was a bystander led to lower intentions to engage in Organizational Disloyalty towards SFU than when the advantaged group member was openly non-supportive. Mediation analyses revealed that this effect was explained by reduced group-based sadness and group-based fear (see Hypothesis 4).

Our prediction (see Hypotheses 1 and 2) that contact with supportive advantaged group members could increase collective action engagement of disadvantaged group members is based on research which investigates traditional forms of collective action, such as petition-signing and group protests (Becker & Wright, 2011; Becker et al., 2013). If disadvantaged group members are afraid of getting into trouble because of engaging in public protest, then they may be more likely to participate in private individual resistance, such as displaying disloyalty towards the perpetrator of the collective disadvantage. Non-traditional forms of collective action, like the organizational disloyalty measured in the current research, could be seen as a form of private resistance and may be distinct from other forms of collective action.

This appears relevant to the current research context. First, international students have temporary residence status in Canada, so they could have legitimate concerns that engaging in public protest against an authority figure (SFU) would result in forced repatriation from Canada. Second, demographic information indicated that the majority of the participants in the study (around 70%) were from Asian home countries (e.g., China, Korea), which tend to have more collectivistic cultures (Asghar, Wang, Linde, & Alfermann, 2013). Individuals from these countries may strongly value respect for authority and maintaining group harmony (Kee, Tsai, & Chen, 2008). Publically protesting against authority figures may conflict with these collectivistic values. Thus, two major factors may have hindered the international students in this study from being willing to engage in traditional public collective action. However, rather than choosing inaction, international students appear to have chosen to engage in private organizational disloyalty toward the institution, which is less risky to their status in Canada and less in conflict with collectivistic values.

It is worth noting that if an organization has a tradition of discouraging collective action, disadvantaged group members may especially be unmotivated to engage in traditional, public collective action. Roscigno and Hodson (2004) found that disadvantaged group members were more likely to engage in organizational disloyalty such as theft and work avoidance if the organization had a lack of “collective action legacy” (p. 14). Therefore, further research to investigate the underlying differences between organizational disloyalty and traditional collective action would do well to focus on both the psychology of disadvantaged group members, and the organizational context.

The impact of the advantaged group’s position was mediated by two group-based emotions: sadness and fear. When international students thought of a Canadian student who was supportive, and also a bystander to the unequal tuition fee increases, they experienced less sadness and fear, compared to when they thought of Canadian students as beneficiaries. As a result, they were less willing to engage in collective action. Potentially, this could reflect the very conundrum recently proposed by researchers (Wright & Lubensky, 2009): this condition may represent an especially positive contact experience, which could have generated positive attitudes toward the out-group, thus undermining collective action engagement.

Our finding that lower group-based sadness was associated with lower intentions to engage in organizational disloyalty towards SFU is consistent with Smith et al.’s work (2008). They demonstrated that sadness is associated with withdrawal from the institution perpetrating the collective disadvantage. Therefore, rather than engaging in traditional collective action which usually involves confrontation, people who experience heightened group-based sadness are more likely to participate in organizational disloyalty. In addition, Smith et al. (2008) pointed out that organizational disloyalty can be seen as an adaptive response to disadvantaged group members’ feelings of sadness.

Limitations and Future Directions

The beneficiary condition led to unexpected results that were inconsistent with our hypotheses. When international students thought of a Canadian student who was supportive, and also a beneficiary of the inequality, they experienced increased group-based sadness, and this led to more organizational disloyalty. Although we expected to observe increased collective action engagement in this condition, this mediation via

increased sadness was unexpected. Future research could certainly explore why and under what conditions supportive contact will lead to increased sadness, as this may have implications for the well-being of disadvantaged group members. One tentative explanation for the increased group-based sadness we observed may be that repeated interactions are required before disadvantaged group members view support from beneficiaries as trustworthy and genuine. Our study involved only a single, imagined interaction. The potential lack of trust in the support offered in this situation, combined with heightened feelings of relative deprivation (due to the fact that the benefits enjoyed by advantaged group were made highly salient) overall may have contributed to heightened group-based sadness.

In addition, the finding that lower group-based fear was associated with lower intentions to engage in organizational disloyalty towards SFU is inconsistent with the findings of Smith et al. (2008). They found the opposite pattern, which indicated that higher group-based fear led to lower organizational disloyalty. Thus, future research is necessary to shed light on this apparent inconsistency in the relationship between fear and organizational disloyalty. It would be especially beneficial if this future research could make use of actual, rather than imagined cross-group interactions.

Moreover, we unexpectedly found that group-based anger did not mediate the relationship between supportive contact and collective action. Based on the theoretical contributions of relative deprivation theory, we expected that individuals facing undeserved group-based disadvantage would experience negative emotions such as anger, and this might in turn lead to participation in collective action (Smith & Kessler, 2004). Potentially, this unexpected result could again relate to our participants' cultural background. About 50% of the participants were Chinese international students. In order to maintain consistency with cultural values which encourage the suppression of expressions of anger (Liu, 2014), Chinese participants may have been likely to give low ratings on measures of group-based anger, regardless of the degree to which they actually experienced these emotions. Culturally-specific values around the appropriateness of expressing particular emotions may also have had some influence on the role of sadness and fear in the current study. Therefore, future research should attempt to replicate these effects using a different intergroup context, or in a location where the international student sample includes more participants from other cultural backgrounds. Generally speaking, such replications would also be beneficial because they might shed further light on the

role of group-based emotions in explaining the effects of supportive contact.

Conclusion

The current research makes four main contributions. First, this research is the first to demonstrate the relevance of a new moderator that helps to explain the effects of supportive contact on collective action engagement: the position of the advantaged group in relation to intergroup inequality. Second, considering the role of group-based emotions beyond anger (van Zomeren et al., 2004), especially emotions such as sadness and fear, is relatively new in collective action research. Third, we examined a form of collective action — organizational disloyalty — that has received very little attention in the social psychological literature on collective action (see Smith et al., 2008, for an exception). Finally, since collective action research involving international students is quite limited, this research considers the positive effect of supportive contact in a new and increasingly important intergroup context.

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