

University of Nevada, Reno

**If Your Friends Joined A Movement, Would You Do It Too? How Intergroup
Contact Leads to Participation in the Black Lives Matter Movement**

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of the requirements for the degree of

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by

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Abstract

Social movements allow individuals in society to come together to work toward change, but what influences people to participate in social movements? Previous research shows that intergroup contact was a key predictor of participation in the Freedom Summer campaign of the Civil Rights movement. In this study, the effect of intergroup contact on participation in the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement is assessed. Using survey data collected by the researcher on both a student sample and a general sample of the population, it is found that greater amounts of intergroup contact with African Americans predicts greater levels of participation in the BLM movement, controlling for other factors. Findings also show that contact with people who actively participate in the BLM movement leads to increased levels of participation; in contrast, contact with people who have stopped participating in the movement does not decrease one's level of participation. Implications of the findings for our understanding of social-psychological motivators to movement participation are discussed.

Keywords: intergroup contact, collectivism, legal authoritarianism, social movement

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In a society, people are governed by rules, regulations, and social norms that intend to foster peaceful coexistence. When a collective—or group—of people believe a change needs to take place, social movements are one important and effective method that can bring about social advances. Social movements are instances of ordinary people joining together as a collective to try to bring about—or resist—change in society. Social movements frequently engage in “unconventional politics” (e.g. protests, rallies), in part because the members in the group of people have little power and therefore do not have access to traditional political institutions (Heberle, 1951; Kolers, 2016). Social movements have been an increasingly important subject of study for social scientists since the highly impactful movements of the 1960s (e.g. the Civil Rights Movement). One of the most important questions social movement scholars ask is “what leads people to participate in a movement?” In the project, this same question is asked of a contemporary social movement that aims to bring attention and reform to the legal injustices that African-American citizens in the United States experience—the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. What leads people to participate in the BLM movement?

Foundational research by McAdam (1986) suggests that both interpersonal factors (e.g. contact with movement participants and others) and “personalological” factors (e.g. individual-level attitudes, beliefs, ideals that the individual holds, etc.) influence movement participation, with interpersonal being the most important. With respect to interpersonal factors, intergroup contact theory will inform the construction of variables that measure interpersonal contact. Intergroup contact theory is defined as how “actual face-to-face interaction between members of clearly distinguishable and defined groups”

(Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, p. 95) can result in a decrease in prejudice between the groups, and can also foster a more positive perspective toward outgroup members (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Further literature on social movements has found that intergroup contact significantly decreases prejudice between groups of people who are of different ethnicities, or personalogical identities (McAdam, 1986; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003). Research on personality traits has also found that people are influenced to act in a socially beneficial setting as a result of personal characteristics, which will be explored in more depth later (Fenzel & Peyrot, 2005; Finkelstein, 2011). Both intergroup contact and personal characteristics therefore influence the actions of the individual. This project will collect data on both categories of factors—interpersonal and personalogical—and analyze how they are related to participation in the BLM movement.

Intergroup contact, which is defined as the physical interaction between people of distinct and different identifying characteristics, is distinguished by a person's ingroup and outgroup (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). An ingroup can be defined as a group identity that an individual can identify with, whereas an outgroup is what an individual perceives as different from their personal identification in a group; for example, a Catholic Latina can consider the Hispanic ethnicity as an ingroup because she identifies as the racial category, while she considers the Muslim identity as an outgroup apart from her identifying characteristics because she identifies with a different religion (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). Contact between an individual's ingroup and someone else's outgroup is the fundamental interaction that defines intergroup contact.

In terms of personal factors, collectivism—or prosocial behaviors that intend to benefit others—relates to an increase of social support because an individual's emotional attachments to an outgroup fosters more understanding and empathy toward the experiences of the outgroup (Finkelstein, 2011). In essence, collectivism is the tendency to pursue what is for the greater good of the group, even if it means sacrificing personal gain over collective benefit (Finkelstein, 2011). As such, collectivism is a variable worth exploring when determining why individuals may be influenced to participate in the BLM movement. Legal authoritarianism is another factor that can influence participation in the BLM movement. Legal authoritarianism is a measure of an individual's legal attitudes towards law enforcement institutions, such as policing (Kravitz, Cutler, & Brock, 1993). Individuals who score higher on scales of legal authoritarianism tend to be more approving of legal authority; however, those who remain distrustful of the power of legal authority figures tend to score lower on legal authoritarianism (Kravitz et al., 1993). Legal authoritarianism can also be an important indicator of BLM participation because the movement's message revolves around the political and legal injustices towards African-Americans—particularly at the hands of the police.

In order to examine the factors that influence individuals' participation in the BLM movement, a survey questionnaire will be used to measure the following factors at the individual level: 1) demographic information, 2) quantity of intergroup contact, 3) their tendencies towards individualism or collectivism, 4) their perceptions of legal authority, and 5) their level of participation in the BLM movement. Three hypotheses will be proposed. With respect to the main relationship of interest, 1) it is hypothesized

that contact with African-Americans will predict greater levels of participation in the BLM movement. In terms of overall intergroup contact, 2) it is predicted that contact with people already active in the BLM movement will lead to greater participation; in contrast, 3) knowing people who have left the movement and no longer support it will lead individuals to participate less in the BLM movement.

The present research seeks to find significant predictors that lead to an individual's participation in the Black Lives Matter movement; correlations with interpersonal contact and participation, while controlling for personal characteristics (legal authoritarianism and collectivism) and other demographics (race and gender), can determine what leads people to participate in the BLM movement. The findings of this study will provide a better understanding of our society's mobilization in nationally important events. It is crucial to understand how humans are motivated because mobilization has been and will always be how we move forward into the future with progress and coexistence.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Movements and the Black Lives Matter Movement

Social movements can be defined as a group of people, organized as a collective, working toward—or resisting—social change, using unconventional politics (e.g. protests, rallies, etc.) (Heberle, 1951; McAdam, 1999a; Kolers, 2016). The 1960s brought about a number of significant social movements concerning human rights that were mobilized in the U.S. Perhaps the most prevalent of these 1960s movements was the Civil Rights movement. With well-known leaders (e.g. Martin Luther King, Jr.) and high-profile actions (e.g. sit-ins, Freedom Rides, Freedom Summer, etc.), the movement had a great impact on U.S. society and led to the 1964 Civil Rights Act and other civil rights advances. Kolers (2016) states that social movements embody a triad: having an identity, an interest, and an aim. The Civil Rights movement is characterized as a social movement through this triad: African Americans, civil rights, and equal treatment, respectively (Kolers, 2016). The use of peaceful protests, marches, sit-ins, and rallies throughout the u.s.

Zimmerman Is Acquitted in Trayvon Martin Killing

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ and CARA BUCKLEY JULY 13, 2013

SANFORD, Fla. — George Zimmerman, the neighborhood watch volunteer who fatally shot Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teenager, igniting a national debate on racial profiling and civil rights, was found not guilty late Saturday night of second-degree murder. He was also acquitted of manslaughter, a lesser charge.

After three weeks of testimony, the six-woman jury rejected the prosecution's contention that Mr. Zimmerman had deliberately pursued Mr. Martin because he assumed the hoodie-clad teenager was a criminal and instigated the fight that led to his death.

Figure 1: New York Times article detailing the result of Zimmerman's trial in the midst of the debate in 2013. Screenshot from online nytimes.com article by Alvarez & Buckley.

Civil Rights
movement era
portray the use of
unconventional
forms of
organizing to
bring about
change ("Civil

Rights Movement,” 2009).

A contemporary extension of the Civil Rights Movement is the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. BLM became a nationally recognized project that specifically focuses on American political institutions’ injustices towards African-Americans in U.S. society, after the murder of Trayvon Martin led to the perpetrator, George Zimmerman’s, acquittal (see Figure 1) (“Black Lives Matter: Herstory,” 2013). Beginning in 2013, the BLM movement rose to prominence because of its messages and promotion of ending harmful racial injustices, exemplified by a small percentage of law enforcement officials; the aim of this movement is to bring awareness to the unfair treatment that Black Americans experience in their communities as a result of the prevalence of racism still plaguing the United States (“Black Lives Matter: Herstory,” 2013). Clare (2016) reasons that the Black Lives Matter movement is a long overdue outcry of the population of people who are demanding a change as a result of the legal injustices that occur through countless cases where the perpetrator is exonerated after taking an African American’s life. Thought of as an extension of the Civil Rights movement in the sixties, the BLM movement is a reappearance of activism that aims to establish and foster equal rights for African Americans in the United States, as well as address and highlight the prevalence

Serious deficiencies found at jail where Sandra Bland died, says new report

Report commissioned after Bland’s death in a Texas jail, which became a cause célèbre for the Black Lives Matter movement, says staff dehumanize inmates



Figure 2: More cases of excessive police brutality leading to the loss of Black lives. Screenshot from online article; Photo by Shannon Stapleton/Reuters from theguardian.com

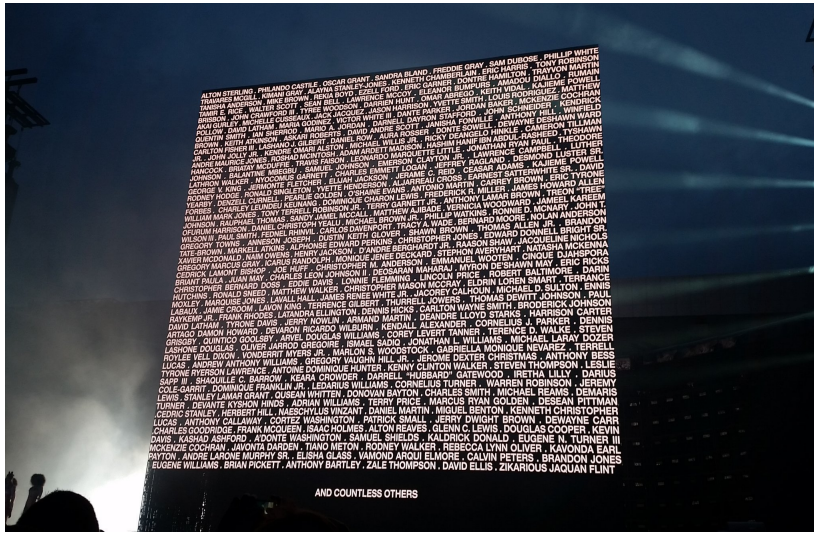


Figure 3: Graphic in a Beyoncé concert that lists countless Black lives taken since the Zimmerman-Martin case. Photo from Twitter user @Bey_Legion on Twitter.com

of prejudice that remains in American society to this day (Clare, 2016).

Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza, and Opal Tometi are the three African American

women who spearheaded the

creation of the BLM movement, angry that racial prejudice and injustices still persist at a high rate in the modern United States (“Black Lives Matter: Herstory,” 2013; Clare, 2016). Case after case of racially charged instances of police brutality, unwarranted murder, and heavy court sentencing for African Americans has solidified the need for the BLM movement (see Figures 1, 2, and 3). Awareness of these injustices will hopefully allow for the progressive change that American society needs in terms of mistreatment and harmful biases towards African American people.

The reach of the Black Lives Matter movement now spans across national college campuses, independent organizations in communities, and also countless independent organizations nationwide; “currently, the [Black Lives Matter] movement has approximately two dozen chapters throughout the United States as well as chapters in Ghana and Canada” (Clare, 2016, p. 123). Starting as a movement to unite Black Americans with the same desire to fight for and uphold equal treatment, the BLM

movement has seen widespread support from the broader community of people around the nation (“Black Lives Matter: What We Believe,” 2013). Receiving attention from ordinary American citizens, politicians, celebrities, activists, and individuals who oppose the movement, the BLM movement ultimately comprises a social movement that includes every type of citizen, regardless of class or status. Because the movement focused on redresses against legal authority, racial prejudice, and the lack of attention being given to Black lives in the modern era, the members who support the movement are united by the desire to gain equal treatment for African Americans (Clare, 2016). Exploring the individual motives for participating in social movements can demonstrate the social processes and influences that leads individuals to partake in social action. This increase in citizen mobilization, as evident from civil rights activism previously discussed, led to more a scholarly attention to movements, shifting the evaluation of social movements from a purely political perspective to a psychological one (McAdam, 1999a).

Influences of Social Movement Participation

Movement scholars sometimes ask, “what drives participation in a social movement?” Research about social movement participation first pointed to resource mobilization theory—essentially stating that a group of people come together in movements in an effort to build up and control collective resources to achieve the means and goals of the movement—as a motive for different kinds of people to group together (Jenkins, 1983; McCarthy & Zald, 1973; Oberschall, 1973; McAdam, 1999b). In a collective group (where people have different connections, networks, skills, expertise, material resources, etc.), social action can more easily take place. Resource mobilization was further explored by Snow, Zurcher, and Elkan-Olson (1980), in which it was found

that through the act of people grouping together, “recruitment cannot occur without prior contact with a recruitment agent,” illustrating how people involved in movements must have interacted with someone who was a member of the movement (p. 789). The transition from the idea that resource-building was the main motive for collective action, to the idea that people actually influence their friends and colleagues, was further examined by the following scholars.

Involving the study of the Civil Rights movement in the sixties, Rosenhan (1970) concluded that people who participated, or contributed financially to the movement, “tended to have friends and associates who were themselves supporters of civil rights” (p. 259). Snow et al. (1980) focused more on differential recruitment than intergroup contact; differential recruitment is similar to intergroup contact in that it can be defined as the phenomenon that those who are linked to existing supporters of a movement are more likely to be contacted or encouraged to support the same movement. In testing for differential recruitment with college students, Snow et al. (1980) found that students who already had interpersonal relationships (e.g. friendships) with supporters of either a religious or political movement were more likely to be influenced to participate in both the religious and political social movements. However, in expanding on the idea of differential recruitment, McAdam (1986) focused on the individual’s relationship to the agent, rather than the agent’s relationship to the individual. Here, the individual refers to the person that is not participating in a social movement, while the agent is the person already involved in the movement. McAdam (1986) further argues that interpersonal factors (e.g. contact with movement participants and others) and “personological” factors (e.g. individual-level attitudes, beliefs, ideologies, etc.) of the individual are important,

with the former—interpersonal—being the most important.

In his study, McAdam (1986) focuses on participation in the Freedom Summer campaign of 1964. Freedom Summer was centered around the attempt to register as many African Americans in Mississippi to vote, relying on volunteers who helped facilitate the movement. McAdam (1986) finds that active support was strongly correlated to having interpersonal ties with people also participating in the movement. Support and contribution to Freedom Summer were significantly influenced by contact with existing members who were already participating (McAdam, 1986). Individuals who knew others already active in the movement were more likely to participate. The opposite was also true: knowing people who withdrew from the movement also led to the withdrawal of the individual (McAdam, 1986). Similar to Snow et al.'s (1980) finding that there exists a link between individual and movement supporter, the findings in McAdam's (1986) research outline the influence that intergroup contact has towards social movement participation.

Intergroup Contact Theory

Intergroup contact can be defined as physical interaction between people with distinguished and definite differences in personal identifying characteristics: the interaction between an individual's ingroup with their outgroup, which is someone else's ingroup (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). From the idea that emotions are contagious, there is significant reason to believe that individuals will mimic, reciprocate, and understand the emotions of others, which then results in feelings of empathy for the other person, and vice versa (Hatfield et al., 2014). Emotional contagion therefore also works in a collective—or a group of people—and scholars have reasoned that “collectives often

come to share thoughts, feelings, and [...] *behaviors*” (Hatfield et al., 2014, p. 114). This collective experience happens during situations where groups of people experience similar frustrations and perspectives (Hess, Houde, & Fischer, 2014). Emotions such as joy, anger, hatred, fear, panic, or mutual respect and understanding can be observed as collectively contagious as well; historical instances of emotional contagion are cited in significant events (like Adolf Hitler’s mass rallying in Nuremburg) and also in smaller, and more joyful, events (such as attending a music concert) (Hatfield et al., 2014). The more relevant implications of emotional contagion, for the purposes of the BLM movement research, is that emotional reciprocation is a way for people to develop a deeper relationship between each other in terms of understanding and compassion, while also shaping relationships between the two groups of people simultaneously (van der Lowe & Parkinson, 2014). In this sense, intergroup contact has been explored as a means for individuals to lessen misunderstandings between themselves and others, leading to a decrease in potential conflict due to personal differences.

Misunderstandings between different groups or cultures, in terms of each group’s intent towards the status and well-being of the other groups, arises through the fear of perceived intentions and the fear of a threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Stephan & Stephan (2000) state that positive intergroup contact experiences through cooperation, conversation, and understanding is hypothesized to “reduce perceived threats” between different groups (p. 32). Research on how prejudice is reduced between different ethnicities is informed by intergroup contact theory, since interaction between distinct outgroups tends to lead to a decrease in prejudice (Williams, 1947; McAdam, 1986; Pettigrew, 1997, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013; Van

Laar, Levin, Sinclair, & Sidanius, 2005; Levin et al., 2003). Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) reason that in determining what promotes a movement, ignorance due to prejudice is a factor. Ignorance is the result of not knowing the implications of some idea, person, group, or intention an individual is unfamiliar with (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Thus, intergroup contact is hypothesized to be a significant variable that can provide insights into reduced prejudice between different racial groups.

How Intergroup Contact Reduces Prejudice

First formulated by Williams (1947), Allport (1954) later reintegrated and built upon the intergroup contact hypothesis by publishing findings about intergroup contact's effectiveness in creating a more open, accepting, and less prejudiced environment between people from different racial or ethnic groups. Allport (1954) concluded that intergroup contact can lessen intergroup prejudice, as long as the contact situations were reflective of one of four main conditions: 1) there must be equal status among groups, 2) there has to exist common goals, 3) there must not be competition among the groups, and 4) there must be support from some form of higher authority for the contact (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). It is crucial that contact with outgroups is positive overall, so that these relationships can foster understanding, empathy, and sensitivity to issues both groups experience in terms of day-to-day interactions in society. With time, Allport's (1954) hypothesis evolved into a well-known social psychological theory—*intergroup contact theory*. The theory contends that sustained intergroup contact can lessen prejudice and improve intergroup relations among people with different outlooks, identities, and beliefs in life. Research supports this theory, and explores the theory's stipulations in depth.

Research exploring ethnic biases show that intergroup contact reduces prejudices

and biases. Al Ramiah & Hewstone (2013) state that those who experience intergroup contact in the optimal situation—as defined by Allport (1954)—are significantly less prejudiced than those who do not come in contact or surround themselves with diverse ethnic groups. To show how the lack of intergroup contact can lead to higher levels of biases and prejudice towards a person's outgroups, Levin et al. (2003) measured pre-college friendships and relationships compared to college friendships. The results of the study showed that students who scored high in ingroup bias, as well as anxiety towards outgroups, at the beginning of college significantly had less outgroup friends and more ingroup friends. This study illustrates that without intergroup contact, people tend to exhibit more prejudice and bias attitudes towards people that do not identify closely with their own identities, which conversely results in lower amounts of relationships with people of different outgroups (Levin et al., 2003). Overall, constant and friendly intergroup contact should be emphasized when applying the theory in order to understand how individuals become more accepting and supportive of outgroups (Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013).

Intergroup contact in terms of a mediated context can also lead to less prejudice, and satisfies Allport's (1954) fourth intergroup contact condition, though not as profound as through friendships. A prior study conducted by Al Ramiah & Hewstone (2012) tested the Malaysian National Service Program, and how the unifying potential it has through common pride for the country, can promote less prejudice among Malays, Indians, and Chinese people. It was found that there were small to medium effects in an overall decrease of prejudice in those who participated in the national service training; understanding that the three ethnic groups came together only for a national goal, it can

be concluded that having a common goal is not as strong as other conditions that have been proven to reduce prejudice (see Allport, 1954). The groups had only met and coexisted at the start of the three-month long camp, which further illustrates that intergroup contact needs to be constant, intimate, and more along the lines of friendship rather than for a national purpose, in order to maximize intergroup contact's effect of reducing prejudice. What Al Ramiah & Hewstone (2013) demonstrated was that assessing prior friendships or relationships in an individual's life will have more significant intergroup effects on reduced prejudice towards outgroups, in contrast to more formal, mediated settings.

In the optimal friendship or personal relationship context, Van Laar et al. (2005) conducted an empirical study of college students as roommates during the first year of undergraduate life, testing to see if intergroup prejudice would decrease as a result of a close-knit, interactive environment. A roommate relationship represents a more optimal setting for intergroup contact, which qualifies for all four of Allport's (1954) conditions; living together, roommates have more opportunities for positive connections, sharing similarities, and fostering a deeper interpersonal connection overall (Van Laar et al., 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Consistent with the intergroup contact theory, the researchers found that having a Black roommate significantly led to more positive feelings and perceptions towards the race as a whole, which indicates that the level of prejudice had decreased. (Van Laar et al., 2005). Similarly, Blacks who had Latino roommates also saw an increase in positive affect, and vice versa. (Van Laar et al., 2005). Levin et al.'s (2003) study demonstrates the absence of intergroup contact, and how that correlates with biases, perceptions, and prejudices; Al Ramiah and Hewstone (2013)

demonstrated two of Allport's (1954) conditions—common goal and authority sanctioned; Van Laar et al. (2005) presented optimal conditions for intergroup contact.

In terms of intergroup friendships, or interpersonal relationships, Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) conducted a meta-analysis of the literature and concluded that contact with outgroup members and friends significantly resulted in less intergroup prejudice between outgroups. The meta-analysis places a strong emphasis on the idea that intergroup friendships and interpersonal relationships are more salient and predictive of decreased prejudice because long-term contact is most characteristic of the intergroup contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). While intergroup contact refers to a broad definition of face-to-face interactions with members of different identifying groups, Allport (1954) does place greater emphasis on the requirement that the contact between two individuals should be long-term and consistent. Contact that resembles friendship is seen to be more predictive of lessened prejudice than other forms of contact—such as professional—or in terms of Al Ramiah & Hewstone's (2012) contact for the sake of national military training (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

How Intergroup Contact Influences Social Action

McAdam (1986) discussed the motivating effects of intergroup contact, indicating that people who participated in the Freedom Summer project of 1964 had strong (close relationships) and weak (existing, but not close relationships) ties to agents—or people already engaged and active in the movement. The applications that the participants submitted to be considered for participation in the Freedom Summer project were carefully analyzed for specific motives; it was found that strong ties were indicative of those who participated in the movement while weaker ties were more closely linked to

likelihood that the participant would withdraw from the movement (McAdam, 1986). What the agents of the movement were doing translated to what the individual would most likely be influenced to do in terms of participation in the project.

In relation to the BLM movement, Selvanathan, Techakesari, Tropp, and Barlow (2017) found that intergroup contact, when processed through and controlled for both empathy and anger for the injustices, increased White Americans' willingness to support the movement. Contact with Black Americans increased the likelihood that White Americans would support social action that fights for racial injustice (Selvanathan et al., 2017). Intergroup contact has been proven to reduce prejudice, and that lessened prejudice has the potential to instill motivation for people to support and participate in movements that affect the respective disadvantaged outgroup.

Most literature has pointed to intergroup contact as an interactive phenomenon. However, intergroup contact in some cases has been found to be mediated by individual personality differences, such as those with the need for closure (NFC). People high in NFC tendencies are more objective, prefer order and predictability, are more decisive rather than ambiguous, and are more firm on their personal beliefs and ideas (Dhont, Roets, & Van Hiel, 2011). People who exhibited higher levels of NFC, which has been previously defined, are more likely to have reduced prejudice in the face of intergroup contact (Dhont et al., 2011). Previously discussed literature also addresses how individual traits can influence participation alongside intergroup contact (Rosenhan, 1970; McAdam, 1986; Van Laar et al., 2005). McAdam (1986) reasons that strongly held beliefs of an individual can serve as a structural "pull" for movement support/participation if the motive is large enough (p. 65). Van Laar et al. (2005) asked

participants questions involving individual aspects, such as multicultural competence, group affect, social dominance orientation, finding that these factors (along with intergroup contact) influenced the reduction in prejudice in both positive and negative trends. Knowing that there could be factors beyond interpersonal intergroup contact that might influence movement participation, personalological characteristics must also be taken into account.

Collectivism as a Motive

Along with social interpersonal influences, or how people around an individual motivates that individual, pre-existing collectivistic personality traits can also motivate an individual to be productive in social movements for the greater good of the overall society. This collectivistic tendency can be labeled as a personalological factor. Snow et al. (1980) acknowledges that there are predisposed traits in individuals that can correlate to social movement participation, and previous literature has also contributed to that conversation (Cantril, 1941; Jenkins, 1983). Collectivism has been argued to both precede and result from social movements: as a motive before social movements starts, or as a result of something else, like collective action (Jenkins, 1983). To reiterate, collectivism is defined as prosocial behaviors that intend to benefit others (Finkelstein, 2011). In further exploring the variable of collectivism, a review of the source of collectivism is warranted.

Literature points to intergroup contact as a potential precursor for collectivism. Mackie, Smith, and Ray (2008) have found insight on the ways that intergroup contact, and an individual's group identification, elicits intergroup emotions that become collectivistic behaviors. Intergroup emotions can be defined as those feelings of

belonging and identification to a group's characteristics and beliefs; this process of self-categorization allows individuals to think less as a single person and more like a part of a group's defining traits and values (Mackie et al., 2008). The more a person can identify with a group, the more that person will want to protect and maintain the values and rights of that group—which leads to progressive action (e.g. social movement participation) if that group were to be disadvantaged. How individual emotions become collective emotions are also discussed by Lawler, Thye and Yoon (2014), wherein the definition of collective emotions is “common feelings by members of a social unit as a result of shared experiences” (p. 191). Collective emotions are created through interpersonal connection and contact: collective emotions can therefore be seen as a byproduct of intergroup contact. In understanding each other's emotional experiences, people are influenced to collectively take part in each others' interests, fostering collaboration and cooperation (Lawler et al., 2014). This collectivistic tendency is largely a reason that people behave in ways that are beneficial to the greater good of a social group (Finkelstein, 2011). Intergroup emotions are essential precursors to collectivistic tendencies observed in an individual.

In determining how collectivism may relate to social action, Jasper (2014) states that protest, movements, and other social action are essentially “outbreak[s] of collective emotions” (p. 341). While understanding the precursors for collectivistic tendencies is seen to relate to intergroup contact theory, the future implications of a person's collectivism inclinations results in the same conclusion as intergroup contact theory as well—participation in socially important events. Heberle (1951) discusses that a reason people participate in social movements, protests, or any social act of change is because

that individual may believe they are doing the right thing for the greater good of the collective. The study of social movements explains that an important reason for participation is for the sake of what the movement's message, or end goals, want to achieve (Heberle, 1951). Through the awareness of research that points to how collectivism may lead to action, the following research relates the idea to *why* collectivistic traits in a person can predict social activity.

Research shows how collectivism can lead to time spent towards organizing to benefit a group in society overall, such as volunteering, organizing in the workplace, etc. (Rosenhan, 1970; Clary & Orenstein, 1991; Finkelstein & Penner, 2004; Finkelstein, 2011). Rosenhan (1970) differentiated between those who were fully committed to civil rights activism versus those who were only partially committed. Altruistic beliefs and tendencies were found to predict the intensity and length of commitment exhibited by the individual (Rosenhan, 1970). Time spent volunteering during a crisis event was significantly correlated with altruistic—or collectivistic—characteristics reported by the participants; in the study, volunteers who had a shorter period of service scored lower on altruistic motives than those who volunteered for the entire expected period of service (Clary & Orenstein, 1991). Penner and Finkelstein (1998) found significance in other-oriented empathy—which are collectivistic tendencies—towards predicting an individual's time spent volunteering at an AIDS event. In researching organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB), which are defined as “workplace activities that exceed the formal job requirements and contribute to the effective functioning of the organization” (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004, p. 384), Finkelstein and Penner (2004) also found that prosocial values, which relate to attitudes of collectivism, strongly correlated to OCB.

Looking further at collectivistic traits in participants, later research by Finkelstein (2011) found that collectivism significantly correlated with an individual's political responsibility towards the general community. Collectivism related to political responsibility, which then related to volunteer activity. While collectivism did not directly predict volunteer activity, political responsibility did significantly positively predict an individual's time spent volunteering (Finkelstein, 2011). Finkelstein (2011) discusses that although collectivism did not predict actual volunteer activity through this study, collectivism did provide insights towards *why* people spend time helping. This same idea that collectivism may not be the sole predictor of participation in prosocial behavior is discussed in other literature (Clary & Orenstein, 1991; Clary et al., 1998; Finkelstein & Penner, 2004; Rosenhan, 1970).

Collectivism exists as a motive, but can be combined with the presence of other motives as well, such as personal gain (which is an element of individualism), availability of free time, connection with other members of the movement's participants, and even physical ability to participate in social action (Jenkins, 1983; McAdam, 1986; Clary et al., 1998; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998). For one of their hypotheses, Penner and Finkelstein (1998) found that commitment to an organization—an individualistic trait—factored into volunteering, since some individuals may be participating to gain personal insight and experiences to better their own lives and personal qualities. Combining the personal trait of collectivism with intergroup contact is crucial in understanding the multi-faceted way that individuals are influenced into action. The collectivistic tendency in individuals is therefore a variable worth considering when looking at all the motives towards social movement participation as a whole.

Legal Authoritarianism as a Motive

Expanding on the idea that personalogical factors also contribute to individual participation, Heberle (1951) distinguished that belief in the message of the movement also influences an individual's motive towards social movement participation. The tensions that arise as a result of a disgruntled population of people, due to societal unrest, elicits action from those who personally believe that action against the particular problem must be taken (Oberschall, 1973; McAdam, 1999a). Because the BLM movement emphasizes the prevalence of police brutality and unfair racial treatment towards African Americans, individuals who feel strongly about the ineffectiveness of law enforcement may be more inclined to participate in a movement that seeks to address the problems with law enforcement that the individual believes needs to be changed.

Belief in the legitimacy of law enforcement institutions is defined as legal authoritarianism, which again is a measure of an individual's legal attitudes towards peacekeeping institutions, such as policing or the legal system (Kravitz et al., 1993). Scoring higher on scales of legal authoritarianism shows that the individual approves more of legal authority; scoring lower on scales of legal authoritarianism shows that the individual disapproves more of legal authority's power (Kravitz et al., 1993). An individual's inclination towards legal authoritarianism can provide insights into whether the main issue of the BLM movement is something the individual believes in.

People are likely to comply and approve of law enforcement agents so long as they believe that the peacekeeping institutions are legitimate: meaning that they are righteous, just, and fair (Mehozay & Factor, 2016). High levels of authoritarianism imply that the individual is more approving of our justice system's efficacy and conduct; lower

levels of authoritarianism imply that the individual is more wary and distrusting of our justice system, and that they believe large changes must be made (Kravitz et al., 2013). An individual's pre-existing beliefs and ideologies have been shown to indicate that individual's level of authoritarianism. Socially dominant and conservative personality types were found to exhibit a higher level of prejudice and militia attitudes (the trust and approval of armed forces); this indicates that individual traits of social dominance—the inclination to want to have a higher status or prominence than others—and right-wing conservatism can be indicative of people who exhibit higher levels of legal authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 2004). Crowson, Debacker, and Thoma (2006) expanded upon both social dominance and right wing authoritarianism traits, concluding that both these traits correlated with general attitudes of support for more restricting and forceful political institutions and figures. Since a police force is a political institution sanctioned by governments, it can be shown that those who exhibit more authoritarian viewpoints are more supportive of policing techniques. Personal characteristics and experiences can also influence an individual's level of authoritarianism.

In terms of other factors, Weitzer & Tuch (2004) state that race is one of the most prominent and salient indicators of negative views toward legal authority. The survey conducted by Weitzer & Tuch (2004) asked participants about their race, experiences of police misconduct, media exposure of police issues, and the participant's neighborhood conditions. The results found that perceptions of police misconduct were more widespread in participants who were Black than those who were Hispanic, and even less so for those who were White (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Furthermore, the conclusions report that Whites were more likely to reason that police misconduct occurs as a result of

a few “bad apples” in the system, while Blacks and Hispanics believed police misconduct stems from a institution-wide problem of corruption (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). It is also found that primary contact with police are indicators of perspective towards legal authority; moreover, the actual contact and exchange between police officer and citizen influences positive or negative views of the police more than what the procedural outcome—such as receiving a ticket, being detained, or going to jail—ends up being (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Mehozay & Factor, 2016). Again, the BLM movement focuses on correcting police injustices in American society that target a predominantly African-American population, with anti-Black violence as the main antagonistic force that BLM supporters want to eliminate—unnecessary murder, excessive force, unsanctioned shooting, etc. (“Black Lives Matter: About,” 2013). Both the portrayal of the media and prior contact, or exposure, to police brutality—defined here by excessive force, verbal misconduct, or unwarranted treatment through racial profiling—are influential to the negative perceptions that individuals may harbor towards law enforcement (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Personal experiences and contact with law enforcement is therefore an indicator of an individual’s level of authoritarianism. Overall, the less an individual views policing in a positive light, the less authoritarianism the person exhibits.

CHAPTER THREE: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Purpose of the Study

The overall goal of the study is to find out how interpersonal contact, when controlling for personal characteristics, influences a person to participate in a social movement. First and foremost, this study seeks to determine the relationship between intergroup contact and an individual's participation in the Black Lives Matter movement. As demonstrated by the previous literature review, Snow et al. (1980) and McAdam (1986) discussed how people are motivated to participate by others already immersed in the movement, but an additional question remains: are individuals motivated to participate in social movements, not only by knowing active participants in movements, but by being surrounded by people of different ethnicities in *daily life*? The community of people that an individual surrounds themselves with can profoundly influence the actions of that individual. This research furthers the implications of previous work by focusing on an individual's everyday contact with African Americans to find out how daily, mundane interactions can significantly influence people to support the BLM movement.

Research related to this current study, conducted by Selvanathan et al. (2017), explored how support for the BLM movement is influenced by intergroup contact; it was found that positive intergroup contact with Black Americans significantly predicted White Americans' support for collective action when controlled for both 1) empathy toward Black Americans' disadvantages and 2) anger about the injustices Black Americans experience. Like Selvanathan et al. (2017), this current study places a greater emphasis on the quantity of an individual's contact with African Americans, as opposed to other minority groups, since the nature of the BLM movement focuses largely on the

African American experience of injustice. Additionally, a focus of the analysis will be on an individual's affiliation with people already active in the movement, and/or people who have left the movement and no longer support it. In line with McAdam's (1986) findings that having existing relationships with agents already active in the movement makes people more likely to participate, as well as the additional finding that having friends that leave the movement will also lead to leaving the movement, this research will explore these findings in the context of the BLM movement. While Selvanathan et al. (2017) were interested in how intergroup contact predicts *support* for the movement, this study is interested in how intergroup contact correlates with movement *participation* (although a question regarding support for the BLM movement is included in the survey's design).

Apart from interpersonal influences, this research also focuses on personal factors, or the individual's personal characteristics. Because existing literature also finds that a person's level of collectivism influences engagement in socially beneficial action (e.g. social movements, volunteer activity, etc.), the effects of collectivism are explored in this study. Although previously reviewed literature indicates that collectivism is not always a sole predictor of social action, collectivism has still been found as a mediator or influencer towards factors that do predict social action. Legal authoritarianism—another personal factor—is also worth exploring because of the nature of the BLM movement. As Heberle (1951) concluded, the main message and focus of a social movement influence an individual's motive to participate. Because the focuses of the BLM movement are largely police brutality and legal injustice towards African Americans, it is worthwhile to test the effect of legal authoritarianism in determining why individuals choose to participate in this movement.

Limitations of Previous Studies

Limitations from existing research warrant discussion in moving forward with the design of the current research study. It is worthwhile to notice that a possible confound in Dhont et al.'s (2011) study of intergroup contact was in the *method* of measuring the actual intergroup contact; the researchers subjectively measured how many people of other ethnicities survey-takers have come in contact with using a 7-point Likert scale (one being “none“ and 7 being “many”). For example, a question would read, “How many people within your circle of native Belgian friends have immigrants as friends,” and the participant would answer on the 7-point Likert scale. The use of the Likert scale provides a subjective measure. Similarly, Levin et al. (2003) conducted a longitudinal study with college-level undergraduate students attending UCLA in 1996, which was comprised of the students’ first and second year of their undergraduate career; questions were formatted such as, “At UCLA, how many of your closest friends are...” with individual categories like, “African American?” or “Asian American?” (Levin et al., 2003, p. 80). Answers were given in the form of a 5-point Likert scale (1=none, 2=few, 3=many, 4 = most, 5 = all). Selvanathan et al. (2017) also utilized similar Likert scales when having participants self-report their amount of intergroup contact. A question would read, “Of the Black people you know, how many would you consider to be friends?” and the following scale would be from 1 to 7 (1=none, 7=six or more) (Selvanathan et al., 2017, p. 6). In using Likert measures, the data collected may not be as accurate.

Although widely used, Likert scales provide a subjective measure of contact, since there is no universal understanding of what “many” could mean: are three friends

out of five considered many because the three compose most of the group, and is that just as “many” as as a ninety friends out of two hundred? Ninety might have seemed like a number that should be described as “most,” but in context of the two hundred friends, ninety actually should be more appropriately labeled as “some” or “many.” The subjectivity of this self-reported measure can be a source of error in concluding how much participants actually experience intergroup contact in daily life.

These subjective measures of intergroup contact are modified in the current study’s survey, wherein the survey is designed to take numerical, quantitative reports of survey-takers’ intergroup contact in everyday life (e.g. asking participants “How many of your family friends are...African American?”). Having participants report a number leaves the subjectivity out of judging what is “many” or what counts as “few.” This way, the measures are objective, meaning that it is a numerical quantity. The survey then uses the proportion of African American contact over the total number of interpersonal contact that the participant reports for that particular question in order to produce quantified data.

Hypotheses

With respect to the main variable of intergroup contact, several hypotheses were tested:

H1: More instances of intergroup contact with African Americans are expected to predict a greater level of participation in the BLM movement. When controlling for a participant’s level of collectivism, as determined by responses to the revised Individualism and Collectivism Scale (INDCOL) by Triandis & Gelfand (1998), intergroup contact is still expected to predict higher amounts of participation. When controlling for legal authoritarianism levels, as determined by responses to the revised

Legal Attitudes Questionnaire (LAQ) by Kravitz et al. (1993), intergroup contact is still expected to predict higher amounts of participation.

H2: In the context of overall intergroup contact, knowing people already in the movement is expected to predict higher amounts of an individual's participation in the movement. In a previous, aforementioned study, McAdam (1986) reported that people who had existing relationships with active agents in the movement were more likely to participate in the movement. This finding will be explored in the present study as well. When controlling for level of collectivism and legal authoritarian attitudes, this finding is expected to still be a predictor of participation.

H3: In contrast to H2, knowing people who have left the BLM movement—or no longer support the BLM movement—is expected to predict lower levels of participation in the BLM movement. This was also found in McAdam's (1986) study, where having close friends withdraw from the Freedom Summer movement predicted the withdrawal of the individuals as well. When controlling for level of collectivism and legal authoritarian attitudes, this finding is expected to still be a predictor of participation.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

BLM Survey Design

The Black Lives Matter participation survey was comprised of 25 sections with questions designed to assess the participant's demographic information, prevalence of intergroup contact, levels of individualism and collectivism, level of legal authoritarianism, support for the BLM movement, and instances/level of participation in various activities related to supporting the BLM movement. (A copy of the survey is found in Appendices C and D, for reference.)

Demographic Questions.

General demographic questions were asked at the beginning of the survey. These questions included age, gender, ethnicity, major in college (if applicable), level of education/year in college, political affiliation, political ideology, socioeconomic status, and employment status.

Intergroup Contact Questions.

To allow a quantified, self-reported measure of intergroup contact amongst various racial or ethnic categories, the intergroup contact questions asked participants to provide a number for the amount of people of a particular ethnic category that the participant has come into contact with, or still currently comes into contact with. These eight intergroup contact questions can be found in Section B of the survey (see Appendix C). The question would read, "In college, (and taking into account past friends you still are in constant contact with), how many of your friends are..." with the sub-categories as follows: "African-American," "Asian/Pacific Islander," "Hispanic/Latino," "Caucasian/White," and "Native American or American Indian." The following questions

inquired about other relationships, such as the participant's familial, professional, and social media following's intergroup contact level (e.g. "How many of your relatives are..."; "How many of your teachers, professors, mentors, advisors, etc. are..."; "Social media following: How many people do you follow, like pages, or subscribe to who are (including celebrities)..."). Each question was followed by the same five ethnic categories, which then prompted the participant to report a number. There was a total of eight intergroup contact questions that were shown to every participant.

There were two intergroup questions only shown to participants who met the prerequisites before needing to answer the questions (see Appendix C, Section B). The first one, which asked about the participant's contact with people active in the BLM movement, first reads, "Do you have friends (or people you know) who are currently active in the BLM movement?" Upon answering "Yes," the following would show up and prompt a response: "If so, how many of them are..." "African-American," "Asian/Pacific Islander," "Hispanic/Latino," "Caucasian/White," and "Native American or American Indian." Similarly, the other question asked about the participant's contact with people who were active, but currently have stopped participating in the movement, asking, "Do you have friends (or people you know) who have left the BLM movement, or are no longer part of it?" Answering "Yes" would again prompt, "If so, how many of them are..." "African-American," "Asian/Pacific Islander," "Hispanic/Latino," "Caucasian/White," and "Native American or American Indian."

A score for the participant's *intergroup contact* would be a proportion calculated by the amount of reported African Americans over the amount of overall contact in all five ethnic categories reported. For example, if a participant reports "4" for African

American, and “1” for the each of the remaining four ethnic categories, their score for intergroup contact would be 0.5 ($\frac{4}{(4+1+1+1+1)} = 0.5$). However, for the final two questions that were asked dependent on whether or not the participant answered “yes” to the prompts, a dichotomous score will be used for participants. If the participant reported “Yes,” the score will be 1. If the participant answers “No,” the score will be 0. The score of 1 represents the existence of intergroup contact, while the score of 0 represents the absence of any intergroup contact for the respective question. In summary, the eight initial intergroup contact questions that were shown to all participants were averaged into one final proportion score. The last two questions provided the participants’ score regarding intergroup contact with members of the movement, with each participant having a score of 0 or 1. These scores were used in the final analyses.

Individualism and Collectivism Scale (INDCOL). Triandis & Gelfand (1998)

A 16 question scale was included to determine the participant’s level of individualism and collectivism (see Appendix C, Section C). Collectivistic tendencies can be contrasted with individualistic tendencies. The distinction between individualism and collectivism has been illustrated by Triandis & Gelfand (1998) in discussing the two types in each category: vertical collectivism, horizontal collectivism, vertical individualism, and horizontal individualism. Vertical denotes a hierarchical trend while horizontal denotes a theme of equality; therefore, *vertical collectivism* elicits strong identification with a group’s desire to be more distinguished than other groups, *vertical individualism* elicits an individual’s personal gains in comparison to all other, *horizontal collectivism* elicits the idea that all groups have common goals for one another’s benefits, and *horizontal individualism* elicits a trend of being independent and doing “their own

thing” apart from everyone else (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). In the study, Triandis & Gelfand (1998) sought to test questions for their accuracy through factor analysis to determine the top four questions for each category mentioned. As a result, they narrowed down a previous 27 question scale—derived by Singelis et al. (1995)—of assessing individualistic and collectivistic tendencies in participants into a 16 question scale (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). These 16 total questions on individualism and collectivism—four from each of the four categories—are used in the BLM survey.

Some examples of the Triandis & Gelfand (1998) revised questions asked from the INDCOL scale are as follows: “I’d rather depend on myself than others” (horizontal individualism); “It is important that I do my job better than others” (vertical individualism); “If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud” (horizontal collectivism); “It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my group” (vertical collectivism) (p. 120). The participants answered each of the 16 questions on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from (1=Definitely not me, to 9=Definitely like me). One question in the horizontal individualism set of questions was reverse coded in this study, as an attention checker. There were four questions asked for each type of characteristic (VI, HI, VC, and HC); each of the participants had a score for each characteristic, which were derived from the four respective questions that corresponded with which type of characteristic was measured. Participants were given four averaged scores, two for individualism (VI and HI) and two for collectivism (VC and HC). The scores for vertical collectivism and horizontal collectivism were analyzed for this study.

Revised Legal Attitudes Questionnaire (RLAQ23). Kravitz et al. (1993)

The Legal Attitudes Questionnaire (LAQ), originally formulated by Boehm

(1986), is an established and reliable scale that has been proven to accurately measure an individual's level of authoritarianism. The Revised Legal Attitudes Questionnaire (RLAQ23) from Kravitz et al. (1993) is comprised of 23 statements from the original 30 statements that participants score on a 6-point Likert scale, ranging from 1=strongly disagree, to 6=strongly agree (see Appendix C, Section D). Using this scale in the BLM survey, participants were given an average score for overall level of legal authoritarianism. Examples of statements included in this scale are as follows: "Unfair treatment of underprivileged groups and classes is the chief cause of crime;" "Citizens need to be protected against excess police power as well as against criminals;" "Upstanding citizens have nothing to fear from police." (Kravitz et al., 1993, p. 666). Sixteen items on the questionnaire are reverse coded in the revised version, and the format of the RLAQ23 is consistent with what was shown to participants who took the survey. The RLAQ23 has been tested for reliability, and produces Cronbach's alpha values ranging from .71 to .83 (Kravitz et al., 1993). An average of the 23 questions from the RLAQ23 scale was derived for each participant's score of legal authoritarianism, which was used in the analysis.

Participation in the BLM Movement Questions.

The final section of the survey asked participants for both support of the BLM movement and individual participation in the BLM movement (see Appendix C, Section E). Support was a dichotomous "Yes" or "No" question that read, "Do you support the Black Lives Matter movement?" Following this prompt, 12 questions that asked about various levels of participation were required to be completed by all participants. Both low-risk and high-risk questions were asked: low-risk can be defined as action that does

not require much effort, time, or resources apart from what individuals already do; high-risk is the contrast, where the action requires more time, effort, funds, and resources that are added on to the rest of the individual's duties and responsibilities (McAdam, 1986). The questions inquired about low-risk participation with questions like, "Do you like/share Facebook, or other social media, posts concerning the movement?" and "Do you actively comment opinions on Facebook/social media outlets/etc.?" Other participation questions differentiated between local and national-level participation: "Do you join clubs or formal organizations in your area supporting the BLM movement?" versus "Do you join nationwide clubs or formal organizations supporting the BLM movement?" High-risk activism questions were also asked, such as "Do you participate in protest/marches in your community?" and "Do you participate in protest/marches in a more national setting (i.e. traveling out-of-state)?" Participants responded to these questions on a 5-point Likert scale: 1=not at all, 2=rarely, 3=sometimes, 4=often, 5=all the time. The reliability of this new scale testing participation in the BLM movement consistently resulted in very high Cronbach's alpha values, ranging from .93 to .95 out of 1.00 in factor analyses. Participants were given an average score for BLM Participation using the 12 BLM participation questions. This average was used in the analysis as the dependent variable.

Participants

Two samples were recruited for the purposes of the study: a college student sample from the SONA system at the University of Nevada, Reno and a general population sample from Amazon's MTurk program. Participants were recruited on MTurk in order to generate a sample that would be more representative of the general

population of U.S citizens, compared to the UNR college student sample. This way, the findings from the MTurk sample can provide insight towards a general population's tendency to participate in the BLM movement. For both samples, the only eligibility requirement for participants was that they had to have heard of the BLM movement prior to taking the survey.

SONA Participants.

The SONA system is the participant recruitment pool for the University of Nevada, Reno. Students affiliated with the University of Nevada, Reno in the Psychology department can create a SONA account at unr.sona-systems.com and participate in research projects, both online or in-person. Students are made up of psychology majors, as well as students taking any psychology courses that require research participation for course credit or extra credit. Participants are typically compensated with SONA credits (called FECs or PECs), but researchers can also offer monetary compensation or gift card rewards. Studies can offer one SONA credit per half hour of time the participant is expected to spend during the study. For the purposes of the BLM survey, participants were compensated with one SONA credit. Only participants who completed the entirety of the survey, as well as passed all attention checkers in the survey, were included in the final data analysis.

Following IRB approval, the survey was posted on the SONA system on October 30, 2017 and closed on February 28, 2018. The survey was formatted on the Qualtrics program, a software that catered to the survey design and data collection.

Amazon's MTurk Participants.

This research was successfully funded by the University of Nevada, Reno's

Office of Undergraduate Research. Receiving the Nevada Undergraduate Research Award (NURA) for the amount of \$1,050 allowed a general sample of participants to be recruited for the study. Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) software is a marketplace that allows researchers to broadly disseminate research surveys to a diverse array of people, who are called "Workers" in the system. Human Intelligence Tasks (HITs) are posted on the system for Workers to complete and receive fair compensation for the tasks. Each participant was compensated with \$5 for successful completion of the BLM survey on MTurk. Participants who did not meet the initial requirement to have at least heard of the BLM movement prior to taking the survey and participants who failed the attention checkers were rejected for the HIT, and were not included in the final data analysis. Following IRB approval, the survey was posted on MTurk.com on February 16, 2018. After the required 142 participants completed surveys, the survey was closed on February 17, 2018. The survey posted on MTurk was also formatted on the Qualtrics program.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) and Multiple Regression

This study utilizes multiple linear regression models to analyze the relationships of the dependent and independent, or control, variables. Regressions are correlational analyses used primarily to predict values in terms of existing data. Creating a linear model that best fits the trend can provide insights into the directionality and magnitude of the variable's relationships. In particular, Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regressions are used in the BLM survey analyses.

OLS regressions focus on finding the smallest overall value for the sum of the squared errors, meaning that the linear model will produce the line of best fit, and should be the most accurate correlational relationship in terms of the given data. Like other multiple regression models, OLS regressions work with multiple independent variables. Because of the different independent variables (collectivism, legal authoritarian attitudes, gender, etc.) included in this study, the OLS regression model works well in predicting the dependent variable (participation in the BLM movement).

Sample of SONA Participants

A total of 397 college student data were included in the analysis. Participants were made up of 94 (23.7%) males, 300 (75.6%) females, and 3 (0.7%) participants who reported "other." Since the survey design posted on SONA allowed the participants to select all ethnic categories that applied to their racial identity, three ethnic categories were used for this sample: African American, Caucasian/White, and all other reported ethnicities were labeled Other Minority. Participants who selected "African American" only, or selected it among other choices, were grouped as "African American."

Participants who selected “Asian/Pacific Islander,” “Hispanic/Latino,” “Native American/American Indian,” and/or “Other” were grouped as “Other Minority.” Participants who *only* selected “Caucasian/White” were grouped as “Caucasian/White.” The confounds of this design, and the resulting assumptions, are discussed in a later section. Table 1 organizes the SONA participants’ gender and ethnicity N values and percentages.

Table 1. Sample of SONA Participants & Descriptive Statistics

Variables	<i>N</i>	%
Gender		
Male	94	23.7%
Female	300	75.6%
Other	3	0.7%
Ethnicity		
African American	27	6.8%
Caucasian/White	214	53.9%
Other Minority	156	39.3%

Table 2 outlines the variables of interest, including the mean and standard deviations (SD) of the four independent variables. The scales of each of the variables are also outlined.

Table 2. Sample of SONA Participants & Variables

Variables	Scale	N	Mean	SD
<i>Dependent Variable</i>				
BLM Participation	1=not at all; 5=all the time	397	1.520	0.625
<i>Test Variables</i>				
Intergroup Contact	proportion of African American contact over total contact (values from 0 to 1)	397	0.096	0.080
Active intergroup contact	0=nonexistent or 1=existent	397	0.479	0.500
Inactive intergroup contact	0=nonexistent or 1=existent	397	0.058	0.234
Collectivism	1=definitely not me; 9=definitely like me			
Vertical collectivism	(see above)	397	6.654	1.487
Horizontal collectivism	(see above)	397	7.110	1.238
Legal Authoritarianism	1=strongly disagree; 6=strongly agree	397	3.293	0.482

Hypothesis Testing for the SONA Sample

Hypothesis 1 for SONA: Intergroup Contact

H1: More experienced intergroup contact with African Americans is expected to predict a greater level of participation in the BLM movement.

From Section B of the survey, the eight separate proportion values of African American contact were combined into one variable, which is referred to as *Intergroup contact* from here on. In conducting a factor analysis for the eight intergroup questions, the resulting alpha value was 0.73 (acceptable alpha values, which indicate that the eight measures reliably tests the same thing, is a value between 0.6 and 0.8). Therefore, the

eight proportions were averaged to create a single value for the intergroup contact variable.

Hypothesis 1 was supported by the OLS regression analysis in the sample of SONA participants. Table 3 outlines the significance of intergroup contact through the different models, consistent with the predictions of the hypothesis. The results show that greater amounts of intergroup contact with African Americans correlated to greater levels of participation in the BLM movement, even when other variables are factored in. Participation was the average score of the 12 questions from Section E (see Appendix C). The last model, labeled “Participation, controlling for demographics” tests the main variable of interest—intergroup contact—and controls for the other variables of interest. Intergroup contact significantly predicted an individual’s level of participation ($b = 2.13$, $p < .001$). The significance in all three regression models shows how intergroup contact remained significant, with $p < .001$ throughout the models.

Table 3. OLS Regression of Total Participation Predicted by Intergroup Contact in the SONA sample, Controlling for Attitudes and Demographics

	Participation	Participation, controlling for collectivism and legal authoritarianism	Participation, controlling for demographics
Intergroup contact	2.72***	2.33***	2.13***
Collectivism			
VC	--	-.009	-.013
HC	--	.014	.020
Legal authoritarianism	--	-.367***	-.356***
Female	--	--	.061
African American	--	--	.150
Other Minority	--	--	.119
Adjusted R^2	.118	.192	.197
N	397	397	397

Note: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ (this indicates the level of significance)

Legal authoritarianism is also significant in the models that include the variable in the analysis. While this was not a focus of Hypothesis 1, it is interesting to see that authoritarian attitudes also predicted participation in the BLM movement. The negative coefficient ($b = -.356$) shows that there exists a negative relationship with legal authoritarianism and participation. The less authoritarian a person is, the more likely the person is to participate in the BLM movement; the more authoritarian a person is, the less likely the person is to participate in the BLM movement ($p < .001$).

Hypothesis 2 for SONA: Active Intergroup Contact

H2: Knowing people already in the movement is expected to predict higher amounts of an individual's participation in the movement.

Hypothesis 2 was supported by the analysis. Active intergroup contact was tested with the controlled variables (collectivism, legal authoritarianism, demographics, etc.) and remained statistically significant in all models, which is outlined in Table 4. Having connections and relationships with people already active in the BLM movement predicted greater participation in the individual ($b = .239, p < .001$). This finding replicates the results of McAdam (1986) in analyzing the Freedom Summer movement, in which it was found that having a relationship (friendship, etc.) with someone in the Freedom Summer movement proved to be correlated to the individual's participation in the movement.

Table 4. OLS Regression of Total Participation Predicted by Active Intergroup Contact in the SONA sample, Controlling for Attitudes and Demographics

	Participation	Participation, controlling for collectivism and legal authoritarianism	Participation, controlling for demographics
Active intergroup contact	.290***	.242***	.239***
Collectivism			
VC	--	.008	.005
HC	--	-.009	.002
Legal authoritarianism	--	-.415***	-.376***
Female	--	--	.021
African American	--	--	.551***
Other Minority	--	--	.131*
Adjusted R^2	.051	.145	.188
N	397	397	397

Note: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ (this indicates the level of significance)

It was also found that those who identified as African American or any other minority (which includes Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, Native American, or another unspecified race) predicted greater levels of participation when controlled for knowing people already active in the BLM movement, collectivism, legal authoritarianism, and gender.

Hypothesis 3 for SONA: Inactive Intergroup Contact

H3: Knowing people who have left the BLM movement—or no longer support the BLM movement—is expected to predict lower levels of participation in the BLM movement.

The third hypothesis was not supported by the analysis. When the model controlled for all the relevant variables, there is significance in the opposite direction of what the hypothesis predicted. The model shows that knowing people who have left the movement, or are no longer supporting the movement, actually positively predicts an individual's participation in the BLM movement ($b = .300, p < .05$).

This finding contradicts the findings of McAdam (1986), where individuals knowing others who withdraw from the movement also withdrew from the movement themselves. One potential explanation is the differences in participation style and commitment in the Freedom Summer project versus the Black Lives Matter movement. Participation in McAdam's (1986) analysis was a long-term commitment—about three months—that required a week of training volunteers prior to being transported to the location where the protest was taking place. The BLM movement participation questions were varying levels of commitment (see Appendix C and D). While some types of participation were high-risk, and required travelling out of the individual's state, other participation could be as low-risk as posting support on Facebook/other social media outlets, or attending a protest in the individual's local area. The BLM study's difference in determining what participation entails could be a reason why the hypothesis was not supported.

Table 5. OLS Regression of Total Participation Predicted by Inactive Intergroup Contact in the SONA sample, Controlling for Attitudes and Demographics

	Participation	Participation, controlling for collectivism and legal authoritarianism	Participation, controlling for demographics
Inactive intergroup contact	.187	.281*	.300*
Collectivism			
VC	--	.012	.008
HC	--	-.002	.009
Legal authoritarianism	--	-.459***	-.419***
Female	--	--	.047
African American	--	--	.555***
Other Minority	--	--	.152*
Adjusted R^2	.002	.119	.165
N	397	397	397

Note: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ (this indicates the level of significance)

Similar to previous models, the analysis in Table 5 describe significances for the legal authoritarianism variable, as well as the African American and Other Minority variable. Legal authoritarianism has a negative correlation with participation ($b = -.419$, $p < .001$), and both identifying as African American or Other Minority produces a positive correlation with participation ($b = .555$, $p < .001$; $b = .152$, $p < .05$).

Sample of MTurk Participants

Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) software was also used to gather data for the BLM survey. Again, this sample aims to portray a more accurate sample of the general population in the United States. A total of 141 participants were included in the analysis. Participants were made up of 86 (61%) males, 55 (39%) females. In contrast to the SONA sample, the survey design posted on MTurk required that the participants select the ethnic category that best represented their identity: African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, Caucasian/White, Native American/American Indian, or Other. For the purposes of the regression analysis discussed later, participants who selected "African American" were grouped as "African American." Participants who selected "Asian/Pacific Islander," "Hispanic/Latino," "Native American/American Indian," or "Other" were grouped as "Other Minority." Participants who selected "Caucasian/White" were grouped as "Caucasian/White." Table 6 organizes the gender and ethnicity (in the six categories) of MTurk participants, as well as N values and percentages.

Table 6. Sample of MTurk Participants & Descriptive Statistics

Variables	<i>N</i>	%
Gender		
Male	86	61%
Female	55	39%
Ethnicity		
African American	18	12.8%
Asian/Pacific Islander	5	3.5%
Hispanic/Latino	9	6.4%
Caucasian/White	108	76.6%
Native American or American Indian	0	0%
Other	1	0.7%

Table 7 outlines the variables of interest, including the mean and standard deviations (SD) of the four independent variables. The scales of each of the variables are also outlined.

Table 7. Sample of MTurk Participants & Variables

Variables	Scale	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>S.D.</i>
<i>Dependent Variable</i>				
BLM Participation	1=not at all; 5=all the time	141	1.554	0.749
<i>Test Variable</i>				
Intergroup Contact	proportion of African American contact over total contact (values from 0 to 1)	141	0.149	0.161
Active intergroup contact	0=nonexistent or 1=existent	141	0.426	0.071
Inactive intergroup contact	0=nonexistent or 1=existent	141	0.496	0.258
Collectivism	1=definitely not me; 9=definitely like me			
Vertical collectivism	(see above)	141	6.106	1.973
Horizontal collectivism	(see above)	141	6.521	1.464
Legal Authoritarianism	1=strongly disagree; 6=strongly agree	141	3.049	0.626

Hypothesis Testing for the MTurk Sample

Hypothesis 1 for MTurk: Intergroup Contact

H1: More experienced intergroup contact with African Americans is expected to predict a greater level of participation in the BLM movement.

Like the SONA sample, the eight separate proportion values of African American contact were combined into one variable, which is referred to as *Intergroup contact* (see Appendix C, Section B). In conducting a factor analysis for the eight intergroup questions, the resulting Cronbach's alpha value was 0.88. Therefore, the eight proportions were averaged to create a single value for the intergroup contact variable.

Hypothesis 1 was supported by the analysis in the sample of MTurk participants. The results show that higher amounts of intergroup contact with African Americans correlated to greater levels of participation in the BLM movement. Participation was the average score of the 12 questions from Section E (see Appendix C). The significance is consistent when other control variables are factored into the analysis. Table 8 shows the correlation coefficients of the variables of interest, as well as any significance. The last model, labeled “Participation, controlling for demographics” tested for a relationship between participation and total intergroup contact, controlling for the rest of the variables of interest. Intergroup contact significantly predicted an individual’s level of participation ($b = 2.99$, $p < .001$). Intergroup contact remained significant with $p < .001$ throughout the models.

Table 8. OLS Regression of Total Participation Predicted by Intergroup Contact in the MTurk sample, Controlling for Attitudes and Demographics

	Participation	Participation, controlling for collectivism and legal authoritarianism	Participation, controlling for demographics
Intergroup contact	1.69***	1.72***	2.99***
Collectivism			
VC	--	-.016	-.026
HC	--	.085	.076
Legal authoritarianism	--	-.107	-.077
Female	--	--	.174
African American	--	--	-.747*
Other Minority	--	--	.380*
Adjusted R^2	.125	.137	.201
N	141	141	141
Note: * $p < .05$	** $p < .01$	*** $p < .001$	(this indicates the level of significance)

While not a focus of the initial hypothesis, it was also found that those who identified as a type of other minority (which includes Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, Native American, or another unspecified race) were correlated with greater levels of participation when controlled for intergroup contact, collectivism, legal authoritarianism and gender ($b = .380$, $p < .05$). It is interesting to note that identifying as African American negatively correlated with participation in the BLM movement when controlled for other variables. Those who identified as African American were less likely to participate in the BLM movement ($b = -0.747$, $p < .05$). Considering that the MTurk

sample was made up of 12.8% African Americans ($n = 18$), this finding may not be representative of the overall pattern in the U.S.

Hypothesis 2 for MTurk: Active Intergroup Contact

H2: Knowing people already in the movement is expected to predict higher amounts of an individual's participation in the movement.

The second hypothesis was supported in the MTurk sample. It was found that intergroup contact with a person already in the BLM movement predicted that an individual would be more likely to participate ($b = .572, p < .001$). Again, this finding replicates the results of McAdam (1986) in analyzing the Freedom Summer movement, in which it was found that having a relationship (friendship, etc.) with someone in the Freedom Summer movement proved to be correlated to the individual's participation in the movement.

Table 9. OLS Regression of Total Participation Predicted by Active Intergroup Contact in the MTurk sample, Controlling for Attitudes and Demographics

	Participation	Participation, controlling for collectivism and legal authoritarianism	Participation, controlling for demographics
Active intergroup contact	.640***	.619***	.572***
Collectivism			
VC	--	-.010	-.006
HC	--	.036	.045
Legal authoritarianism	--	-.055	-.056
Female	--	--	.168
African American	--	--	.278
Other Minority	--	--	.392*
Adjusted R^2	.174	.162	.197
N	141	141	141
Note: * $p < .05$	** $p < .01$	*** $p < .001$	(this indicates the level of significance)

While not a relationship of interest in Hypothesis 2, the model also found that identifying as a minority other than African American (which includes Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, Native American, or another unspecified race) predicted greater levels of participation when controlled for active intergroup contact, collectivism, legal authoritarianism and gender ($b = .392$, $p < .05$).

Hypothesis 3 for MTurk: Inactive Intergroup Contact

H3: Knowing people who have left the BLM movement—or no longer support the BLM movement—is expected to predict lower levels of participation in the BLM movement.

Similar to the SONA sample, this hypothesis was not supported in the MTurk sample. Table 10 outlines the regression models in the analysis for Hypothesis 3. The opposite effect was found to be significant, where knowing a person who has left the BLM movement, or no longer supports it, predicts greater levels of the individual's participation in the BLM movement ($b = .521, p < .05$).

A similar finding in Hypothesis 2 was found here as well. While not a relationship of interest in Hypothesis 3, the model also found that identifying as a minority other than African American (which includes Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, Native American, or another unspecified race) predicted greater levels of participation when controlled for inactive intergroup contact, collectivism, legal authoritarianism, gender, and identifying as African American ($b = .417, p < .05$). Overall, Hypothesis 3 for the MTurk sample was not supported by the findings in the data.

As stated before in the SONA results, this finding that contradicts the findings of McAdam (1986) can be explained by the differences in participation style and commitment in the Freedom Summer project versus the Black Lives Matter movement. Participation in McAdam's (1986) analysis was a long-term commitment—about three months—that required a week of training volunteers prior to being transported to the location where the protest was taking place. The BLM movement participation questions were varying levels of commitment (see Appendix C and D). While some types of participation was high-risk, and required travelling out of the individual's state, other

participation could be as low-risk as posting support on Facebook/other social media outlets, or attending a protest in the individual's local area. The BLM study's difference in determining what participation entails, compared to the Freedom Summer study, could be a reason that there was a large discrepancy in the resulting influence of inactive/withdrawn participants.

Table 10. OLS Regression of Total Participation Predicted by Inactive Intergroup Contact in the MTurk sample, Controlling for Attitudes and Demographics

	Participation	Participation, controlling for collectivism and legal authoritarianism	Participation, controlling for demographics
Inactive intergroup contact	.426	.521*	.521*
Collectivism			
VC	--	.010	.014
HC	--	.076	.079
Legal authoritarianism	--	-.158	-.150
Female	--	--	.243
African American	--	--	.352
Other Minority	--	--	.417*
Adjusted R^2	.014	.032	.094
N	141	141	141
Note: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ (this indicates the level of significance)			

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION

The focus of the research was to find what factors influence individuals to participate in social movements. The specific social movement focused on in this research was the Black Lives Matter movement. Through both the college student sample from SONA and the general sample from Mechanical Turk, intergroup contact with African Americans was found to be a predictor of participation in the BLM movement. Intergroup contact was further explored to see if McAdam's (1986) finding, which states that having contact with an agent in the movement or a prior agent in the movement would lead people to also participate and/or leave the Freedom Summer movement, would be replicated. Although the BLM study replicated the finding that contact with people already in the movement predicts greater levels of participation, the latter finding was not supported.

Because personalogical factors were also found to influence participation in social movements, two personalogical factors were included in the study (Finkelstein & Penner, 2004; Finkelstein, 2011; Cantril, 1941; Jenkins, 1983; Heberle, 1951; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998; Oberschall, 1973; McAdam, 1999a). An individual's predisposed level of collectivism was a personalogical factor that may have contributed to the amounts of participation a person would take part in, and therefore was included in the analyses to account for any effects that would have been attributed to collectivism. Legal authoritarianism was another personalogical factor that was essential to include, since the main motive of a social movement is a determining factor to whether or not a person may participate in the movement (Heberle, 1951; Oberschall, 1973; McAdam, 1999a). Because of the heavy focus on police corruption, police brutality, and biased U.S. legal

institutions, legal authoritarianism was included to account for the possible effects authoritarian views could have towards participation in the BLM movement.

Intergroup Contact as a Motive for Participation

Previous literature has discussed intergroup contact as a means to reduce prejudice (Allport, 1954; McAdam, 1986; Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Al Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003) and a means to elicit support for the Black Lives Matter movement (Selvanathan et al., 2017). This study takes support one step further and explored the effects that intergroup contact produced towards motivating individuals to *participate* in the Black Lives Matter movement. Supported by the findings in the study, for both samples of participants, it can be concluded that intergroup contact is an important influence when determining what motives individuals may have in participating in social movements—namely, the Black Lives Matter movement. Aside from intergroup contact with African Americans, contact with people who are actively in the BLM movement is also a motive for people to participate. This latter finding is consistent with the findings of McAdam (1986).

Contact with people who have withdrawn, or no longer support, the BLM movement also significantly *increased* an individual's level of participation. While this finding failed to support one of the study's initial hypotheses, it is a compelling finding that provides an understanding of how people are motivated in low-risk social activism. It may just be that intergroup contact with people who either participate or have participated in the BLM movement generally increases participation levels, because participating in the BLM movement can be done online, locally and/or in one's

immediate geographical area. The relationship between individuals and contact with inactive or withdrawn agents of the BLM movement needs to be further explored, in terms of high-risk versus low-risk participation. This can further expand our understanding of the type of social movement the BLM movement is, as well as how participation in social movements is changing in the technological world we live in today.

Limitations

One aspect of the survey's design may have produced a confound in the data collection. The SONA version of the survey allowed participants to select more than one ethnic category, yet the data analysis grouped ethnicity into either African American, Minority (Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic/Latino, Native American/American Indian, or Other), or White (which was the excluded category). This limitation was amended in the MTurk survey design, where participants were instructed to choose the ethnic category that best defined their racial identity. The assumptions that were made when grouping the SONA sample into ethnic categories presents a potential, although minor, confound in the data analysis. Because the variables of intergroup contact in the regression models were very significant ($p < .001$), it can be assumed that inaccurate grouping of the ethnic categories would not have made a large difference in the significance of the results.

Further Implications of the Study

The correlations in this research provide insight into how individuals may be motivated towards socially important action by the people and community around them. Social connection is an important factor when determining the motives of an individual's actions. Even when mediated by personal beliefs (collectivism) and personal ties (legal authoritarianism) to the message of the social movement, a person's level of intergroup

contact remained a significant and consistent predictor for participation. Exploration of this effect can be further studied through various types of social movements (e.g. women's rights, LGBTQ+ rights, gun violence, etc.) in order to determine the broader implications of intergroup contact in different social contexts.

The main relationship in question between intergroup contact and participation in the BLM movement, as outlined in Hypothesis 1, illustrates the influence of family, friends, and associates have to motivate an individual to engage in socially important actions. While the study found support for Hypothesis 2, support was not found for Hypothesis 3. The implications of the conclusive finding for Hypothesis 2 shows that more specific intergroup contact with people already actively participating of the BLM movement can be a predictor and motive for an individual's inclination to participate. McAdam (1986) finds that close personal relationships, such as ones of friendship, influence people to participate in movement more than weaker relationships, such as a relationship with a professional associate. This phenomenon was not studied in the BLM survey, but future studies can revise the survey to inquire about the closeness of the individual's relationship with the active participant in the movement. Overall, the findings of Hypothesis 1 and 2 depict the influence that friends and other associates play a large part in influencing one's actions, especially in the context of the BLM movement.

Human beings are influenced by social connections, which then influence actions. Further research on the breadth of this influence in terms of socially important action is warranted, in order to see the generalizability of the phenomenon of intergroup contact. Understanding how people are influenced in this sense provides necessary insight towards the underlying motives of social participation.

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APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL



University of Nevada, Reno
 Institutional Review Board
 Approved on: October 18, 2017

**University of Nevada, Reno
 Social Movement Participation Research Consent Form**

Title of Study: Social Motivations that Influence Participation In the Black Lives Matter Movement

Principle Investigator: Pamela Hong

Co-Investigators / Study Contact: pamelahong@nevada.unr.edu

Study ID Number: 1131439

Sponsor: University of Nevada, Reno

Introduction

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you agree to be in the study, read this form carefully. It explains why we are doing the study; and the procedures, risks, discomforts, benefits and precautions involved.

You do not have to be in this study. Your participation is voluntary. If you do not agree to participate, you can opt out of taking the survey.

Take as much time as you need to decide. If you agree now but change your mind, you may quit the study at any time. Just exit out of the survey.

Why are we doing this study?

We are doing this study to find out what factors influence people's motivations and tendencies to participate in socially important movements.

Benefits of research cannot be guaranteed but we hope to learn how different variables correlate in showing how individuals participate in social movements.

Why are we asking you to be in this study?

We are asking you to be in this study because you represent a typical citizen in our country with motivations to believe in and participate in national events.

How many people will be in this study?

We expect to enroll 200 participants.

What will you be asked to do if you agree to be in the study?

If you agree to be in this study you will be asked to complete a survey with a variety of demographic, personal tendency, perspective, and participation questions.

How long will you be in the study?

The study will take about 20-30 minutes of your time, and we ask that you fully complete it during this one session.

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT

Social Movement Participation Research Consent Form

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Before you agree to be in the study, read this form carefully.

You do not have to be in this study. Your participation is voluntary. If you do not agree to participate, you can opt out of taking the survey.

Take as much time as you need to decide. If you agree now but change your mind, you may quit the study at any time. Just exit out of the survey.

Why are we doing this study? We are doing this study to find out what factors influence people's motivations and tendencies to participate in socially important movements.

What will you be asked to do if you agree to be in the study? If you agree to be in this study you will be asked to complete a survey with a variety of demographic, personal tendency, perspective, and participation questions.

How long will you be in the study? The study will take about 20-30 minutes of your time, and we ask that you fully complete it during this one session.

What if you agree to be in the study now, but change your mind later? You do not have to stay in the study. You may withdraw from the study at any time by exiting out of the survey.

Will you be paid for being in this study? You will receive SONA credit for participating if you are a UNR student using the SONA system. (SONA is the online psychology department system and is the experimentation subject pool for research participation. You will receive 1 SONA (FEC) credit for completing this survey.)

OR

You will receive a monetary compensation of \$5 for participating if you are not using the SONA system at the university.

Who will know that you are in in this study and who will have access to the information we collect about you? The researchers, the University of Nevada, Reno Institutional Review Board, and UNR Department of Sociology will have access to your study records.

Who can you contact if you have questions about the study or want to report an injury? At any time, if you have questions about this study or wish to report an injury that may be related to your participation in this study, contact Pamela Hong at pamelahong@nevada.unr.edu or Clayton Peoples at peoplesc@unr.edu

Who can you contact if you want to discuss a problem or complaint about the research or ask about your rights as a research participant? You may discuss a problem or complaint or ask about your rights as a research participant by calling the University of Nevada, Reno Research Integrity Office at (775) 327-2368. You may also use the online *Contact the Research Integrity Office* form available from the *Contact Us* page of the University's Research Integrity Office website.

Agreement to be in study If you agree to participate in this study, please click the box next to "Yes."

Yes

No

APPENDIX C: SONA SURVEY QUESTIONS

Section A

This survey seeks to measure the factors that contribute to the tendencies of individuals to participate in social movements, specifically to the Black Lives Matter movement.

Definition of the BLM movement:

"Rooted in the experiences of Black people in this country who actively resist our dehumanization, #BlackLivesMatter is a call to action and a response to the virulent anti-Black racism that permeates our society. Black Lives Matter is a unique contribution that goes beyond extrajudicial killings of Black people by police and vigilantes.

Black Lives Matter is a chapter-based national organization working for the validity of Black life. We are working to (re)build the Black liberation movement."

(<http://blacklivesmatter.com/about/>)

Have you heard/are familiar with the Black Lives Matter movement?

Yes

No

Demographics

What is your...

Age

Major (field of study)

Gender

Male Female Other

Race/ethnicity (select all that apply):

African-American

Asian/Pacific Islander

Hispanic/Latino

Caucasian

Native American/American Indian

Other

Class standing

Freshman

Sophomore

Junior

Senior

5th year

6th year

Grad student

Political affiliation

Democrat Republican Nonpartisan Other

Political ideology

Very liberal Liberal Somewhat liberal

Somewhat conservative Conservative Very conservative

Employment status (select all that apply): Are you currently...

- Employed for wages
- Self-employed
- Out of work and looking for work
- Out of work but not currently looking for work
- A homemaker
- A student
- Military
- Retired
- Unemployed

How would you describe your social class or status of family?

lower class lower middle class middle class upper middle class upper class

Section B**Intergroup questions**

Please indicate the **number** of people you know, corresponding to the questions:

(Do not leave blank. If it's zero, please indicate that using "0")

In college, (and taking into account past friends you still are in constant contact with), how many of your friends are...

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

How many of your neighbors are...

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

How many of your family friends are...

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

How many of your coworkers/affiliates (i.e. Greek life, clubs & orgs, etc.) are...

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

How many of your relatives are...

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

How many of your teachers, professors, mentors, advisors, etc. are...

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

How many of your doctors, dentists, health professionals, etc. are...

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

Social media following: How many people do you follow, like pages, or subscribe to who are (including celebrities)....

African-American	<input type="text"/>
Asian/Pacific Islander	<input type="text"/>
Hispanic/Latino	<input type="text"/>
Caucasian/White	<input type="text"/>
Native American or American Indian	<input type="text"/>

These next questions are specific to the **Black Lives Matter** movement:

Do you have friends (or people you know) who are currently active in the BLM movement?

- Yes
- No

If so, how many them are...

African-American

Asian/Pacific Islander

Hispanic/Latino

Caucasian/White

Native American or American Indian

Do you have friends (or people you know) who have left the BLM movement, or are no longer part of it?

Yes

No

If so, how many them are...

African-American

Asian/Pacific Islander

Hispanic/Latino

Caucasian/White

Native American or American Indian

Section C

Individualism vs. Collectivism

Please rate how much the following statements are or are not characteristic of your personality.

	To what extent do these statements describe you?								
	Definitely not me	Mostly unlike me	Unlike me	Somewhat unlike me	Neutral	Somewhat like me	Like me	Mostly like me	Definitely like me
I'd rather depend on myself than others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I often do my own things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I rely on others most of the time; I rarely rely on myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important that I do my job better than others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Winning is everything.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Competition is the law of nature.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The well-being of my coworkers is important to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To me, pleasure is spending time with others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel good when I cooperate with others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Parents and children must stay together as much as possible.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Which one of these is the movement this survey is focusing on?

- Feminist movement
- Pro-life movement
- Black Lives Matter movement
- LGBTQ movement
- Pro-choice movement
- Anti-war movement

Section E

Participation in BLM

Reminder of the definition of the BLM movement:

"Rooted in the experiences of Black people in this country who actively resist our dehumanization, #BlackLivesMatter is a call to action and a response to the virulent anti-Black racism that permeates our society. Black Lives Matter is a unique contribution that goes beyond extrajudicial killings of Black people by police and vigilantes.

Black Lives Matter is a chapter-based national organization working for the validity of Black life. We are working to (re)build the Black liberation movement."

(<http://blacklivesmatter.com/about/>)

Do you support the Black Lives Matter movement?

- Yes
 No

How would you judge your participation in the BLM movement?

Do you...

	Not at all	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All the time
Like/share Facebook, or other social media, posts concerning the movement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Actively comment opinions on Facebook/social media outlets/etc.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in talks/forums in your community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in protests/marches in your community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in talks/forums in a more national setting (i.e. traveling out-of-state)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participate in protests/marches in a more national setting (i.e. traveling out-of-state)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Contact or send letters to <u>state</u> representatives	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Contact or send letters to <u>national</u> representatives	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Join clubs or formal organizations <u>in your area</u> supporting the BLM movement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Join <u>nationwide</u> clubs or formal organizations supporting the BLM movement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Start clubs or formal organizations <u>in your area</u> supporting the BLM movement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Start clubs or formal organizations <u>nationally</u> supporting the BLM movement	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

APPENDIX D: MTURK SURVEY QUESTIONS (Demographics only*)

***Note:** Only the Demographics section is different from the first survey. Everything from “Intergroup Questions” until the end is the same (see Appendix C).

Demographics

What is your...

Age

Major (field of study)

Gender

Male Female Other

Race/ethnicity (select the one that best identifies you):

- African-American
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Hispanic/Latino
- Caucasian
- Native American/American Indian
- Other

What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? (If currently enrolled, highest degree received):

- No schooling completed
- Nursery school to 8th grade
- Some high school, no diploma
- High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent (for example: GED)
- Some college credit, no degree
- Trade/technical/vocational training
- Associate degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Professional degree (for example: LCSW)
- Doctorate degree

Political affiliation

- Democrat Republican Nonpartisan Other

Political ideology

- Very liberal Liberal Somewhat liberal
- Somewhat conservative Conservative Very conservative

Employment status (select all that apply): Are you currently...

- Employed for wages
- Self-employed
- Out of work and looking for work
- Out of work but not currently looking for work
- A homemaker
- A student
- Military
- Retired
- Unemployed

How would you describe your social class or status of family?

- lower class lower middle class middle class upper middle class upper class