

What Benefits the Group Can Also Benefit the Individual: Group-Enhancing and Individual-Enhancing Motives for Collective Action

Linda R. Tropp and Amy C. Brown
Department of Psychology, Boston College

Most collective action research focuses on how concerns for the welfare of one's group can motivate support for collective action. By contrast, little research has examined how motivations for enhancing oneself as an individual may also predict support for collective action, and how these motivations relate to feelings of identification with one's group. This research tests whether motivations for individual enhancement can predict support for collective action, beyond what can be predicted by motivations for group enhancement. With an undergraduate sample, Study 1 shows that individual enhancement significantly predicts interest and involvement in collective action beyond what can be predicted by concerns for group enhancement. Study 2 replicates these findings in a community sample of women, while also demonstrating that the motivation for individual enhancement mediates the relationship between group identification and collective action. Implications of these findings for future research on collective action are discussed.

KEYWORDS collective action, group identification, individual self-enhancement, relative deprivation

SOCIAL and economic inequality with regards to status and resources is a characteristic common to most societies (Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Responses to such inequality on the part of disadvantaged

Author's note

Address correspondence to Linda R. Tropp, Department of Psychology, McGuinn Hall, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02467 USA [email: tropp@bc.edu]

groups may take many forms, including denial or inaction, cognitive and/or affective responses, and in some cases, specific behaviors designed to promote the welfare of one's group (see Wright & Tropp, 2002, for a recent review). This final response falls under the rubric of *collective action*, where group members act as representatives of their group in order to improve the situation of the entire group (Simon, 1998; Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). Thus, collective action is understood as being guided by one's self-representation as a group member and as intended to bring about a change for one's group as a whole (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Simon and his colleagues (Simon et al., 1998; Simon, Sturmer, & Steffens, 2000; Sturmer, Simon, Loewy, & Jorger, 2003) propose that when group identities become salient, there will be a shift in focus from the individual to the group, such that collective action will be motivated primarily by concern for and obligation to one's group, and less by egoistic concerns of the individual (see also Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Tropp & Wright, 1999). In line with this view, motivations based in concerns about the welfare of one's group, such as considering one's group to be deprived, have commonly been shown to predict collective action among members of disadvantaged groups (e.g. Abrams, 1990; Grant & Brown, 1995; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright & Tropp, 2002).

Although there is little doubt that such group-enhancing motivations are extremely important for understanding the bases of collective action, researchers have begun to consider how motivations of the individual may also relate to collective action and participation in social movements (see Stryker, Owens, & White, 2000, for a recent review). Specifically, both Gecas (2000) and Owens and Aronson (2000) speak to the importance of *individual enhancement* motives, noting that people participate in social movements to the extent that participation makes them feel they are doing something important and contributes to their feelings of personal self-worth. Similarly, research on volunteerism has

proposed that volunteering may serve several functions for the individual, including providing them with opportunities to enhance how they feel about themselves (Clary et al., 1998; Snyder & Omoto, 2001). Taken together, these perspectives suggest that people may take part in collective action not only to promote the welfare of their groups, but also because it makes them feel good about themselves as individuals.

Research from the social identity perspective offers some insights regarding why participation in collective action may be individually self-enhancing for members of disadvantaged groups. When group memberships are salient, individuals rely on their group memberships as bases for self-definition and self-evaluation (Hogg, 2003; Tajfel, 1981; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In these contexts, individuals begin to think and act as group members, using the ingroup as a guide for behavior and doing their part to support their groups (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1982). Moreover, as individuals become more identified with their groups, they become more attracted to ingroup members and have particularly positive evaluations of those who excel in representing the group's values and interests (Hogg, Cooper-Shaw, & Holzworth, 1993; Hogg & Hardie, 1992; Hogg, Hardie, & Reynolds, 1995). Applying these themes to research on collective action, it therefore seems likely that as group membership becomes increasingly relevant, group members would evaluate themselves more positively to the extent that they take action to promote and represent their groups. In line with this view, Turner et al. (1987) propose that evaluations of group members, including oneself, are likely to depend on the degree to which those members support the values and interests of the ingroup. Thus, above and beyond motivations concerning the welfare of one's group, engaging in collective action on behalf of the group may carry the added benefit of enhancing how individual group members feel about themselves. The present research addresses these issues by testing whether a motivation for individual enhancement can predict support for collective

action, beyond what can be predicted by a motivation for group enhancement.

This research also examines whether a motivation for individual enhancement mediates the relationship between identifying with one's group and engaging in collective action to promote one's group. Although a substantial amount of research has shown that greater identification is associated with greater support for collective action (e.g. Brewer & Silver, 2000; Kelly & Kelly, 1994; Klandermans & de Weerd, 2000; Simon et al., 1998; Wright & Tropp, 2002), little is known about the processes that may underlie this relationship (see Sturmer et al., 2003). It seems likely that the more strongly we identify with our groups, the more that engaging in activities to promote the group's welfare should enhance how we feel about ourselves. In turn, the more we find such activities to be individually self-enhancing, the more inclined we should be to engage in collective action.

In sum, the present research examines the motivation for individual enhancement as a predictor for collective action, along with exploring the role it may play in shaping relationships between group identification and collective action. Specifically, it is predicted that motivation for individual enhancement will predict collective action, beyond what can be predicted by concerns for group enhancement. It is also predicted that motivation for individual enhancement will correlate positively with group identification, such that engaging in collective action will be more individually enhancing for individuals who are more strongly identified with their groups. Finally, it is predicted that motivation for individual enhancement will mediate relationships between group identification and collective action, such that group identification will predict collective action to the extent that involvement in collective action enhances how group members feel about themselves.

In considering these issues, the present research also examines patterns of prediction for two ways in which support for collective action might be expressed. Much of the psychological research has focused on predicting interest in collective action (Abrams, 1990;

Grant & Brown, 1995; Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988). We seek, however, to predict both interest and actual participation in collective action efforts (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Klandermans, 1997; Walker & Mann, 1987). Collective action can be construed in a number of ways ranging from ideological support to participation in organized activities (Agronick & Duncan, 1998), yet intentions to engage in collective action may not always translate into actual collective action behaviors (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Ratner & Miller, 2001). Thus, we consider both interest and involvement as we examine potential predictors of collective action.

The research addresses these questions within the context of women's interest and involvement in collective action for women's issues. Women's rights activism has historically occupied a prominent place in research on collective action (Duncan, 1999; Gurin, 1985; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996). Consistent with earlier work on women's participation (see Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996), we include a broad range of behaviors as possible forms of collective action, ranging from those involving little effort (e.g. signing a petition) to activities requiring substantial personal engagement (e.g. speaking up at a demonstration).

Two studies examined group-enhancing and individual-enhancing motives as predictors for interest and involvement in collective action in support of women's issues. The first study involved a sample of undergraduate women, recruited from both psychology and gender-related courses, to attempt to include individuals with and without particular interest in women's issues. For our second study, we collected a community sample of women from a large metropolitan area, since there are likely to be qualitative differences between the lives of women in a college environment and those living and working outside of that environment.

Study 1

Method

Sample A total of 126 female undergraduates completed a questionnaire in exchange for

research participation credit or having their names entered in a raffle drawing. They were recruited through psychology courses (Introduction to Psychology, Statistics) and classes relating to gender issues (Psychology of Gender, Introduction to Feminism) at a private university in the northeast United States. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 23 (mean age = 19.92 years): 78% were European American, 4% were African American, 6% were Latina, 5% were Asian American, and 7% were of mixed heritage.

Measures

Interest and involvement in collective action

Two sets of 10 items assessed participants' interest and involvement in collective action behaviors (see Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996). Participants rated the extent to which they were willing to engage in, and had previously engaged in, a range of collective action behaviors pertaining to women's issues (e.g. *Attend demonstrations, protests or rallies about women's issues*; $\alpha = .94$ for interest, $.92$ for involvement). Item responses ranged from 1 (not at all/never) to 7 (very willing/very often).

Predictor variables

Group deprivation Group deprivation was assessed using four items from Kelly and Breinlinger (1996) concerning how participants compared the status of women relative to men (e.g. *In terms of power and status in society, women do not get treated as well as most men*; $\alpha = .76$). Item responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Group identification Four items assessed participants' identification with women as a group (e.g. *I identify strongly as a woman, I feel strong ties with women in general*; $\alpha = .82$), paralleling items commonly used in the social identity literature (see Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, & Williams, 1986). Item responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Individual enhancement Individual enhancement was measured using four items adapted from the Enhancement subscale of the Volunteer Functions Inventory (Clary et al., 1998).

These items assessed positive regard for oneself as an individual resulting from collective involvement for one's group (e.g. *Getting involved in women's issues increases my self-esteem, Getting involved in women's issues makes me feel important*; $\alpha = .86$).

Results

Preliminary analyses revealed that scores on interest and involvement were highly correlated ($r(126) = .67$, $p < .001$), and that participants reported greater *interest* in collective action ($M = 4.80$) than actual *involvement* in collective action behaviors ($M = 2.99$) ($t(126) = 20.20$, $p < .001$). Correlations then examined relationships between group identification and individual enhancement, and how the predictor variables related to interest and involvement in collective action. After centering the predictor variables (Aiken & West, 1991), regression analyses were conducted to predict interest and involvement in collective action, with group deprivation, group identification, and individual enhancement entered as predictors.¹ A hierarchical regression approach was chosen to test whether individual enhancement could predict interest and involvement beyond what could be predicted by deprivation and identification, which have commonly been identified as predictors for collective action in the research literature (see Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright & Tropp, 2002).

Correlations Table 1 provides correlations for interest and involvement with the predictor variables. Both group deprivation and group identification were significantly related to interest in collective action, yet only group identification was significantly associated with involvement. At the same time, individual enhancement correlated significantly with both interest and involvement in collective action.

Preliminary correlations also examined the degree to which the predictor variables were related to each other, and tolerance values were estimated as a check for multicollinearity (see Pedhazur, 1997). Correlations between the predictor variables ranged from .06 to .17: while in the predicted positive direction, the relationship

Table 1. Correlations of predictor variables with interest and involvement in collective action (Study 1)

Predictor variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Interest	Involvement
Group deprivation	5.31	0.96	.30**	.11
Group identification	5.66	1.03	.55***	.31***
Individual enhancement	4.96	1.29	.25**	.29***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Notes: $N = 126$ for all variables. Using 7-point scales, scores on the group deprivation measure ranged from 2.75 to 7.0, scores on the group identification measure ranged from 2.5 to 7.0, and scores on the individual enhancement measure ranged from 1.0 to 7.0. Additionally, scores on interest ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.23$) ranged from 1.0 to 7.0, and scores on involvement ($M = 2.99$, $SD = 1.25$) ranged from 1.0 to 6.6.

between group identification and individual enhancement was not significant ($r(126) = .12$, $p = .18$). Tolerance values ranged from .96 to .98. All of the variables were then used as separate predictors in subsequent analyses.

Regression analyses Two separate hierarchical regression analyses examined the degree to which group deprivation, group identification, and individual enhancement would predict interest and involvement in collective action. Group deprivation and group identification were entered at Step 1. Individual enhancement was entered at Step 2, to test whether it could uniquely account for significant additional variance in collective action.²

Interest in collective action The regression model for interest was significant at Step 1 ($R^2 = .35$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 123) = 32.83$, $p < .001$) (see Table 2). Group deprivation and group identification

were significant predictors at Step 1 and Step 2. As predicted, individual enhancement was a significant predictor at Step 2 ($\beta = .18$), contributing to a significant R^2 increment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .03$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 122) = 6.05$, $p < .05$).

Involvement in collective action The regression model for involvement was significant at Step 1 ($R^2 = .10$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 123) = 6.64$, $p < .01$) (see Table 3). Group identification, but not group deprivation, was a significant predictor at Step 1 and Step 2. As predicted, individual enhancement was a significant predictor at Step 2, contributing to a significant R^2 increment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .06$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 122) = 9.12$, $p < .01$).

Discussion

Consistent with earlier work, the results of Study 1 revealed that identifying with one's group and seeing one's group as deprived predict support for collective action (Abrams,

Table 2. Summary of hierarchical regression analysis predicting interest in collective action (Study 1)

Predictor variables	Step 1			Step 2		
	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>
Group deprivation	.28**	.22**	.21**	.27**	.21**	.20**
Group identification	.61***	.51***	.51***	.59***	.49***	.48***
Individual enhancement				.17*	.18*	.18*
R^2		.35***			.38***	
R^2 change		.35***			.03*	
F change		32.83***			6.05*	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note: *B* = raw regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; *sr* = semi-partial correlation.

Table 3. Summary of hierarchical regression analysis predicting involvement in collective action (Study 1)

Predictor variables	Step 1			Step 2		
	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>
Group deprivation	.07	.06	.06	.06	.05	.05
Group identification	.36***	.30***	.29***	.33**	.27**	.26**
Individual enhancement				.25**	.25**	.25**
R^2		.10**			.16***	
R^2 change		.10**			.06**	
<i>F</i> change		6.64**			9.12**	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note: *B* = raw regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; *sr* = semi partial correlation.

1990; Brewer & Silver, 2000; Kelly & Kelly, 1994; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright & Tropp, 2002). At the same time, the results diverge from those of previous research in some notable ways. Specifically, while both group deprivation and group identification were significantly associated with interest in collective action, only group identification was a significant predictor of involvement in collective action. To date, most research and theory concerning collective action has been based on studies of willingness to engage in collective action behaviors (e.g. Grant & Brown, 1995; Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988). Consistent with the social identity perspective, this work has generally shown that seeing one's group as deprived is likely to promote interest in collective action, since it provokes enhanced concern for the welfare of the group (Abrams, 1990; Grant & Brown, 1995; Walker & Mann, 1987). However, results from Study 1 suggest that actual involvement may, at least in part, depend on the degree to which motivations pertaining to group membership are also relevant to the individual's experience as a group member (see Ratner & Miller, 2001 for a related argument). Indeed, in the present study, only the motivation rooted in the individual's experience of group membership (i.e. group identification) predicted actual involvement in collective action, whereas one pertaining to the group as a whole (i.e. group deprivation) did not.

Findings involving individual enhancement lend some additional support to the notion that

the individuals' experiences may be especially important for motivating participation in collective action. Individual enhancement significantly predicted both interest and involvement beyond what could be predicted by group deprivation. These results suggest that rather than being motivated solely by concerns for the welfare of the group, group enhancement and individual enhancement concerns may both contribute to a person's support for collective action.

Still, findings from this study do not support the prediction that a motivation for individual enhancement would mediate the relationship between group identification and support for collective action. Instead, in this sample, group identification and individual enhancement were not significantly correlated, and each uniquely contributed to the prediction of interest and involvement in collective action. Group identification and individual enhancement do not appear to be tightly associated in this sample of undergraduate women. Since the college years are often a critical time for self-exploration and political engagement (see Loeb & Magee, 1992; Sears, 1986), it is plausible to speculate that the college-aged women in our sample are just beginning to become involved in collective action and to see their involvement as a means for expressing their commitment to the group. Thus, a second study was conducted to examine these relationships in a community sample of women, as women of varying ages may have had a broader

range of opportunities to become involved in collective action for their group (see Agronick & Duncan, 1998).³

Although the basic format of Study 2 was very similar to Study 1, some measures were added to the questionnaires distributed to participants. First, since results from Study 1 showed that the variables predicting involvement denoted some degree of personal relevance, we added a measure of personal deprivation, so that we could assess deprivation at both the personal and group levels (see Foster & Matheson, 1999; Smith & Ortiz, 2002). Paralleling the group deprivation items originally developed by Kelly and Breinlinger (1996), we created a personal deprivation measure, in which participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they personally feel deprived relative to men.

Additionally, we added measures to assess a number of demographic variables, to see the degree to which they might relate to women's interest and involvement in collective action. Specifically, we asked women to report their economic background, level of education, and political ideology. Prior research has shown such variables to relate to an awareness of disadvantage and social movement participation (Duncan, 1999; Klandermans & de Weerd, 2000). We also asked women to report the number of hours they worked each week, and the number of children they had. It is conceivable that these kinds of commitments might limit women's opportunities to engage in collective action (see Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Klandermans, 1997).

Study 2

Method

Sample A total of 161 women participated in exchange for having their names entered into a raffle drawing. Their ages ranged from 18 to 74 (mean age = 34.15 years): 82% were European American, 8% were African American, 3% were Latina, 4% were Asian American, and 2% described themselves as being of mixed heritage. They were approached in a wide variety of neighborhoods and locations in the Boston metropolitan area (e.g. laundromats,

mall, beauty salons, and administrative offices) and asked to complete a questionnaire.

Measures Participants completed identical versions of all of the measures used in Study 1, along with a measure of personal deprivation and items pertaining to several demographic variables.

Personal deprivation The four items used to assess group deprivation in Study 1 (see Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996) were adapted to create a personal deprivation measure, in which participants were asked to compare their own personal standing relative to most men (e.g. *In terms of power and status in society, I do not get treated as well as most men*; $\alpha = .90$). Item responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Demographic variables In three separate items, participants indicated their economic background, level of education, and political ideology using 7-point scales (e.g. ranging from 1 (lower working class) to 7 (upper class)). Higher scores represented higher socioeconomic status, higher levels of education, and more liberal political attitudes, respectively. Overall, 22.8% of the sample indicated they were from a working class background, 11.8% from a lower-middle class background, 41.8% from a middle class background, and 23.5% from an upper-middle class background ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.43$). Additionally, 5.8% of the sample listed some high school or a high school diploma/General Equivalency Degree (GED) as their highest level of education, 31.0% had some college education or a vocational/technical degree, 28.4% had a college or university diploma, 9.7% had some graduate training, and 24.2% had a graduate degree ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.66$). In terms of political ideology, 15.0% of the sample described themselves as conservative, 24.2% described themselves as moderate, and 60.8% described themselves as liberal ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.46$).

In two additional items, participants also indicated the number of hours they worked each week, and the number of children they had.

Results

As in Study 1, preliminary analyses revealed that interest and involvement were highly correlated ($r(160) = .72, p < .001$), and that participants were more *willing* to engage in collective action behaviors ($M = 4.85$) than to actually *participate* in such behaviors ($M = 3.40$) ($t(160) = 16.89, p < .001$).

Data from Study 2 were analyzed in the same manner as in Study 1. However, two additional analyses should be noted. Correlations were conducted between the demographic variables and interest and involvement, to examine whether any of the demographic variables were significantly associated with collective action. Partial correlations were also conducted between the predictor variables and the collective action measures, controlling for those demographic variables that were significantly correlated with collective action.

After centering the predictor variables (Aiken & West, 1991), regression analyses were used to predict interest and involvement in collective action, with the demographic, deprivation, identification, and individual enhancement variables entered as predictors. As in Study 1, a hierarchical approach was chosen to test whether individual enhancement could predict interest and involvement beyond what could be predicted by variables entered at the earlier stages of analysis.

Correlations Table 4 provides the correlations between the demographic variables and interest and involvement in collective action. Only political ideology and level of education were significantly associated with interest and involvement in collective action. Greater interest and involvement were associated with more liberal political attitudes and higher levels of education.

Table 5 provides correlations between the collective action measures and personal deprivation, group deprivation, group identification, and individual enhancement, both with and without controlling for political ideology and level of education. Interest and involvement were significantly associated with all of the predictor variables, and these relationships remained significant when controlling for political ideology and level of education. Group identification and individual enhancement were also significantly correlated ($r(157) = .33, p < .001$), and this relationship remained significant at the .001 level after controlling for political ideology and level of education.

Additional correlations examined the degree to which all the predictor variables were related to each other, and tolerance values were estimated as a check for multicollinearity (see Pedhazur, 1997). With one exception, correlations between the predictor variables were low to moderate, with values ranging from .05 to

Table 4. Correlations between demographic variables and interest and involvement in collective action (Study 2)

Demographic variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Interest	Involvement
Economic background	4.46	1.43	.10	.05
Hours of employment	31.39	17.70	.04	.04
Number of children	0.76	1.33	-.11	-.08
Level of education	4.85	1.66	.17*	.27***
Political ideology	4.92	1.46	.40***	.39***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Notes: $N = 153$ to 161. Scores on the economic background measure ranged from 1 (lower working class) to 6 (upper middle class), scores on the level of education measure ranged from 1 (some high school) to 7 (graduate degree), and scores on the political ideology measure ranged from 1 (extremely conservative) to 7 (extremely liberal). Hours of employment ranged from 0 to 65, and number of children ranged from 0 to 8. Scores on both interest ($M = 4.85, SD = 1.42$) and involvement ($M = 3.39, SD = 1.50$) ranged from 1 to 7.

Table 5. Correlations of predictor variables with interest and involvement in collective action, both with and without controlling for political ideology and level of education (Study 2)

Predictor variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Interest		Involvement	
			<i>r</i>	<i>partial r</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>partial r</i>
Personal deprivation	3.80	1.71	.37***	.34***	.38***	.37***
Group deprivation	4.98	1.58	.42***	.37***	.36***	.27***
Group identification	5.82	1.15	.37***	.31***	.28***	.22**
Individual enhancement	3.50	1.94	.52***	.47***	.48***	.46***

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Notes: *partial r* = partial correlation, controlling for political ideology and level of education. $N = 157$ to 161. Using 7-point scales, scores on the personal deprivation, group deprivation, group identification, and individual enhancement measures all ranged from 1 to 7.

.33, and tolerance values ranging from .82 to .93. However, scores on the two deprivation measures were highly correlated ($r(159) = .73$, $p < .001$), corresponding with lower tolerance values (.43 to .44). The two measures were therefore combined into a composite measure of perceived deprivation for data analysis ($\alpha = .84$), but supplementary analyses will be reported in cases where personal and group deprivation showed different patterns of prediction for collective action.

Regression analyses As in Study 1, two separate hierarchical regression analyses examined the degree to which deprivation, identification, and individual enhancement could predict interest and involvement in collective action. Given the

significant relationships between political ideology and level of education and the collective action measures, these two demographic variables were entered at Step 1. Perceived deprivation and group identification were entered at Step 2. Individual enhancement was then entered at Step 3, to test whether it could uniquely account for significant additional variance in collective action.⁴

Interest in collective action Table 6 summarizes the results of the regression analysis for interest in collective action.⁵ The regression model was significant at Step 1 ($R^2 = .17$, $F_{\text{change}}(2,143) = 14.23$, $p < .001$). Only political ideology was a significant predictor at Step 1. At Step 2, both perceived deprivation and group identification

Table 6. Summary of hierarchical regression analysis predicting interest in collective action (Study 2)

Predictor variables	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>
Political ideology	.28***	.28***	.27***	.23***	.23***	.21***	.27***	.28***	.24***
Level of education	.06	.07	.07	.06	.07	.07	.05	.06	.05
Perceived deprivation				.30***	.32***	.32***	.26***	.28***	.27***
Group identification				.33***	.26***	.25***	.19*	.15*	.14*
Individual enhancement							.26***	.35***	.32***
R^2		.17***			.35***			.45***	
R^2 change		.17***			.18***			.10***	
F change		14.23***			19.82***			25.35***	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note: *B* = raw regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; *sr* = semi-partial correlation.

emerged as significant predictors, contributing to a significant R^2 increment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .18$, $F_{\text{change}}(2,141) = 19.82$, $p < .001$). Supplementary analyses revealed that, when entered as separate predictors in the regression model, group deprivation uniquely predicted interest in collective action ($\beta = .22$, $t = 2.08$, $p < .05$), whereas personal deprivation did not ($\beta = .13$, $t = 1.27$, $p = .21$). At Step 3, group identification became a somewhat weaker predictor, and, as predicted, individual enhancement was a significant predictor, contributing once again to a significant R^2 increment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .10$, $F_{\text{change}}(1,140) = 25.35$, $p < .001$).

Involvement in collective action Table 7 summarizes the results of the regression analysis for involvement in collective action.⁶ The regression model was significant at Step 1 ($R^2 = .18$, $F_{\text{change}}(2,143) = 15.26$, $p < .001$). Both political ideology and level of education were significant predictors. At Step 2, both perceived deprivation and group identification were significant predictors, contributing to a significant R^2 increment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .12$, $F_{\text{change}}(2,141) = 12.43$, $p < .001$). In contrast to the analysis for interest, supplementary analyses showed that when entered as separate predictors, personal deprivation uniquely predicted involvement in collective action ($\beta = .31$, $t = 2.96$, $p < .01$), while group deprivation did not ($\beta = .01$, $t = .07$, $p = .95$). At Step 3, group identification was no longer a significant predictor for involvement,

and, as predicted, individual enhancement was a significant predictor, contributing once again to a significant R^2 increment ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .10$, $F_{\text{change}}(1,140) = 24.43$, $p < .001$).

The mediating role of individual enhancement

Since group identification became a weaker predictor for interest, and did not remain a significant predictor for involvement, once individual enhancement was entered into the model, separate mediation analyses were conducted for both interest and involvement. Following the guidelines proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986), mediation models were constructed to test whether individual enhancement serves as a mediator of the relationship between group identification (independent variable) and interest and involvement in collective action (dependent variables).

Figure 1 shows standardized coefficients for the mediation models involving individual enhancement, with respect to predicting interest and involvement in collective action. The results reveal that individual enhancement partially mediates the relationship between group identification and interest in collective action ($z = 3.52$, $p < .01$), such that group identification is a significantly weaker predictor once individual enhancement is entered into the model. At the same time, individual enhancement fully mediates the relationship between group identification and involvement in collective action ($z = 3.45$, $p < .01$), such that

Table 7. Summary of hierarchical regression analysis predicting involvement in collective action (Study 2)

Predictor variables	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>	<i>B</i>	β	<i>sr</i>
Political ideology	.34***	.33***	.32***	.27***	.26***	.24***	.21**	.20**	.19**
Level of education	.18*	.19*	.19*	.15*	.17*	.16*	.15*	.16*	.16*
Perceived deprivation				.30***	.30***	.30***	.25***	.25***	.24***
Group identification				.22*	.16*	.16*	.07	.05	.05
Individual enhancement							.28***	.36***	.32***
R^2		.18***			.30***			.40***	
R^2 change		.18***			.12***			.10***	
F change		15.23***			12.43***			24.43***	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Note: *B* = raw regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; *sr* = semi-partial correlation.

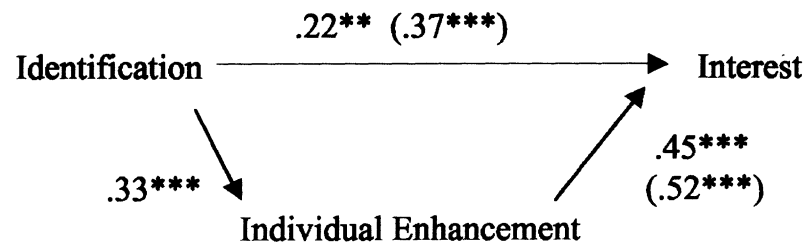
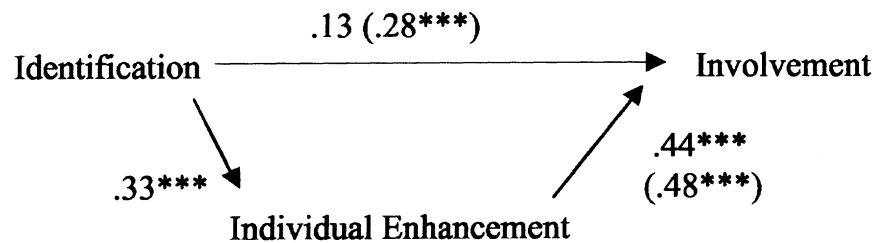
Interest in Collective Action*Involvement in Collective Action*

Figure 1. Individual enhancement as a mediator between group identification and collective action (Study 2).
 * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Notes: In cases where two sets of numbers are presented, numbers appearing outside of the parentheses are the standardized coefficients when both identification and individual enhancement are entered as predictors for the collective action measure in question. Numbers appearing within parentheses are the standardized coefficients representing total effects between the predictor variable and the collective action measure in question.

group identification is no longer a significant predictor of involvement once individual enhancement is entered into the model.

Discussion

Complementing results from Study 1, results from Study 2 indicate that both concerns for group enhancement and individual enhancement contribute meaningfully to the prediction of interest and involvement in collective action. Perceived deprivation and individual enhancement both correlate significantly with interest and involvement. Furthermore, while perceived deprivation significantly predicts interest and involvement, individual enhance-

ment predicts both interest and involvement beyond what was predicted by deprivation alone. These results suggest that, beyond the group-enhancing motivations commonly considered in collective action research, motivations for individual enhancement can also contribute substantially to the prediction of collective action.

Additionally, in line with our hypotheses, results revealed that group identification and individual enhancement were significantly related, such that participants with higher levels of group identification were more likely to report that participating in collective action for the group enhances how they feel about

themselves. Moreover, results showed that individual enhancement partially mediated the relationship between group identification and interest, while fully mediating the relationship between group identification and involvement. Together, these results suggest that engaging in collective action on behalf of one's group can be enhancing for individual group members, to the extent that those group members identify strongly with their groups.

An added strength of this study is that the results were obtained in a community sample of women, where participants varied considerably in terms of their economic backgrounds, levels of education, and commitments at work and at home. While researchers have noted that contextual factors can often pose considerable barriers to participation (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Simon, 1998), the results showed that factors such as work and family commitments were generally unrelated to women's interest and involvement in collective action. The observed patterns of relationships appear to be fairly robust across women's varied life circumstances.

General discussion

Overall, findings from the present studies suggest that motivations both for group enhancement and individual enhancement can contribute significantly to the prediction of interest and involvement in collective action. While motivations associated with group disadvantage and promoting the group's welfare have long been recognized as predictors for collective action (Abrams, 1990; Grant & Brown, 1995; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright & Tropp, 2002), these results indicate that motivations of individual group members should also be taken into account. As such, we believe it may be useful to extend our conceptualizations of the motivations that underlie collective action. Collective action is commonly viewed as consisting of behaviors designed to promote the welfare of one's group (see Simon, 1998; Wright et al., 1990). However, findings from both studies suggest that collective action

may not only serve to benefit the group as a whole, but may also provide a route for individuals to enhance how they feel about themselves as individuals.

Moreover, results from the community sample (Study 2) indicate that group identification not only correlates significantly with individual-enhancing motivations for collective action, but that individual enhancement mediates the relationships between group identification and collective action. These findings may be seen as consistent with research from the social identity perspective, which suggests that the more people become identified with their groups, the more positively they evaluate group members who stand for the group's values and interests (Hogg et al., 1993, 1995; Hogg & Hardie, 1992). Additionally, the findings nicely extend this research by showing that these tendencies apply to individuals' evaluations of themselves (see Turner et al., 1987), and that a motivation for individual enhancement may drive group members' participation in collective action. Thus, at the same time as individuals engage in collective action on behalf of their group, their involvement can also provide a means of enhancing how they feel about themselves.

Still, we should note that the present research does not include a direct measure of group-enhancing motivation, to serve as a counterpart to the individual-enhancing motivation that we identified in this research. Our work has grown from the extensive research literature on relative deprivation, which shows strong relationships between concern for the welfare of one's group and support for collective action on behalf of one's group (Abrams, 1990; Smith & Ortiz, 2002; Walker & Mann, 1987; Wright & Tropp, 2002). But some recent work suggests that an inner sense of obligation to one's group may underlie relationships between group identification and a willingness to engage in collective action for one's group (see Sturmer et al., 2003). Future research should more directly test both group-enhancing and individual-enhancing motivations as potential mediators of the relationships between group identification and collective action.

It is also important to note some differences in the patterns of effects between the two samples. In particular, individual enhancement did not mediate the relationship between group identification and collective action in the college sample (Study 1), while individual enhancement did mediate this relationship in the community sample (Study 2). In part, these patterns of findings may reflect differences in experiences between participants from the two samples, as the college years are often a crucial time for becoming involved in social and political issues (Loeb & Magee, 1992). At the same time, these trends may offer some insights regarding motivations that underlie collective action at different stages of participation. It could be that when one initially becomes involved in collective action, one is primarily concerned with promoting the welfare of one's group (see Simon et al., 1998; Sturmer et al., 2003; Wright & Tropp, 2002). However, as one encounters more opportunities to engage in collective action, a shift may take place whereby one's participation also becomes a source of individual enhancement, as one recognizes the contributions one is making on behalf of the group. Future research involving longitudinal studies of participation would be particularly useful in this regard, as such studies would allow for an examination of potential shifts in motivations that guide involvement in collective action over time.

It is also interesting to note that personal and group deprivation showed somewhat different patterns of prediction for interest and involvement in collective action. Group deprivation consistently and significantly predicted interest in collective action. This finding replicates results from many studies showing that perceiving group deprivation can enhance group members' willingness to engage in collective action in order to benefit the group (see Abrams, 1990; Smith & Ortiz, 2002; Walker & Mann, 1987). However, across the studies, group deprivation did not significantly predict involvement when treated as a single predictor (Study 1), or when entered as a predictor in conjunction with personal deprivation (Study 2). Instead, results from Study 2 indicated that,

while group deprivation predicted interest in collective action, only personal deprivation uniquely predicted involvement in collective action. Thus, it may be that concerns for the group are especially likely to stimulate interest in collective action, yet actual involvement may require some added degree of personal import, or relevance to one's own experiences as a group member (see Ratner & Miller, 2001).

As we consider these possibilities, we must also acknowledge some limitations of our studies. The data are correlational, and therefore we cannot make firm claims regarding causal relationships between the predictor variables and interest and involvement in collective action. Additionally, we have explored these themes only with samples of women and with a limited number of group-enhancing and individual-enhancing motivations included in the analysis. Nonetheless, we believe that findings from these studies are informative, in that they demonstrate how the concurrent examination of group-enhancing and individual-enhancing motivations can offer a more comprehensive understanding of the forces that underlie support for, and participation in, collective action.

Notes

1. Two-way interaction terms between the predictors were entered in a final stage of each regression model. For both interest and involvement, adding these interaction terms did not contribute to a significant change in variance accounted for.
2. Regressions were also conducted for interest and involvement, with individual enhancement entered first, and group deprivation and identification entered at Step 2. For interest, individual enhancement was a significant predictor ($\beta = .25, p < .001$), and both group deprivation and identification uniquely and significantly predicted interest beyond what was predicted by individual enhancement ($\beta = .21$ and $.49, p < .01$). Individual enhancement also significantly predicted involvement ($\beta = .29, p < .001$), and only group identification significantly predicted involvement beyond what was predicted by individual enhancement ($\beta = .27, p < .01$).
3. Consistent with this interpretation, comparisons showed that although participants in the college

and community samples did not differ in their interest in collective action ($M = 4.80$ and 4.85) ($t(284) = -.30, p = .77$), those in the community sample did report greater involvement ($M = 3.39$) than those in the college sample ($M = 2.99$) ($t(285) = -2.36, p = .02$).

4. Additional regressions were conducted for interest and involvement, with individual enhancement entered at a second stage (after political ideology and education), and deprivation and identification entered at a third stage. Individual enhancement was a significant predictor for interest ($\beta = .45, p < .001$), and both deprivation and identification uniquely and significantly predicted interest beyond that predicted by individual enhancement and the demographic variables ($\beta = .15, p < .05$ and $\beta = .31, p < .01$). Individual enhancement was also a significant predictor for involvement ($\beta = .42, p < .001$), and deprivation significantly predicted involvement beyond that predicted by individual enhancement and the demographic variables ($\beta = .25, p < .01$). Identification did not significantly predict involvement beyond that predicted by individual enhancement and the demographic variables ($\beta = .05, p = .49$).
5. Adding the two-way interaction terms at a fourth step revealed that the Political Ideology \times Deprivation interaction significantly contributes to predicting interest ($\beta = -.20, R^2_{\text{change}} = .04, F_{\text{change}}(1,139) = 9.71, p < .001$). While deprivation significantly predicted interest among participants with more liberal political attitudes, perceived deprivation was an even stronger predictor for interest among those with more conservative political attitudes.
6. Adding the two-way interaction terms at a fourth step revealed that the Political Ideology \times Deprivation interaction ($\beta = -.25$) and the Political Ideology \times Enhancement interaction ($\beta = .27$) accounted for significant and unique portions of the variance in involvement ($R^2_{\text{change}} = .11, F_{\text{change}}(2,138) = 14.75, p < .001$). Similar to findings for interest, deprivation predicted involvement among participants with more liberal political attitudes, yet perceived deprivation was a stronger predictor for involvement among participants with more conservative political attitudes. Additionally, enhancement significantly predicted involvement among those with more liberal political attitudes, yet it did not strongly predict involvement among those with more conservative political attitudes. This finding is generally consistent with the idea that

involvement in collective action will be individually enhancing when such action represents a fit with one's social identifications and values (see Gecas, 2000, Lydon & Zanna, 1990, and Oakes, 1987 for related arguments).

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Biographical notes

LINDA R. TROPP is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Boston College. Her primary research interests concern relations between members of minority and majority groups, and responses to prejudice and disadvantage among members of socially devalued groups.

AMY C. BROWN is a graduate student in the Cultural Psychology program at Boston College. Her research interests involve the interaction between gender and culture, and its effects on women's experiences and behavior in the social world.