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## **RAISE WP5 report: Specification of a model on the conditions that make translation of perceptions of group discrimination into support for political action by and on behalf of minority groups more (un)likely**

Deliverable D5.2 (WP5)

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## 1. Introduction

Many societies today - in Europe and beyond – are characterized by persistent disadvantages of minoritized groups, including ethno-racial minority groups (Heath et al., 2008; Midtbøen, 2015). Discrimination plays a key role in explaining these inequalities. That some groups of people systematically face unequal treatment and outcomes on the basis of their membership in a minoritized (ethnic, racial and/or religious) group is well documented across various domains, including (but not limited to) the housing-market (Flage, 2018), the labor market (Quillian et al., 2019), in health care (Abubakar et al., 2022), and racially biased policing practices (Carvalho et al., 2022). Yet, as this unequal treatment of groups is structurally and systemically embedded in – and reproduced through – societal norms, policies and everyday ways of being and relating in subtle ways, it can be hard to recognize (Banaji et al., 2021; Salter et al., 2018). Furthermore, even if people see and acknowledge inequalities and/or discrimination in society, this need not always translate to people challenging it or supporting policies and actions that would achieve greater equality. For instance, some people may acknowledge the existence of social inequalities in society – such as for instance that (some) ethno-racial and/or immigrant minority groups are underrepresented in higher paying jobs – but believe this to be the fair result of differences in the skills, abilities and/or efforts of those groups, which would justify such inequalities (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). However, such beliefs or explanations tend to overlook – or at the very least underestimate – the structural and systemic causes of inequalities. These include generic mechanisms, such as the intergenerational transmission of disadvantage (or privilege), that affect immigrant families, who are more often economically disadvantaged than native families (Bucca & Drouhot, 2024; Mijs & Usmani, 2024). Critically, such explanations also often overlook (or underestimate) the presence of group-based discrimination in society, whereby members of some minoritized groups are systematically discriminated against on the basis of their group membership. For

instance, it is well-established that many immigrant-origin individuals often face not only structural barriers in the labor market (e.g., lack of recognition of their academic degrees and credentials; e.g., Damelang et al., 2020), but also systemic discrimination by potential employers, which limits their access to high-paying jobs (even when highly skilled and educated; Hermansen et al., 2025; Nieto et al., 2015; Quillian et al., 2019).

In the current report the term '**perceptions of group discrimination**' (or 'perceived group discrimination') refers to seeing and acknowledging that members of certain (ethno-racial/religious) minoritized groups in society – which one may or may not belong to – systematically face unfair or discriminatory treatment and/or outcomes due to their group membership. Such perceptions can be captured, for instance, by asking people to what extent they agree that 'some groups of people in society face discrimination in life because of their religion or beliefs, skin color or foreign origin'. Such perceptions of group discrimination are distinct from perceptions that one has *personally experienced* (i.e., been the target of) such group-based discrimination, which we refer to here as '**perceptions of personal discrimination**' (or 'perceived personal discrimination'), which are neither necessary nor sufficient to see unequal intergroup relations in society as unfair or discriminatory (for exemplary papers using these terms and distinctions, see e.g., Bourguignon et al., 2006; Reimer et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 1990).

Importantly, even if/when people do see and acknowledge that certain groups in society – such as immigrants and/or some ethnic minority groups – are discriminated against and structurally disadvantaged (i.e., they do perceive group discrimination), they may still fail to actively support change to address this, for instance because they are not sufficiently psychologically invested in the welfare of minority groups to advocate for their rights (Tropp & Barlow, 2018). Alternatively, some people may not act as they believe natives *should* get

preferential treatment compared to immigrants – including greater access to opportunities, rights and resources (Bell et al., 2023; Shuman et al., 2024).

Given the pervasiveness and far-reaching harmful consequences of group-based discrimination not only for minoritized individuals but also for wider intergroup relations and social cohesion (Baysu, Árnadottir & Phalet, 2025; Schmitt et al., 2014), it is of pivotal importance **to understand when people become come to see and acknowledge that some groups in society are systematically discriminated against and disadvantaged – and when such awareness does (or does not) translate into demands for societal change towards more equal societies**. Accordingly, the '*Recognition and Acknowledgement of Injustice to Strengthen Equality* (RAISE) project aims to investigate this, across six European countries (i.e., Belgium, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, and Turkey; referred to hereafter as 'the RAISE countries'). In pursuit of these aims, the Work Package 4 (WP4) team of the RAISE project - with input from the WP5 team (authors of the current report) - designed a survey and collected large-scale survey data across the six countries involved in the project (referred to hereafter as 'the RAISE survey'). In a recent report, the WP4 team outline first insights from this survey, pertaining both to country- and individual- differences related to when people see and acknowledge group discrimination and inequality (see Brunarska & Saczuk, 2025)<sup>1</sup>. The current report is a product of Work Package 5 (WP5) of the project, which complements and extends this work, investigating not when people perceive group discrimination in the first place, but **when perceptions of group discrimination motivate political action to challenge ethno-racial inequalities, discrimination and exclusion** ('political action' shorthand; under Objective 5.1). While the antecedents of perceptions of group discrimination are not the focus of WP5, such perceptions have been shown to vary as a function of factors such as differential exposure to specific instances of discriminatory

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<sup>1</sup> The survey instrument itself makes up RAISE deliverable 4.1 (Brunarska et al., 2024).

treatment – experienced either directly (as target, e.g., Dixon et al., 2010; Reimer et al., 2017) or vicariously (e.g., through media or as witness; e.g., Tekin, Hillekens, Árnadóttir & Phalet, in preparation), as well as differential awareness of ethnic-racial disadvantage (for minority group members) versus privilege (for majority group members) in society at large (e.g., Diehl et al., 2021; Schaeffer & Kas, 2025). **Political action** is defined broadly, capturing distinct ways people can support or engage in actions aimed at promoting ethno-racial inclusion and/or mitigating discrimination. Thus, we capture intended political action (e.g., demonstrating, signing petitions) aimed at challenging unequal intergroup relations and promoting the inclusion of minoritized groups. Moreover, looking beyond collective action by or on behalf of minoritized groups (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008), our definition of political action also encompasses lesser studied aspects of support for social change towards equality, such as intended allyship behavior (e.g., willingness to work in solidarity with disadvantaged groups to achieve greater equality), and support for policies that would benefit minoritized groups (Árnadóttir et al., 2024; Hässler et al., 2020).

Turning to the association between the perception of group discrimination and political action, extensive evidence has established perceived injustice and unfairness (such as perceived group discrimination) as a consistent predictor of collective action and of more general support for social change towards equality (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008).<sup>2</sup> Yet, mixed findings of positive, null, or even negative associations of perceived group discrimination with political action (e.g., Bilodeau, 2017; Fleischmann et al., 2011) suggest that the association is contingent and raise the key question when – under which conditions – perceptions of group discrimination translate into specific actions. In a first WP5 study, which has been completed and submitted for publication in an international peer-reviewed journal (Árnadóttir et al., under

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<sup>2</sup> In the collective action literature, the term ‘injustice’ is often used as an umbrella term encompassing perceived unfairness (of e.g., procedures and collective disadvantage) and group-based discrimination (see e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008).

review), we related perceptions of group discrimination and unfairness to distinct forms of envisioned political participation among diverse youth (with and without a migration background) in Germany, utilizing large-scale school-based data from the 'Students' Perceptions of Inequality and Fairness' project. In the present report, we elaborate an integrative theory-informed **model of the contingent association between perceived group discrimination and (intended) political action among ethnic minority and majority group members. Specifically, we outline hypothetical individual-level conditions that make the translation of perceptions of minority group discrimination into political action by and on behalf of ethnic minority groups more or less likely and we propose to test these hypothetical conditions across different countries as socio-political contexts** (following up on Deliverable D5.2). In view of our earlier overview of secondary survey data (under Deliverable D5.1) and in light of major strengths of the newly collected cross-national RAISE survey data, we have chosen in this report to develop an integrative model that can be empirically tested with those new data. Before we elaborate on specific constructs and hypotheses, we will briefly delineate the aims and clarify the approach that has guided the development of the model. This approach is attuned to distinct empirical strengths of the RAISE survey data which we will also explain below.

Firstly, the model is grounded theoretically and methodologically in a **replication approach of comparative research**. Rather than theorizing country differences, the comparative approach focuses on generic micro-social processes at the level of the individual across countries as macro-contexts. By empirically replicating individual-level associations and contingencies across the six RAISE countries as comparative cases, we will test the (limits of) *generalizability* of theoretical conditions that facilitate or attenuate the association of perceptions of group discrimination with political action. Thus, the explanatory focus of the proposed model is on generic individual-level conditions facilitating or inhibiting political

action across socio-political contexts, for example, the endorsement of hierarchy-attenuating (vs enhancing) values or beliefs, individual resources, and relationships. Yet, the available frames and actual trade-offs of specific political actions depend crucially on the political opportunity structures in different countries, for example, variable protection of democratic liberties such as the right to protest, and the different public opinion climates and public policies that are in place (Amnesty International, 2024; Green et al., 2020; Kauff et al., 2016). The six RAISE countries (i.e., Germany, Poland, Belgium, Netherlands, Hungary and Turkey) represent clearly distinct socio-political contexts in terms of democratic rights and ethnic exclusionisms as evident from available country-level data on relevant public attitudes, policies, and democratic rights and resilience (e.g., ESS, MIPEX and ‘freedom in the world’ data, respectively).<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the replication of hypothetical associations and conditions across the six countries using the new RAISE survey data will contribute a stringent test of the (limits of) generalization of our model.

In addition, another strength of the RAISE survey data is that it includes both majority group participants and ethnically minoritized participants within each country, which allows us to systematically compare hypothetical associations and conditions between minority and majority group perspectives across the six countries. Since research on collective action has traditionally focused on disadvantaged group members, less is known about the association between perceptions regarding the discrimination of minoritized groups and political action for equality among potential majority ‘allies’ of minoritized groups (Kutlaca et al., 2022; Radke et al., 2020). In line with a comparative replication approach, the model outlined in this report thus specifies general associations and conditions across minority and majority group perspectives with a view to empirically identify similarities as well as asymmetries across

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<sup>3</sup> ESS stands for ‘European Social Survey’, see: <https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/> and MIPEX stands for ‘Migrant Integration Policy Index, see: <https://www.mipex.eu/>. Lastly, information on ‘freedom of the world data’ can be found here: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world>

groups and countries. Examining both minority and majority groups across the six RAISE countries, we will replicate our model by way of stringent multi-group models replicating hypothetical individual-level associations within groups within countries (i.e., across 6\*2 comparative cases).

Last but not least, testing this model using the RAISE data also provides another valuable contribution, namely that we will be able to examine as outcomes varied forms of political action and support for social change aimed at empowering disadvantaged group members (in line with WP5 Objective 4). While aspects of the model can certainly be tested with existing data in future work, we highlight here that our review of secondary data (cf. Deliverable 5.1) showed that most available survey data is more limited in terms of relevant outcomes, in that they either examine (i) limited political actions (focusing rather on political attitudes, interest and/or trust) and/or (ii) fail to capture *to what end* people engage in political action (e.g., to challenge discrimination, or to defend the status quo, see e.g., Osborne et al., 2019)<sup>4</sup>. Relatedly, much collective action research relating perceived group discrimination and unfairness to political action has focused narrowly on collective action such as protest by minoritized groups (van Zomeren et al., 2008). While there are notable exceptions such as the Zurich Intergroup Project (Árnadóttir et al., 2024; Hässler et al., 2020) and our first WP5 study on German PERFAIR data (Árnadóttir et al., under review), there still exists a clear need for systematic research on this link that (i) takes into account the varied ways people can engage politically to challenge discrimination and support the inclusion of minoritized groups in society, and that (ii) includes both majority and minority group members as political actors. Our test of the model proposed here in the RAISE data addresses this need. Again, following a replication logic, rather than theorizing differential associations with specific political actions

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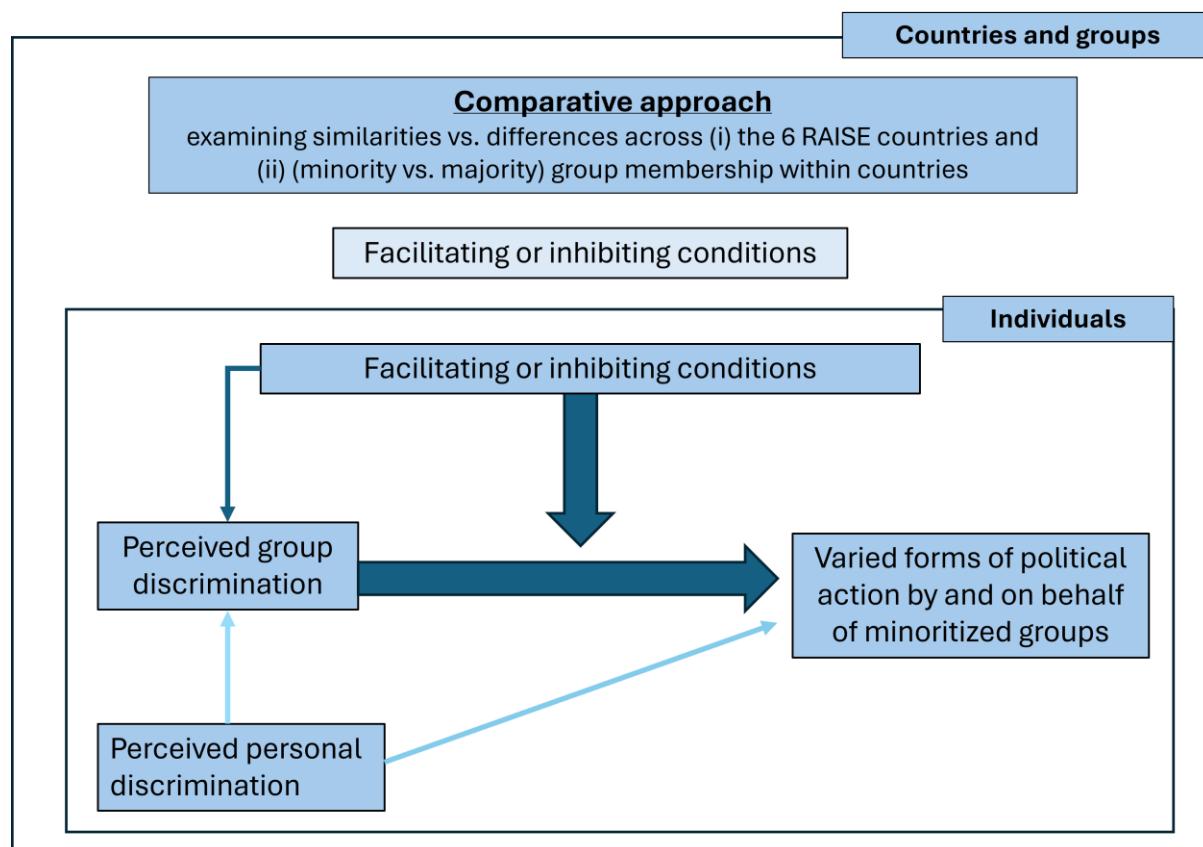
<sup>4</sup> For further information of existing data sources see Deliverable 5.1: ‘Documentation (available to scientific community) of existing datasets that contain suitable indicators for perceived individual and group discrimination and political attitudes and political involvement of major categories of ethnic, racial, religious minorities’.

for a particular group or country, we will replicate the expected associations and conditions across multiple outcome measures for specific forms of (intended) political action.

Summing up, the advantage of this comparative replication approach is that we start from a relatively simple and parsimonious integrative model. The model does not propose completely new mechanisms or explanations, nor does it aim to exhaustively identify all possible factors and conditions that may influence the association between perceived group discrimination and political action. Rather, it brings together a limited number of key individual-level conditions (discussed in detail in Section 4 below) on the basis of existing empirical literature, which are general enough to be suitable for a cross-country comparison. The main envisaged contribution of the model is that it lays the ground for a comprehensive empirical replication of a limited set of theoretical conditions that shape the association between perceived discrimination and political action across multiple countries as socio-political contexts, across minority and majority group members as possible political actors, and across a range of specific possible actions in the new RAISE survey data. Figure 1 displays a simplified version of our model.

**Figure 1**

*Simplified Model*



As is discussed above – and shown with the broad arrows in Figure 1 – the focus of the model is on the association between perceived group discrimination to the disadvantage of minoritized groups and political action towards their inclusion, and more specifically on ‘facilitating’ or ‘inhibiting’ conditions that make translation of perceptions of group discrimination into such action more (un)likely. Importantly, however, as Figure 1 also shows, the model also systematically examines other associations.

Firstly, as a second Objective of WP5 (O5.2) is to study the impact of perceived group discrimination *as compared to perceived personal discrimination* on political action, we also include perceived personal discrimination in the model (narrow light blue arrows in Figure 1, see Section 2.1 for further information).

Secondly, as is outlined in detail in Section 4, we highlight that various mechanisms or ‘conditions’ that we posit may make translation of perceptions of group discrimination into political action more (un)likely are known to *also* influence the likelihood that group discrimination is acknowledged in the first place (narrow dark blue arrow in Figure 1).

An example of this is intergroup friendship: Friendships with minoritized group members are known to promote majority group members awareness of the discrimination minoritized groups face – serving as an as an ‘eye-opener’ to the experiences and perspectives of minoritized groups (Carter et al., 2019; Kende et al., 2024; Tekin, Hillekens, Árnadóttir & Phalet, in preparation). In parallel, those friendships can also influence *reactions* to perceiving discrimination: majority group members who have minoritized friends are more likely to care about – and be angered by – the discrimination their friends face, which in turn makes it more likely that they will act in response to such discrimination (Selvanathan et al., 2018; Tropp & Barlow, 2018). As Figure 1 shows, we adopt a comprehensive approach, examining these two ways our proposed conditions may influence political action, that is, by either (i) making it more (un)likely that perceptions of group discrimination translate to political action for change, and – in some cases – (ii) by making it more (un)likely that perceived group discrimination is acknowledged in the first place. In doing so, we compliment and extend the work of WP4, which already documents predictors of perceived group discrimination and inequality, but which focused largely on experiments not utilized for the current model, and which did not yet consider many of the measures incorporated into our model (see Brunarska & Saczuk, 2025).

In the sections below we first provide an overview of key concepts (Section 2), that is (i) perceptions of group discrimination – outlining also how these differ from, but relate to, perceptions of personal discrimination, (ii) political action, and (iii) minority and majority group membership. Thereafter we present evidence linking perceived group discrimination to political action by and on behalf of minoritized groups (Section 3), before outlining the

‘inhibiting’ or ‘facilitating’ conditions captured in the model that may influence the likelihood that perceived group discrimination will translate into support for social change towards equality (Section 4). Lastly, we provide information regarding the RAISE data and the measures used in the current model (Section 5).

## **2. Defining key terms**

### ***2.1 Perceived group discrimination and perceived personal discrimination***

As is outlined above, individuals differ in the extent to which they see and acknowledge intergroup inequality, and in the extent to which they attribute such inequality to the fact that certain groups in society face systemic discrimination (vs. attributing inequality solely or primarily to individual differences in skills, efforts and/or priorities of different groups in society, see e.g., Ellemers & van Laar, 2011; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Mijs & Usmani, 2024). In the context of the current report, perceived group discrimination refers to seeing that certain groups in society are systematically discriminated against/treated unequally. Crucially, we are interested in particular in when people see and acknowledge that unequal treatment and outcomes are *not* merely the result of individual differences (e.g., in skills and efforts), or the acts of a few ‘bad apples’ (e.g., racist individual employers), but rather, that it is woven into the fabric of society, systematically affecting certain groups and their opportunities in life (Banaji et al., 2021; Rucker et al., 2021; Salter et al., 2018). We note here that the terms ‘structural’ and ‘systemic’ discrimination and racism are often used interchangeably in the literature to refer to this, as these are related concepts, albeit with slightly different emphasis: Systemic racism emphasizes the involvement of whole systems – such as, political, legal, school and health-care systems – whereas structural discrimination emphasizes the role of structures that both uphold and are produced by those systems – such as laws, policies, practices and norms – which have disparate impact on minoritized groups as compared to more advantaged groups. For the purposes of the current report we use the term ‘systemic’ liberally

to refer to both (as in e.g., Braveman et al., 2022). Ethno-racial discrimination, whereby some groups of people are systematically discriminated against due to their ethnicity or (perceived) cultural difference, is one example of such discrimination, which is widespread across Europe (cf. *supra*). While evidence for ‘awareness gaps’ exists, such that majority group members will sooner deny systemic and structural inequities and discrimination than minority group members (Knowles et al., 2014; Shuman et al., 2024) – both members of minoritized groups and advantaged majority groups alike can differ in the extent to which they see and acknowledge group-discrimination and inequality (see WP4 report; Brunarska & Saczuk, 2025, see also e.g., Árnadóttir et al., 2024).

Importantly, while the focus of the model is on perceived group discrimination, a second objective of WP5 (O5.2) is to distinguish between – and to disentangle the effects of – perceived *group*-discrimination on the one hand and perceived *personal* discrimination on the other. Perceptions of group and personal discrimination are related - yet distinct - concepts. On the one hand, they are clearly interconnected: In order to perceive that one is *personally* discriminated *due to* a particular group membership (e.g., being an immigrant or a Muslim) – one must perceive that those groups are discriminated against in the first place. Relatedly, perceiving that one is personally treated unequally or discriminated against can feed into (i.e., promote) one’s perceptions that not all groups in society are treated equally, making one more aware of group-based discrimination (Steele, 2011) – which in turn can promote political action to challenge discrimination (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017). On the other hand, perceived personal and group discrimination are also distinct, and need not always go hand in hand. For instance, much research has shown that members of minoritized groups tend to report higher levels of discrimination directed at their group as a whole compared to discrimination experienced personally – a phenomenon known as the ‘Personal/Group Discrimination Discrepancy’ (Crosby, 1984; Taylor et al., 1990; Verkuyten, 2002). Thus, perceived group discrimination

does not emerge only as the result of personal experiences of discrimination, but as a result of a myriad of factors related to e.g., ideologies, experiences, ones' social networks, and the wider intergroup context, some of which form part of our model. For more on this, see e.g., Thomas et al. (2022) for a review of how various individual differences and experiences interact to inform one's 'cognitions and emotions of injustice' (which encompasses perceived group discrimination; graphically illustrated on p. 120). Moreover, perceptions of personal discrimination can independently motivate political action, over and above their indirect effects via perceived group discrimination (e.g., Bourguignon et al., 2006; Tran & Curtin, 2017).

Taken together, we therefore consider in the model both perceived personal- and group discrimination, disentangling their independent effects on political action by and on behalf of minority groups (in line with Objective 5.2) – as well as examining how and when perceived personal discrimination informs perceived group discrimination.

## ***2.2 Political action by and on behalf of minority groups***

In the context of the current report, we use the term 'political action' shorthand to refer to (intended) action and support for policies aimed at promoting ethno-racial inclusion and/or mitigating discrimination. Here it is worth noting that across socio-psychological and social science literature, terms like 'support for social change towards equality' (e.g., Árnadóttir et al., 2024, 2025; Hässler et al., 2020) and 'collective action' (Cocco et al., 2024; van Zomeren et al., 2008; Wright & Lubensky, 2009), are also used to refer to same or similar outcomes. Our outcome measures of political action encompass varied forms of (intended) political action and support for social change aimed at empowering disadvantaged group members. For instance, we capture not only intended participation in protests or willingness to sign petitions, but also allyship behavior (e.g., whether individuals would intervene if someone was discriminated against) and support for various policies that concern minority groups and their inclusion in

society (e.g., support for anti-discrimination policies). Lastly, we also consider people's propensity to vote for a radical right party in each RAISE country. As the rhetoric and policies of such parties are often characterized by exclusionary nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment (Aktas, 2024; Rovny, 2013), we (cautiously) interpret this as a proxy of minority exclusion (while recognizing that people may vote for such parties for a variety of reasons, which need not center around minority exclusion). This broad set of outcomes reflects the WP5 objective to look beyond measures of political protests to include a broader range of actions, as well as support for protective and restorative policies benefiting disadvantaged groups (O5.4; see Section 5 for the measures).

### ***2.3 Minority and majority group members***

Throughout this report, we use the terms 'minority group members', 'minority groups' and (less frequently) 'minorities' interchangeably to refer to stigmatized or disadvantaged, lower-status groups in societies.<sup>5</sup> In the context of the RAISE project, these include ethnic- and immigrant minority groups within each of the six countries. Conversely, we use the terms '(advantaged) majority group members', 'members of majority groups' and 'majorities' interchangeably to refer to privileged or dominant, higher-status groups in society. In the context of the RAISE project these refer for instance to ethnically privileged natives (i.e., without an immigrant background) of the countries sampled (see Section 5.2 for further information).

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<sup>5</sup> While we use the term 'minority groups' to denote disadvantaged, lower-status groups, such groups need not constitute a numerical minority in all intergroup contexts.

### 3. Perceived group discrimination and political action

Perceiving group-based discrimination – such as that faced by many ethnic minorities in Europe (OECD, 2024; Quillian et al., 2024) is an important prerequisite for engaging in or supporting actions and policies that would reduce it and promote the inclusion of minoritized groups in society (van Zomeren et al., 2008). In support of this claim, extensive evidence shows that perceiving that *one's ingroup* is discriminated against or unjustly treated can be a powerful catalyst for challenging the status quo and demanding change towards equality to improve their group status (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; van Zomeren et al., 2008). In parallel, much work on ‘allyship’ documents how perceptions of the unequal treatment of *others* can mobilize (some) advantaged group members (i.e., those not directly affected by a particular form of discrimination or disadvantage) to engage in and support actions and policies that would benefit disadvantaged groups and achieve more equality (De Souza & Schmader, 2024; Pietri et al., 2024).

Importantly however, perceiving group-based discrimination does not *necessarily* lead to political action (e.g., Bilodeau, 2017; Fleischmann et al., 2011). For instance, as many majority and minority group members alike may endorse the belief that all individuals in society have an equal chance at succeeding in life, *regardless of group membership* (e.g., Árnadóttir et al., 2024; Knowles & Lowery, 2012), confronting discrimination can come at substantial social costs for minoritized group members, who run the risk of being labeled as ‘complainers’ or be criticized for failing to ‘take responsibility of their own outcomes’; leading some minority group members to focus on strategies to improve their *personal* (but not group) status (see Ellemers & van Laar, 2011 for a discussion). Relatedly, confronting discrimination and engaging in actions like protests can be more costly for some individuals and in some social and national contexts than others (Amnesty International, 2024). Furthermore, many majority group members may acknowledge that some groups in society face systemic disadvantage that

is at least in part due to discrimination, yet lack the necessary psychological investment to act to challenge the status quo, for instance because they do not personally socialize with individuals affected by such discrimination (see Tropp & Barlow, 2018). Accordingly, as is outlined above, the current report outlines a theory-informed model of the contingent association between perceived group discrimination and intended political action among ethnic minority and majority group members. In the next section, we outline hypothetical individual-level conditions that we posit will make the translation of perceptions of minority group discrimination into political action by and on behalf of ethnic minority groups more or less likely.

#### **4. Conditions that (may) make the translation of group discrimination into political action more (un)likely**

In this section we list a number of conditions that we posit may inform support for political action by making it more (un)likely that perceived group discrimination translates into political action – and, in some cases, by simultaneously making it more (un)likely that people see and acknowledge discrimination in the first place. As is stated above, the aim is not to exhaustively list conditions in this report, but rather to bring together select conditions on the basis of prior work, that could be systematically tested across countries and groups with the RAISE survey data, as well as in future work. We note here that while the RAISE survey (WP4) was developed in consultation with the WP5 team with this model in mind, the survey also had to accommodate the different objectives and necessary measures of other Work Packages - including innovative and fine-grained survey experiments to be analyzed by WP4 and WP7 (Brunarska et al., 2024) - while staying within the allocated budget and not putting too much time strain on respondents. As such, we had to strategically select a few key conditions to be tested as part of our model.

#### 4.1. Meritocracy beliefs

The term ‘meritocracy’ (Young, 1958) refers to a social system where access to opportunities and success in life (relating to e.g., jobs, education) depend on individual merit (i.e., intelligence, effort and abilities) and not on factors such as ethnicity, gender or religion (Son Hing et al., 2011). When discussing meritocracy beliefs, it is important to distinguish between *descriptive* and *prescriptive* beliefs. Descriptive meritocracy beliefs refer to the belief that opportunities and success in society *are* distributed based on merit (vs. e.g., being distributed based on ethnicity). Such descriptive beliefs can also be referred to as ‘system-justifying’ beliefs (or ‘system-fairness’ beliefs, e.g., Árnadóttir et al., 2024; Jost & Banaji, 1994), as they serve to minimize and/or justify inequalities and discrimination in society. That is, if one believes that opportunities and success in life are based (only or primarily) on factors such as skills and effort – and *not* on factors such as the socio-economic background, ethnicity or religion (or intersections thereof) this implies that any observable inequalities in society (e.g., in labor market access and outcomes) are *not* the result of discrimination or unfair treatment. Thus, such a view places the responsibility (or blame) for people’s success in life squarely with the individual, ignoring or minimizing systematic differences in opportunity structures, privileges and/or levels of exposure to discrimination that go together with certain social group memberships (Ellemers & van Laar, 2011; Mijs & Usmani, 2024). Accordingly, extensive research shows that those endorsing such beliefs are less likely to see and acknowledge discrimination and to support or engage in political action aimed at promoting the inclusion and/or mitigating the discrimination of minoritized groups (Árnadóttir et al., 2024; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Knowles & Lowery, 2012). In the current model, we will account for such descriptive beliefs and examine whether they undermine political action by making it less likely that people perceive group discrimination. As outlined above, however, our main focus is not on factors that influence the likelihood of perceiving discrimination in the first place, but rather

on factors that influence the likelihood that such perceptions will translate into political action (Figure 1).

To this end, we examine *prescriptive* meritocracy beliefs, referring to the belief that opportunities and success in society *should be* distributed based on merit, and not based on factors such as ethnicity, also referred to as the ‘merit principle’ (Son Hing et al., 2011). As discrimination based on factors such as ethnicity or religion directly contradict this principle, minority and majority group members alike that endorse prescriptive meritocracy beliefs should be more motivated to combat discrimination and support social change towards equality than those not endorsing such beliefs (Son Hing et al., 2002, 2011). In other words, we expect that endorsement of prescriptive meritocracy beliefs to be a ‘facilitating condition’ (and rejection of such beliefs an ‘inhibiting’ condition, respectively) that makes it more likely that perceptions of group-based discrimination translate to political action to the benefit of minoritized groups.

#### ***4.2. Personal relationships and (subjective) experiences***

##### ***4.2.1. Intergroup friendship***

Consistent evidence across multiple studies shows that **majority group members** who have more minority friends (e.g., with an immigrant-background) or otherwise positive contact with minority group members are more likely to see and acknowledge discrimination and inequality, and to support and engage in political action to the benefit of minority groups (Carter et al., 2019; Cocco et al., 2024). Research suggests that this occurs – at least in part – because friendships with members of minoritized groups encourages majority group members to take on the perspective of their minority friends and to see the discrimination and unequal intergroup relations from their perspective (Kende et al., 2024). This sets the stage for them becoming psychologically invested in the perspectives, experiences, and welfare of their minority friends

and those like them (Tropp & Barlow, 2018) – and to not only see, but be *angry* about the discrimination they face and thus be more likely to take action to challenge it (Selvanathan et al., 2018). In contrast, majority group members without minority friends might be aware of group discrimination yet lack the necessary motivation to actively support or advocate for change because they perceive it as a problem that has little to do with their own life. Accordingly, we propose that friendships with minority group members constitutes a ‘facilitating’ condition (and lack of such friendships an ‘inhibiting’ condition, respectively) that makes it more likely that perceptions of group-based discrimination translate to (intended) political action.

Among **minority group members**, the evidence regarding the link between intergroup friendships, perceived group discrimination and political action is more mixed (see Cocco et al., 2024). One the one hand, substantial research suggests that positive contact and friendships with majority group members can lead minority group members to perceive less – and be less angry about – group discrimination and inequality, and thus be less likely to support or engage in actions to challenge it (e.g., Carter et al., 2019). On the other hand, other research finds positive associations between majority friendships and minority group members’ political action, in particular when one has the ‘right kind’ of friends, that e.g., acknowledge and denounce (vs. deny or legitimize) intergroup inequality and discrimination (Árnadóttir et al., 2025; Becker et al., 2013). Considering this mixed evidence, we do not form expectations regarding whether friendships with majority group members will make it more (un)likely (i) that minority group members perceive discrimination or (ii) that such perceptions translate into political action.

#### *4.2.2. Subjective experiences of direct (‘personal’) and vicarious discrimination*

Research among minority group members shows how personally experiencing discrimination, either directly (i.e., perceiving that one was personally the victim of discrimination, cf.

‘personal discrimination’ above), and/or vicariously (i.e., witnessing or hearing about someone being discriminated against) can motivate political action, both directly, and via enhancing perceptions of group-based discrimination (e.g., Reimer et al., 2017; Tekin, Hillekens, Árnadóttir & Phalet, in preparation; Uluğ & Tropp, 2021). We thus expect that direct and vicarious experiences of discrimination based on minority group status (among minority group members) and vicarious discrimination (among majority group members) will promote both (i) perceptions of group discrimination faced by minority group, and (ii) (intended) political action to challenge it and promote inclusion. As for whether experiencing and/or witnessing discrimination will make it more or less likely that perceived group discrimination translates into political action, limited existing evidence precludes us from making concrete hypotheses. However, we speculate that similarly to intergroup friendships (Section 4.2.1), such firsthand experiences may function as a ‘facilitating condition’ that enhances the personal relevance of the discrimination faced by minority group members, providing the necessary motivation needed to act in response to group discrimination.

#### **4.4 Political orientation**

Research documents that people on the right side of the political spectrum are less likely to acknowledge that minoritized groups face systemic, group-based discrimination than those on the left side of the spectrum (See for instance the findings of RAISE WP4, Brunarska & Saczuk, 2025)<sup>6</sup> – and less likely to support or engage in political action aimed at achieving more equal intergroup relations (e.g., Choma et al., 2020). Plausibly, this may be explained – at least in part – by disparate moral concerns and convictions held by those in opposing political camps. Specifically, research suggests that relative to those on the ‘political left’, those endorsing right-wing ideologies tend to place more emphasis on the moral foundations of loyalty and authority,

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<sup>6</sup> As is reported on in Brunarska & Saczuk (2025), this was found in *most* countries; the findings in Turkey deviated from this pattern

*and (relatively) less emphasis on social justice* (Feinberg & Willer, 2019). Endorsing left-wing political ideologies implies holding the state responsible for creating conditions that foster equality and justice, the very institution at the heart of claims made through collective action against discrimination and disadvantage (Warode, 2025). Considering that violated moral convictions are likely to trigger feelings of anger and a motivation to engage in actions to protect said convictions (van Zomeren et al., 2018), this suggests that those on the political-left should be more likely to act when perceiving that some groups in society are discriminated against, as this would constitute a violation of social justice (Choma et al., 2020; Osborne et al., 2017). In other words, we expect left-wing political orientation to be a ‘facilitating’ that makes it more likely that perceptions of group-based discrimination translate to political action to challenge discrimination and promote minority inclusion (and right-wing orientation an ‘inhibiting’ condition, respectively). In parallel, we also expect that left-wing (vs. right) orientation makes it more likely that majority group members perceive such discrimination in the first place.

#### ***4.5 Factors relating to socio-economic status***

In the model, we capture socio-economic status by way of (i) education (highest level completed), (ii) subjective socio-economic class, and (iii) financial difficulties (i.e., difficulty covering monthly expenses). Substantial research – including WP4 findings – has documented that such factors can facilitate perceived group discrimination. For instance, a body of research documents a so-called ‘integration paradox’ whereby more (vs. less) educated and/or successful members of minoritized immigrant groups perceive more discrimination, both directed at them personally, and at others like them (Diehl & Trittler, 2025; Schaeffer & Kas, 2024; van Tubergen, 2025). While higher socio-economic status may thus promote perceived group discrimination, we wish to qualify that we do not expect it to *invariably* do so. For

instance, it is worth noting that despite their advantaged group status affording them – on average – a relatively higher socio-economic status than their minoritized peers (e.g., Hermansen et al., 2025), much research documents a so-called ‘awareness gap’ between advantaged majority group members and disadvantaged minority group members, whereby majority group members sooner deny the discrimination faced by the latter (Knowles et al., 2014; Shuman et al., 2024).

Turning to implications for political action, research grounded in ‘Resource-models’ in political science (Brady et al., 1995; Verba et al., 1995), highlights that higher socio-economic status – as captured for instance by higher education or financial security – constitutes a ‘resource’ that can facilitate political engagement and protest in response to perceived inequality and discrimination (e.g., Jo & Choi, 2019; Vezzoli et al., 2023). In line with this, we expect that higher (subjective) socio-economic status will constitute a ‘facilitating condition’ that makes it more likely that perceptions of group-based discrimination translate into political action. However, here too we wish to qualify that while we expect an ‘overall pattern’ whereby higher socio-economic status is a facilitating condition, we by no means mean to imply that lower socio-economic status invariably goes together with less political action by and on behalf of minority group members. For instance, some research suggests that individuals with lower socio-economic status may be more concerned with social issues such as racism, which can motivate political action to challenge it (Salado et al., 2024). Furthermore, a large-scale, multinational examination of support for social change ( $N = 12,997$  individuals from 69 countries) documents that disadvantaged group members report – on average – higher political action aimed at achieving greater equality than advantaged group members (across measures of high- and low cost collective action, support for empowering policies, and willingness to work in solidarity with outgroup members to achieve equality; see Hässler et al., 2020).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Means and standard deviations are reported in Supplementary materials, Tables 5 and 6 (Hässler et al., 2020).

## 5. RAISE survey data and measures used in the specification of the current model

### 5.1. Information on the data and data collection

The proposed model will be tested utilizing the RAISE survey data collected by WP4 in March 2025, consisting of random probability samples of the adult (age 18-70) populations of the six RAISE countries (i.e., Belgium, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, and Turkey). In this section, we provide information on the data and data collection, as it is reported in the WP4 survey report (Brunarska & Saczuk, 2025)<sup>8</sup>:

“The survey pooled 12,004 (...) respondents in the six countries (approximately 2,000 per country) (...). Country samples were constructed using quotas based on gender, age, region of residence, and the level of education, in order to match the population structure with regard to these variables, according the latest Eurostat data. The survey was administered with the use of CAWI (Computer-Assisted Web Interviewing) method, based on the existing international online panel of people who participate in surveys for incentives. The fieldwork was outsourced to Ipsos – a renowned research company experienced in conducting large-scale international surveys and managing its own international Internet panel iSay, covering all six RAISE countries (...). The questionnaire was initially developed in English (...) and was later translated into the seven languages (Belgian French and Flemish Dutch in Belgium). In designing the study, particular emphasis was placed on comparability across countries. This was achieved by paying special attention to the terms used in the English questionnaire to ensure they apply equally well to all contexts, by careful translation of the English questionnaire into the national languages, and by using the same survey platform (which was ensured by fielding the study on one international internet panel). The study was approved by the

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<sup>8</sup> “(...)” stands for removed footnotes. For full details, please see Brunarska & Saczuk (2025).

Ethics Committee of the Centre of Migration Research at the University of Warsaw (approval no. CMR/EC/VI\_2/2023)."

### **5.2 Measures utilized in the specification of the WP5 model**

All the questions listed here can be found in the WP4 survey document (Brunarska et al., 2024). They are inserted here directly from there – in italics –, with the original question numbers and labels.

#### *5.2.1. Perceptions of group-based discrimination faced by minority groups*

This will be measured firstly, by a question where respondents estimate the prevalence of discrimination in their country, assessing discrimination based on several social identities/group memberships. Secondly, three questions will assess to what extent participants see and acknowledge the structural and systemic nature of group discrimination. The measures are as follows:

*Q28. For each of the following types of discrimination, could you please tell me whether, in your opinion, it is everywhere, very widespread, fairly widespread, fairly rare, very rare or non-existent in [country]? Discrimination based on...*

- Q28.1. [discrim\_immigr] being an immigrant*
- Q28.2. [discrim\_roma] being Roma*
- Q28.3. [discrim\_race] [skin colour or race]*
- Q28.4. [discrim\_rel] religion or beliefs*
- Q28.5. [discrim\_origin] foreign origin*

*Response scale: 5 everywhere - 0 non-existent*

*Q29. To what extent do you agree with the following statements:*

*Q29.1. [struct\_discrim1] There are groups of people in [country] that have traditionally been discriminated against because of their religion or beliefs, [skin colour or race] or foreign origin and still suffer the consequences.*

*Q29.2. [struct\_discrim2] There are groups of people in [country] that face discrimination in some spheres of life because of their religion or beliefs, [skin colour or race] or foreign origin, which limits their opportunities in other spheres of life.*

*Q29.3. [system\_discrim] Our whole society is organized so that some groups of people are unfairly treated in different spheres of life because of their religion or beliefs, [skin colour or race] or foreign origin.*

*Response scale: 1 strongly disagree - 7 strongly agree*

### 5.2.3 Political action by and on behalf of minority group members

Support for social change will be captured in a varied way, in terms of (i) support for varied policies that concern minoritized groups (e.g., support for anti-discrimination policies), (ii) allyship behavior (i.e., whether they would intervene if someone was discriminated against), (iii) willingness to work in solidarity with minoritized groups towards more equality, (iv) intended collective action (e.g., whether they would sign a petition to protest the discrimination of minoritized groups), and lastly (v) their propensity to vote for a ‘radical right party’ in their country (often – if not always, characterized by their exclusionary nationalistic views and anti-immigrant sentiment; Aktas, 2024; Rovny, 2013).<sup>9</sup>

These measures are as follows:

*Q32. To what extent do you agree with the following statements: The government should take much stronger measures to ...*

*Q32.1. [policy\_immigr] restrict immigration to [country]*

*Q32.2. [policy\_discrim] decrease discrimination because of religion or beliefs, [skin colour or race] or foreign origin*

*Q32.3. [policy\_low\_income] improve the chances of people with lower income*

*Response scale: 1 strongly disagree - 7 strongly agree*

*Q34. [allyship\_interpers] How likely will you intervene when somebody is discriminated against or treated unfairly because of their religion or beliefs, [skin colour or race] or foreign origin?*

*Response scale: 1 very unlikely - 5 very likely*

*Q35. [allyship\_intergroup] How likely are you to work with people who are treated unfairly in society because of their religion or beliefs, [skin colour or race] or foreign origin, for more equal chances for them?*

*Response scale: 1 very unlikely - 5 very likely*

*Q36. Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statement: In order to protest against discrimination or unfair treatment of people because of their religion or beliefs, [skin colour or race] or foreign origin ...*

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<sup>9</sup> Here, specific parties were inserted in each country: BE: *Vlaams Belang* in the Flemish and *Chez Nous* in the French speaking part of Belgium; DE: *Alternative for Germany*; HU: *Fidesz*; NL: *Partij voor de Vrijheid*; PL: *Konfederacja*; TR: *MHP*.

*Q36.1. [petition] I would sign a petition.*

*Q36.2. [social\_media] I would share a message on social media or join a media campaign.*

*Q36.3. [demonstration] I would attend a demonstration or meeting.*

*Response scale: 1 strongly disagree - 7 strongly agree*

*Q25. [radical\_vote] Would you please indicate on a scale from 1 to 10 how probable it is that you will ever vote for [Radical Right Party in country]? On this scale, 1 means that you will never vote for this party and 10 means that you will certainly vote for this party sometime.*

*Response scale: 1 never - 10 certainly*

#### *5.2.4 Minority vs. majority group membership*

As is stated above one a major strength of the current model is its grounding in a comparative replication approach, whereby we test the *generalizability* of associations across the 6 RAISE countries, as well as *across minority and majority groups* within each country. Minority (vs. majority) group membership will be assessed based on participants' own responses. There exist several ways to do so in the RAISE data.

Firstly, there is a question in the data asking participants to self-categorize themselves as 'native' (e.g., 'Belgian' in Belgium) *and/or* other groups. One way to define group membership is thus to include all 'natives' as majorities and all others as minority group members. Here it is important to note however that some individuals with a migration background or otherwise minoritized identity (e.g., those born in Belgium to one or two Moroccan parents) may identify as native in this way, while others will not. We will thus also define minority (vs. majority) group membership based on their immigrant background or lack thereof, that is, the birthplace of respondents and their parents. There are of course many ways to do this (e.g., categorizing all those with at least one parent born abroad as minority group members vs. only categorizing those born abroad and/or whose both parents were born abroad as minority group members). The final decision regarding which definition will be used in our 'main' analyses will depend on the sample sizes (e.g., it may be that defining minority group

members only in terms of being born abroad themselves will result in samples too small for reliable analyses), but where possible we would conduct robustness check, replicating our findings across different definitions of minority status. Furthermore, we will descriptively explore the overlap between different conceptualizations of minority status, to gain a better understanding of the meaning of these categorizations.

A third way to define minority (vs. majority) group status relates to *perceived difference* from the majority – which is assessed in the RAISE survey by asking respondents how different they feel they are from ‘most majority group members’ in the country in terms of (i) their skin colour or race and/or (ii) their religion. In addition, participants had the chance to indicate their religion. These items will be explored as complimentary indicators of potentially visible minority status or stigmatized or devalued identities (e.g., as in the case of Muslim identities).

These measures are as follows:

*Q14. [cbirth] Were you born in [country]?*

*Response categories: 1 yes; 0 no*

*Q15. [cbirth\_parents] Were your parents born in [country]?*

*Response categories: 2 yes, both of them; 1 one of them; 0 no, neither of them*

*Q16. Please indicate which of the following group or groups you consider yourself to belong to. Choose the groups that apply to you.*

*Q16.1. [ethnic\_native] [natives]*

*Q16.2. [ethnic\_Roma] Roma*

*Q16.3. [ethnic\_Afghan] Afghans*

*Q16.4. [ethnic\_Chinese] Chinese*

*Q16.5. [ethnic\_Syrian] Syrians*

*Q16.6. [ethnic\_Ukrainian] Ukrainians*

*Q16.7. [ethnic\_Turk] Turks (not to be shown in Turkey)*

*Q16.8. [ethnic\_Turkmen] Turkmens*

*Q16.9. [ethnic\_Bosniak] Bosniaks*

*Q16.10. [ethnic\_Indian] Indians*

*Q16.11. [ethnic\_Nigerian] Nigerians*

*Q16.12. [ethnic\_other] other*

*Q17. [race\_outgroup] Do you consider yourself to be of a different [skin colour or race] than most [country's majority group]?*

Response categories: 0 no; 1 yes

*Q18. [rel\_outgroup] Do you consider yourself to be of a different religion or beliefs than most [country's majority group]?*

Response categories: 0 no - 1 yes

*Q19. [confession] Do you consider yourself as belonging to any particular religion or denomination and, if yes, which one?*

Response categories: 0 none; 1 Christian; 2 Muslim; 3 other

#### 5.2.4. Meritocracy beliefs

Both descriptive and prescriptive meritocracy beliefs will be assessed, as follows:

*Q26.1. [merit\_state] People's chances of success in [country] depend mostly on their own skills and efforts.*

Response scale: 1 strongly disagree - 7 strongly agree

*And now think how the things should be.*

*Q26.2. [merit\_normative] People's chances of success in [country] should depend mostly on their own skills and efforts.*

Response scale: 1 strongly disagree - 7 strongly agree

#### 5.2.5. Intergroup friendship

There are different ways to assess intergroup friendship within the data. Firstly, all participants answered questions regarding whether they have friends that have (i) different [skin color or race] and/or (ii) different religion or beliefs. In parallel, intergroup friendship can be assessed in terms of origin. In this case, individuals who had reported earlier that both their parents were born in the country of the survey were asked if they had friends with 'foreign origin' while those who had indicated that one or two of their parents were born abroad indicated whether they had 'native friends'. In the current model, we will assess intergroup friendship in terms of 'foreign' vs. 'native' origin, *as well as* in terms of different skin color and race and religion. However, we note here that the latter may not be feasible in all countries (e.g., if very few people have friends with a different religion or race then we would not use it). As WP5 has not received the data yet – as by request we will only receive it after submitting a preregistration

(which we will proceed with as soon as the current deliverable is submitted) – the feasibility of such measurement decisions will be evaluated later.

The measures are as follows:

*Q15. [cbirth\_parents] Were your parents born in [country]?*

*Response categories: 2 yes, both of them; 1 one of them; 0 no, neither of them*

*Q20. How many of your friends in [country] are ...?*

*Q20.1. [contact\_race] of different [skin colour or race] than you*

*Q20.2. [contact\_rel] of different religion or beliefs than you*

*Here a routing was included: IF Q15 = 2 yes, both of them GO TO Q20.3a and then GO TO Q21 15  
 IF Q15 = 0 no, neither of them OR Q15 = 1 one of them GO TO Q20.3b*

*Q20.3a. [contact\_forigin] of foreign origin*

*Q20.3b. [contact\_natives] native [country's majority group]*

*Response scale: 0 none - 4 most of them*

*Participants also had the option to select 'I don't have any friends in [country].'*

#### 5.2.6. Perceived personal discrimination

Perceived personal discrimination will be assessed by a single item, assessing perceived discrimination due to different reasons, as follows:

*Q30. Have you ever been discriminated against or treated unfairly in [country] because of ...?*

*Q30.1. [pers\_discrim\_rel] your religion or beliefs*

*Q30.2. [pers\_discrim\_race] your [skin colour or race]<sup>10</sup>*

*Q30.3. [pers\_discrim\_origin] your national origin*

*Response scale: 0 no, never - 4 yes, it happens all the time*

#### 5.2.7 Vicarious discrimination

Vicarious discrimination will be assessed with the following items:

*Q31. Have you ever witnessed somebody being discriminated against or treated unfairly in [country] because of ...?*

*Q31.1. [witness\_discrim\_rel] their religion or beliefs*

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<sup>10</sup> Here and elsewhere the language here differed by country since e.g., the term race is appropriate in some countries and not others. See Brunarska et al (2024) for the precise language used in each country.

Q31.2. [witness\_discrim\_race] their [skin colour or race]

Q31.3. [witness\_discrim\_origin] their national origin

*Response scale: 0 no, never - 4 yes, it happens all the time*

#### 5.2.8 Political orientation

Political orientation was captured as follows:

Q23. [polit\_orient] In politics, people talk of "the left" and "the right". Thinking about your political views, where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

*Response scale: 0 the left - 10 the right*

*Participants also had the option to select 'I don't know.'*

#### 5.2.9 Factors relating to socio-economic status

In the model, we capture socio-economic status by way of (i) education, (ii) subjective socio-economic class, and (iii) financial difficulties. These are measured as follows:

Q5. [education] What is the highest level of education you have completed?

*Response categories:*

0 lower secondary or less (e.g. [lower secondary or less examples])

1 upper secondary (e.g. [upper secondary examples])

2 tertiary (e.g. [tertiary examples])

Q21. [class] People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to a particular social class. Which social class would you say you belong to?

*Response scale: 1 - lower class - 5 upper class*

*Participants also had the option to select 'I don't know'*

Q7. [fin\_security] Does the total income of your household allow you to cover all necessary expenses?

*Response scale: 1 with great difficulty - 6 very easily*

#### 5.2.10 Additional variables

In addition to the above we will also account for the age and gender of participants, assessed as follows:

Q1. [age] In what year were you born?

Q2. [gender] Which option best describes you?

*Response categories: 0 male; 1 female; 2 other*

Lastly, we note here that the RAISE data also has further measures that we may explore, including political interest and perceived collective efficacy (measured in the data in terms of perceived influence over politicians). Various research shows for instance that those more interested in politics are more politically engaged – an effect that holds over and above perceived discrimination and inequality (e.g., Árnadóttir et al., RAISE WP5 paper under review; Levy & Akiva, 2019). However, we do not form predictions regarding the association between political interest and support for social change towards equality – as political interest could just as well mobilize action aimed at *defending* the status quo and hierarchies. As for collective efficacy, we do not dispute that this can be a very important predictor of collective action for social change (van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, findings regarding efficacy are rather mixed (e.g., as they depend not only on the type of efficacy considered but also the outcome, see Thomas et al., 2022). As such, we do not feel we can form reliable predictions regarding efficacy, we keep the inclusion of it exploratory. Political interest and collective efficacy are measured in the RAISE survey as follows:

Q22. [polit\_interest] Some people are very interested in politics. Others are not interested at all. How interested in politics are you yourself?

*Response scale: 1 not at all interested - 5 very much interested*

Q27. [perc\_coll\_efficacy] To what extent do you agree with the following statement: People like me don't have any influence on politicians in [country].

*Response scale: 1 strongly disagree - 7 strongly agree*

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