


ARTICLE

Believing that social change is possible: Collective efficacy to promote engagement and mobilization of non-Roma as allies

Ana Urbiola^{1,2} | Lucía López-Rodríguez^{2,3}  | Laura C. Torres-Vega^{1,2} |
Xenia-Daniela Poslon⁴ | Barbara Láštíková⁴ | József Pántya⁵ |
Hanna Szekeres^{5,6} | Anna Kende⁵

¹Department of Social Psychology, University of Granada, Granada, Spain

²Center for the Study of Migrations and Intercultural Relations (CEMyRI), Almería, Spain

³Department of Psychology, University of Almería, Almería, Spain

⁴Institute for Research in Social Communication, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, Slovakia

⁵Institute of Psychology, ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

⁶Department of Psychology, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Correspondence

L. López-Rodríguez, Department of Psychology, University of Almería, Office 2.22 Faculty of Psychology (Building B), Carretera Sacramento s/n, 04120 La Cañada, Almería, Spain.
Email: lucialopez@ual.es

Funding information

European Commission: European Union's Rights, Equality, and Citizenship Programme 2014–2020), Grant/Award Number: 963122—ENGAGE—REC-AG-2020/REC-RDIS-DISC-AG-2020; Ministry of Universities, *recualificación del sistema universitario español*; Ministry of Universities/Recualificación del sistema universitario español, Grant/Award Number: RR_B_2022_02; MCIN/AEI/FSE+, Grant/Award Number: RYC2022-035896-I; MICIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and ERDF, European Union, Grant/Award Number: PID2021-126085OB-I00; National Research and Innovation Research, Grant/Award Number:

Abstract

We analyzed the effect of collective efficacy on mobilizing allies for Roma rights and the role of legitimizing ideologies and perceived discrimination as moderators. In an online experiment, pooling two samples of non-Roma Hungarians ($n = 397$) and Spaniards ($n = 339$), participants were randomly assigned to a high (vs. low) efficacy condition and reported their perceived collective efficacy, collective action intentions, and participation for supporting Roma. Pooled analyses showed that participants were more willing to take action in the high (vs. low) efficacy condition, although meritocracy beliefs moderated the effects. In a second study in Slovakia ($n = 454$), with a control condition, we found indirect effects of the manipulation of collective efficacy, supporting the idea that decreasing perceived collective efficacy predicts lower collective action intentions and participation. In a third study in Hungary ($n = 382$), we disentangled collective efficacy from social norms and found indirect effects via perceived collective efficacy. Participants in the low efficacy condition (vs. high efficacy or control) perceived less collective efficacy as allies, which in turn was associated with lower collective action. We discuss the conceptualization of collective efficacy in experimental studies and its implications for the mobilization of equality.

KEYWORDS

allies, collective action, collective efficacy, Roma

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/) License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.

© 2025 The Author(s). *British Journal of Social Psychology* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of British Psychological Society.

NKFI-K138429; Slovak Scientific Grant Agency
VEGA, Grant/Award Number: 2/0102/22;
Slovak Research and Development Agency,
Grant/Award Number: APVV-23-0119

Although considered one of the largest ethnic minorities in Europe, consisting of 10–12 million people, the Roma are among the most stigmatized ethnic minorities facing severe social exclusion (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2017) and prejudice (Kende et al., 2021; Urbíola et al., 2018, 2022). In the countries where this research was conducted (i.e. Hungary, Spain, and Slovakia), an additional problem of antigypsyism is the lack of social mobilization for changing structural inequalities of the Roma (Kóczé & Rövid, 2012; Vermeersch, 2002). Pro-Roma activism is extremely scarce, and most people are either extremely prejudiced or, at best, indifferent towards the situation of the Roma (Kende et al., 2017, 2021). Although the involvement of disadvantaged group members in activism is central to achieving social change, advantaged group members also play a crucial role due to their position of power, especially in contexts of long-standing structural oppression (for a review see Kende & Láštíková, 2024). Nevertheless, there is not much empirical evidence on the mobilization of non-Roma *allies* to engage in collective action to defend Roma rights.

Among the possible predictors of mobilization, previous research has shown that the belief that a unified action can achieve social change, known as perceived group/collective efficacy, is a key motivator for collective action (e.g., Saab et al., 2015; Tausch et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, the impact of efficacy on collective action is not as clear (see Hamann & Reese, 2020; Hornsey et al., 2021) as the role of other alternative predictors such as anger in the face of perceived injustice. Accordingly, we aimed to clarify the impact of collective efficacy among potential allies of the Roma community. As far as we know, this is the first time that experimental evidence has been provided concerning the causal effect of allies' collective efficacy on the mobilization for Roma rights among members of the advantaged group. Additionally, we analyzed whether perceived discrimination and/or meritocracy beliefs could moderate the effect of collective efficacy. We tested these objectives in the understudied context of Roma and non-Roma relations with pre-registration and open science practices in three different European countries: Hungary in Study 1a and 3, Spain in Study 1b, and Slovakia in Study 2.

How to mobilize advantaged group members as allies: The role of collective efficacy

Given their position of power in terms of influence and institutional representation, allies can play an important role in the process of promoting social equality. According to the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008), people are more likely to mobilize for the rights of a group if they are identified with the relevant group, they appraise the situation as unfair (both cognitively and emotionally) and they think collective mobilization would be effective to achieve their goals. Ingroup identification, ingroup norms and goals, and collective efficacy have been identified as determinants of appraisals and action (Fritzsche et al., 2018). Generally, two distinct pathways have been identified when predicting collective action: an emotional pathway, with anger in response to perceived injustice fostering action, and an efficacy pathway with the belief that injustice can be solved collectively stimulating involvement in collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2004). Among these factors, group-based anger and collective efficacy beliefs are the most immediate predictors of collective action tendencies also for advantaged group members against the discrimination of disadvantaged groups (van Zomeren et al., 2011).

While the study of anger has received much attention, the role of collective efficacy needs further consideration. Part of the complexity in the study of collective efficacy derives from the multiple conceptualizations and operationalizations of this construct (see Hamann et al., 2024). The way efficacy is conceptualized is important to understand its mixed effects (see Hornsey et al., 2006). In general terms, collective efficacy refers to the idea that, by acting together (collectively), the group

(e.g., non-Roma allies) can achieve its goals (Klandermans et al., 2008; Mummendey et al., 1999; van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2013). According to Bandura (2000), collective agency is based on shared beliefs in the power to generate desired effects by collective action, and, accordingly, perceived collective efficacy can raise groups' motivational commitment to their mission and motivate people to act.

Evidence on the role of collective efficacy in mobilization remains inconsistent. While political efficacy (i.e. the extent to which the average citizen has an influence on government decisions) may be related to apathy towards mobilization (Osborne et al., 2015; Thomas et al., 2020; Thomas & McGarty, 2009), group/collective efficacy has been generally found to be positively related to collective action (e.g., Tausch et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008). Perception of online collective efficacy is also related to participation in online collective actions (Velasquez & LaRose, 2015). However, most evidence of the association between collective efficacy and collective action for the rights of stigmatized communities is correlational. Although we can find some experimental evidence, especially within the area of environmental research, previous research often failed to demonstrate direct experimental effects of collective efficacy on collective action (e.g., Hamann & Reese, 2020; Hornsey et al., 2021), with indirect effects through specific processes being more common. For example, manipulations of collective efficacy are successful in increasing pro-environmental intentions by raising people's sense of self-efficacy and perceived collective efficacy (Jugert et al., 2016). However, other research has found direct experimental effects (van Zomeren et al., 2010).

The way collective efficacy manipulation is operationalized may account for the existence or absence of direct experimental effects. In this regard, the reflections of Fritsche and Masson (2021) about collective agency, which transcend but incorporate collective efficacy, seem crucial. According to these authors, group members may infer collective agency from three different indicators that constitute “interconnected predictors of action” (Fritsche & Masson, 2021, p. 116): perceiving a collectively shared group goal (i.e. injunctive norm), collective goal-directed action (i.e. a descriptive norm of the action within the group) and perceiving that the group can affect their environment (i.e., collective efficacy). We can argue that people may need more than one indicator of collective agency to get into collective action, so a broader manipulation of collective agency that includes different indicators may have a more powerful effect than a specific manipulation of one of these components (e.g., only collective efficacy).

Given this mixed evidence, we propose to experimentally test the effect of collective efficacy on the mobilization of allies of Roma people. We test this hypothesis starting with a broader conceptualization of collective efficacy by including distinct elements that enhance collective agency such as norms in the manipulation (Studies 1–2) and then creating a narrower manipulation focused exclusively on the collective efficacy component (Study 3). Additionally, we aim to explore potential moderators of collective efficacy on collective action intentions and participation.

Perceptions of injustice and legitimizing ideologies may condition efficacy effects

Being aware of structural inequalities and injustice can be a powerful motivator of collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). As two important factors within the literature on social change, perceived discrimination and collective efficacy may interact. However, not many studies have explored their possible interactive effects, although we have some exceptions. Bagci and Canpolat (2020) found that collective efficacy might work as a protector as participants with higher collective efficacy did not experience the detrimental indirect effects of perceived discrimination on well-being, something that did happen to those with low efficacy. However, this study did not analyze the interaction effects on collective action tendencies and participation. As our focus was the effect of collective efficacy on social change, we investigated whether perceived discrimination could enhance its effectiveness.

Whereas perceived discrimination might enhance the effects of collective efficacy, multiple resistances may hinder the mobilization of potential allies for social change as people internalize ideologies and perceptions that justify social hierarchies (e.g., Becker & Tausch, 2015; Jost et al., 2004). Meritocracy beliefs, for example, imply that success is based on personal effort and abilities and not structural factors

and are associated with perceiving less unfairness of inequality, less support for affirmative actions and other policies aimed at reducing inequality (Batruch et al., 2022; Garcia et al., 2006). The more individuals believe that meritocracy exists, the more likely they are to deny inequalities and discrimination, and the higher the prejudice and stereotypes towards low-status groups (Knowles & Lowery, 2012; Madeira et al., 2019).

Meritocracy beliefs can produce a palliative effect in the experiences of social injustice and serve to justify the social system (Jost et al., 2004; Ledgerwood et al., 2011). From a system justification perspective, people are motivated to believe that society is fair and the social system is just, so if people believe the world is just, they will not perceive systematic discrimination against minorities and not engage in collective action to confront the situation (e.g., Becker & Wright, 2011). In terms of interactive effects with the proposed predictors of collective action as collective efficacy, Becker and Tausch (2015) presented an integrative model where some factors are analyzed as barriers for social change (moderators) in relation to efficacy, identity or perceived injustice and disadvantaged group members collective action tendencies. Those barriers can be perceived as alternative strategies to cope with disadvantages (as individual mobility for example) or what is called “alternative affective loyalties” with the advantaged group, which is related to endorsing system justification. Those barriers can be related from our point of view to endorsing meritocracy beliefs, but it was not directly studied. As far as we know, meritocracy beliefs have not been considered as a moderator of collective efficacy on social change. Therefore, we suggest that perceived discrimination on the one hand, and demobilizing ideologies such as meritocracy beliefs on the other hand, might moderate the effect of collective efficacy on collective action intentions and participation.

Overview

The study of collective efficacy beliefs remains unexplored in the context of combating antigypsyism as a specific form of racism and one of the root causes of the widespread inequality of Roma people in Europe (European Commission, 2018). The present research focuses on collective efficacy as a potential strategy to increase the participation of non-Roma allies in collective actions for social change.

Preregistered randomized controlled experiments were conducted in Hungary (Study 1a and 3), Spain (Study 1b), and Slovakia (Study 2), manipulating the allies' collective efficacy, hypothesizing that collective efficacy framing would affect non-Roma participants' collective action intentions (H1a) and participation (i.e., signing a petition [H1b] or signing up for volunteering [H1c]). It was also hypothesized that perceived discrimination and meritocracy beliefs could moderate the effect of the collective efficacy frame. It was tested whether the effect of collective efficacy would increase with perceived discrimination (H2) and decrease with the meritocracy beliefs of the participants (H3). In Study 3, we disentangled collective efficacy from a possible effect of social norms. We also explored the mediating role of emotions of hope, anger–outrage, empathy, and pity in Study 1 (see Appendix S1). The hypotheses, required sample size, and methodology of these studies were pre-registered: https://osf.io/6h5cp/?view_only=9baa35cdbce9455eae3e9098f2ad94a3.

STUDY 1

According to estimates from the Council of Europe, Roma people constitute approximately 7% of the population of Hungary (European Commission, n.d.), a figure that rises to nearly 9% according to other reports (Pénzes et al., 2019). Spain is another European Union country with a relatively high percentage of Roma population (1.55%; European Commission, 2020), who suffer from deep socioeconomic inequality and discrimination (Urbíola et al., 2022). In these two countries, the sample collection was sequential in time; however, given that the hypotheses, experimental design, and measures used in both studies were the same, and the obtained results were consistent, we followed a principle of parsimony

and simplicity by pooling both studies and show them here as a single Study 1. Nevertheless, the specific methodology and the results separated by country are presented in [Appendix S2](#) and in OSF: https://osf.io/6h5cp/files/osfstorage?view_only=9baa35cdbce9455eae3e9098f2ad94a3

Method

Participants

We used G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) to calculate the necessary sample size for all our hypotheses. A minimum of 264 participants was needed for linear multiple regression, fixed model, and R^2 increase based on a small effect size ($f^2 = 0.03$), so we set a minimum of 264 and a maximum of 400 participants in each country to test Hypotheses 1–3. In both countries, an online questionnaire was distributed to a pool of university students who received course credits for participation. In Spain, the questionnaire was also distributed among the students' acquaintances, so that the final sample was not composed uniquely of university students. A total of 441 Hungarians and 399 Spaniards accessed the questionnaire, but only 397 and 339 participants composed the final sample respectively in each country after pre-established exclusions (see [Table 1](#) for exclusions and characteristics of the samples). A sensitivity analysis indicated that a sample of 736 participants could detect an effect of $f = 0.10$ ($\eta^2 = .011$) with 80% power in a one-way ANOVA; and $f = 0.011$ for a linear multiple regression for the interaction term.

Design, procedure, and measures

In both countries, we conducted an online study in their respective languages, following a between-subjects design manipulating collective efficacy with two conditions (high vs. low efficacy) and including two measured moderators: meritocracy beliefs and perceived discrimination. Informed consent was obtained. Measures were presented in the following order (alphas for each country are available at [Appendix S2](#)).

Meritocracy

We used eight items from Bay-Cheng et al. (2015; e.g. “Any goal can be achieved with hard work and talent”, $\alpha = .85$). Participants indicated their level of agreement or disagreement with each item using a scale from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*).

TABLE 1 Sociodemographic details of the sample.

Country	Excluded participants	Final sample (N)	University students (%)	Gender	Age
Hungary	<ul style="list-style-type: none">No response to the main DVs: 26Failure of the attention item: 14Doubt that the news is real: 1Roma participants: 3	397	100	Men: 108 Women: 285 Non-binary: 3 Missing: 1	Range: 19–48 $M = 21.98$ $SD = 3.59$
Spain	<ul style="list-style-type: none">No response to the main DVs: 25Failure of the attention item: 18Doubt that the news is real: 0Roma participants: 3	339	33.9	Men: 129 Women: 206 Non-binary: 4	Range: 18–72 $M = 33$ $SD = 15.21$
Pooled sample		736	69.6	Men: 237 Women: 491 Non-binary: 7 Missing: 1	Range: 18–72 $M = 27.01$ $SD = 11.96$

Perceived discrimination

We used the six items based on the scale developed by Navas et al. (2004). Participants indicated to what extent they thought Roma people were discriminated against in the following aspects: rental or purchase of houses, in bars, pubs, or clubs, in the mass media, in the labor context, in health care services, and in schools ($\alpha = .87$). Participants answered using a scale from 1 (*nothing*) to 5 (*a lot*).

Experimental manipulation

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions. The manipulation incorporated some important aspects of the Triple-A model (Hamann et al., 2024): we identified the agent (non-Roma as allies), the actions (participation in protests towards discrimination and educational workshops to promote equality), and the aim (act for the equal rights and cultural recognition of the Roma and against discrimination). In the high-efficacy condition, participants read an alleged press release—created by the researchers for the study—that emphasized that:

[...] the collective action of non-Roma allies has real possibilities of producing strong and significant changes in decreasing Roma inequality. In fact, the movement has had a visible and lasting impact, achieving its objectives. Learning from the positive influence of these allies, a cascade of social movements have used similar strategies to achieve changes toward greater social equality. People tend to believe that participating in such movements has a limited influence, but research confirms that they actually have a significant impact on society. We can find successful examples from the past of how social movements with allies outside disadvantaged groups can shift the public agenda and bring about real changes that improve the rights of marginalized groups. According to experts, some of the most successful and enduring social changes have started with the small actions of individuals like you.

While in the low-efficacy condition, participants read that:

[...] the collective action of non-Roma allies has no real potential to reduce Roma inequality. In fact, there is no visible and lasting impact from actions aimed at improving the situation of the Roma community. People tend to believe that participating in such movements has an influence, but research confirms that they actually do not have an impact on society. The participation of allies who do not belong to disadvantaged groups has not been very successful in the past, as it has failed to shift the public agenda or bring about real changes that improve the rights of marginalized groups. According to experts, major social changes mainly occur as a result of “top-down” decisions made by high-ranking officials.

As a reading check, participants were asked to summarize the text. Additionally, we included an attention check question in the survey. After reading the experimental manipulation, participants answer the following questions:

Manipulation check

Participants answered the following question: ‘According to the news item you just read, to what extent is the participation of non-Roma as allies in social movements seeking equality between Roma and non-Roma effective and does it contribute to social change?’ using a scale from 1 (*not at all effective*) to 7 (*very effective*).

Perceived collective efficacy

We adapted four items from van Zomeren et al. (2004) to measure participants' perceptions that, by working together, non-Roma are able to: change the situation of inequality of the Roma, influence

policy decisions related to Roma inequality, improve the socioeconomic situation of the Roma and ensure equal rights for Roma ($\alpha = .92$), by using a scale from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 7 (*totally agree*).

Collective action intentions

We adapted the Collective Action Scale (van Zomeren et al., 2011) to evaluate participants' intentions to participate in activities to support Roma equality in the future. Participants answered eight items (e.g., vote for political candidates who support equal treatment, sign petitions, share events and calls for this topic on social networks, attend meetings and workshops, write complaints to public institutions, attend demonstrations; $\alpha = .94$) using a scale ranging from 1 (*nothing*) to 5 (*a lot*).

Collective action participation

We created a hypothetical online petition on the “Change.org” platform, which asked for the equality of Roma in the educational context and offered participants the possibility to sign that petition (see materials at https://osf.io/6h5cp/files/osfstorage?view_only=9baa35cdbc9455eac3e9098f2ad94a3 for more details).

At the end of the experiment, we provided a debrief on the objective of the study and information that disconfirmed the veracity of the messages presented in the press release used for the experimental manipulation and in the measure of the petition. We measured emotions towards the current situation of Roma people and towards Roma people, contact quantity/quality, prejudice towards Roma people, and opinion-based identity just for exploratory purposes, so we do not present analyses and results concerning these exploratory variables.

Analytical strategy

Once data were fully collected in each country with identical design and measures, we followed an Integrative Data Analysis strategy (IDA; Curran & Hussong, 2009) by pooling the datasets from Study 1a (Hungary; $n = 397$) and Study 1b (Spain; $n = 339$) into a single database. IDA allowed us to test our three hypotheses with higher sample and context heterogeneity (Curran & Hussong, 2009) and higher statistical power (Curran & Hussong, 2009). As recommended, we controlled for heterogeneity between countries and included the “country membership” as a covariate (0 = Study in Hungary, 1 = Study in Spain) in the analysis (fixed-effect IDA, Curran & Hussong, 2009).

Results

Descriptives and correlations between the main variables are shown in Table S1 (Supplementary). As a first step, we tested the effect of the manipulation of collective efficacy on the manipulation check and perceived collective efficacy with t -tests for independent samples. Participants in the high collective efficacy condition indicated that, according to the press release, the participation of non-Roma as allies in social movements in favour of Roma equality was effective and contributed to social change to a greater extent ($M = 5.49$; $SD = 1.46$) compared to those in the low collective efficacy condition ($M = 2.29$; $SD = 1.52$), $t(734) = -29.15$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 2.15$. Furthermore, participants in the high collective efficacy condition scored significantly higher ($M = 5.14$; $SD = 1.35$) in the perceived collective efficacy measure than participants in the low collective efficacy condition ($M = 4.07$; $SD = 1.56$; $t(719.24) = -9.96$; $p < .001$; Cohen's $d = 0.73$).

Effect of collective efficacy on collective action intentions and participation

We checked the existence of multivariate outliers based on Mahalanobis distance associated with the specific variables involved in the main hypotheses. Only two participants were identified as multivariate

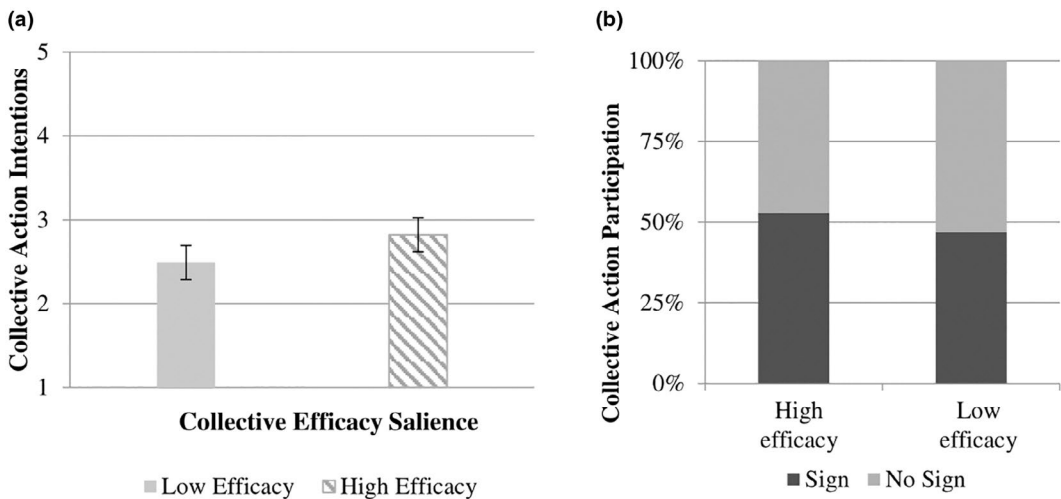


FIGURE 1 Effect of collective efficacy on collective action intentions and participation. Error bars show 95% CIs.

outliers and, therefore, were not included in the main analyses. As pre-registered, we conducted an ANOVA to test whether manipulation of collective efficacy affected collective action intentions (H1a), including the variable ‘country membership’ as a covariate. Results showed a univariate effect, $F(1, 731) = 19.86, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .026$. As shown in [Figure 1a](#), participants in the high collective efficacy condition were significantly more willing to engage in pro-Roma collective action ($M = 2.82$; $SD = 1.11$) than participants in the low collective efficacy condition ($M = 2.49$; $SD = 1.09$). Regarding the decision to sign the petition (H1b), we conducted a binary logistic regression with the condition as a predictor (low- vs. high-efficacy, effect coding: 0, 1; with the first group as reference category). As shown in [Figure 1b](#), a slightly higher number of participants in the high collective efficacy condition decided to sign the pro-Roma petition (52.86%) compared to the low collective efficacy condition (46.87%), but this difference was not significant, $b = 0.25$; $SE = 0.15$; $Wald(1) = 2.74, p = .098$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .084$.

Potential moderating variables on the effect of collective efficacy

We were also interested in analyzing whether perceived discrimination (Hypothesis 2) and/or meritocracy beliefs (Hypothesis 3) moderated the effect of the experimental manipulation of collective efficacy. We conducted separate moderation analyses using the macro PROCESS (Hayes, 2018; Model 1, bootstrapping procedure, 10,000 repeats, 95% CI) for each moderator (mean-centered perceived discrimination and meritocracy) and each outcome variable (collective action intentions and participation).

Perceived discrimination positively predicted collective action intentions ($b = 0.40, SE = 0.05, p < .001$) and participation ($b = 0.80, SE = 0.13, p < .001$), but did not moderate the effect of collective efficacy on pro-Roma collective action intentions ($b = 0.07, SE = 0.07, p = .376$) nor their tendency to sign the petition ($b = 0.01, SE = 0.18, p = .939$). Meritocracy was directly and negatively related to both pro-Roma collective action intentions ($b = -0.19, SE = 0.06, p = .002$) and participation ($b = -0.44, SE = 0.14, p = .001$), and in line with Hypotheses 3, it moderated the effect of collective efficacy on collective action intentions ($b = -0.21, SE = 0.09, p = .020$), indicating that the collective efficacy salience increased collective action intentions in participants with low levels of meritocracy ($b = 0.45, SE = 0.10, p < .001$), but not for highly meritocratic participants ($b = 0.13, SE = 0.10, p = .203$; see [Figure 2](#)). A similar pattern was found for the collective action participation; however, the interaction effect did not reach statistical significance ($b = -0.36, SE = 0.20, p = .078$).

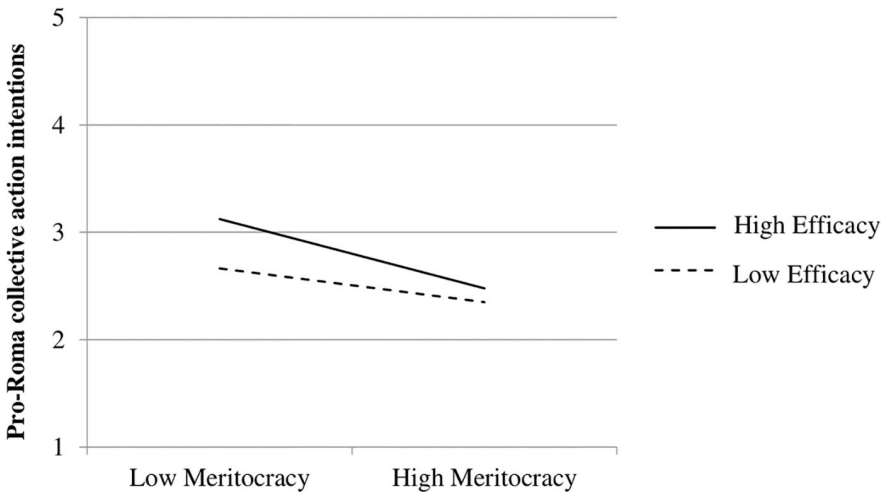


FIGURE 2 Influence of meritocracy beliefs on the effect of collective efficacy on pro-roma collective action intentions.

Discussion

Results of Study 1 partially supported our Hypothesis 1, as they revealed that learning about the efficacy of non-Roma allies increased participants' intention to engage in collective action for Roma rights (H1a), however, it did not increase significantly their actual willingness to sign a petition (H1b). Supporting Hypothesis 3, the effect of the manipulation on collective action intentions (but not on participation) was moderated by meritocracy beliefs, revealing that collective efficacy salience did not affect the intentions of participants with stronger meritocracy beliefs, but only those with low meritocracy beliefs. This is in line with Batruch et al. (2022), who showed that meritocracy beliefs can be demobilizing for social change. The effect of collective efficacy appears to be independent of participants' perception that Roma people are discriminated against, not supporting H2.

STUDY 2

In Study 2, we aimed to deepen the effect of collective efficacy on collective action intentions and participation, adding a control condition. Moreover, we added an additional behavioural measure of collective action participation, and the sample was collected through an opinion poll company, which allowed us to have a higher heterogeneity of participants in terms of age, gender, and education. We carried out our second study in Slovakia, which has a Roma minority that represents 2.9% of the population according to the last census (Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, 2021), although experts estimate this proportion as large as 8% (Ravasz et al., 2020).

Method

Participants

We used G*Power (Faul et al., 2009) to calculate the necessary sample size for linear multiple regression, fixed model, and R^2 increase based on an effect size $f^2 = 0.03$. Based on the analysis, we set a minimum of 368 and a maximum of 450 participants to test Hypotheses 1–3. The data was collected via an opinion poll company to test the findings of Study 1 in a demographically more diverse sample that was similar to the general Slovak population in terms of distribution of age, gender, and education. The initial

sample was 519 participants.¹ After excluding participants who self-identified as Roma and did not pass the attention check, the final sample consisted of 454 participants (239 men, 215 women) with an average age of 45.3 years ($SD = 16.3$) ranging from 18 to 86. Approximately half of the sample (47.1%) had completed a university degree, 50.7% had completed secondary education or vocational training and 2.2% had primary education. A sensitivity analysis indicated that a sample of 454 participants could detect an effect of $f = 0.15$ ($\eta^2 = .022$) with 80% power in a one-way ANOVA with three groups; and 0.017 for a linear multiple regression for the interaction term.

Design, measures, and procedure

Materials were similar to the first two studies with two additions. First, we added a control condition in which participants received general factual information about the results of the 2021 Census in Slovakia to disentangle the low-efficacy information from no efficacy salience. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions (high-efficacy, low-efficacy, control). Second, we added a third dependent variable that measures collective action behaviour. Participants were informed that a fictional NGO is looking for volunteers who would like to participate in various activities to achieve equal opportunities for Roma in different areas in Slovakia (e.g., education, health care, labor market) and asked to indicate whether they would like to join the activities of the NGO (either as a one-time activity or long-term help) and if so, they would be redirected to their website at the end of the survey. All scale reliabilities ranged from good ($\alpha = .80$) to excellent ($\alpha = .92$). We only focused on the main pre-registered hypotheses in this study.

Results

Descriptives and correlations between the main variables are shown in [Table S2](#) (Supplementary). First of all, we tested the effect of the experimental manipulation on the manipulation check that referred to the press release comparing the differences between the low- and high-efficacy conditions as the control condition did not include this measure. Participants in the high collective efficacy condition reported that, according to the press release, the participation of non-Roma as allies in social movements in favour of Roma equality was effective and contributed to social change to a greater extent ($M_{\text{high efficacy}} = 4.22$; $SD_{\text{high efficacy}} = 1.86$; $M_{\text{low efficacy}} = 2.69$, $SD_{\text{low efficacy}} = 1.71$; $t(294) = 7.36$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.86$).

Regarding perceived collective efficacy, results from the ANOVA indicate that there was a significant difference between conditions, $F(2, 451) = 3.38$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = .015$. Post-hoc comparisons revealed that participants in the high-efficacy condition scored significantly higher ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.64$) in perceived collective efficacy than participants in the low-efficacy condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.59$), $t(451) = 2.55$, $p_{\text{bonferroni}} = .033$, Cohen's $d = 0.30$, while there were no significant differences with the control group ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.62$).

Effect of collective efficacy on collective action tendencies and participation

We checked the existence of multivariate outliers based on Mahalanobis distance associated with the specific variables involved in each hypothesis and filtered them separately to test each hypothesis.² The

¹A larger sample was initially collected due to predetermined exclusion criteria and previous experience with higher dropout rate.

²24 outliers were excluded for Hypotheses 1–3 and 18 for mediational analyses. As the majority of multivariate outliers coincided with all the 23 participants who answered 'yes' to the volunteering measure, we repeated the analyses including the whole sample in SM (i.e. without filtering multivariate outliers), but no relevant changes were observed.

ANOVA results suggested no significant differences in reported intentions to participate in pro-Roma collective actions, $F(2, 427) = 0.09, p = .918, \eta_p^2 < .001$. Binary logistic regression revealed that the differences between the three conditions were not statistically significant concerning the collective action intentions and participation, $p_s > .054$. Although Hypothesis 1 was not confirmed, we also examined whether there was an indirect effect of the manipulation of collective efficacy on collective action intentions and participation through perceived collective efficacy.

We used PROCESS (Hayes, 2018) with indicator coding for multicategorical predictors: D1 compared low-efficacy (0) with the high-efficacy condition (1), and D2 compared low-efficacy (0) with the control condition (1). Regarding collective action intentions, we found an indirect effect through the participants' collective efficacy perception when comparing low- vs. high-efficacy conditions (D1: IE = 0.14, SE = 0.06, CI 95% [0.0200, 0.2586]). As shown in Figure 3, participants assigned to the high-efficacy condition scored significantly higher on collective efficacy perception than participants assigned to the low-efficacy condition. In turn, this perceived collective efficacy was positively associated with participants' collective action intentions. No significant indirect effect was found when comparing low-efficacy and control conditions (D2: IE = 0.06, SE = 0.06, CI 95% [-0.0570, 0.1731]). To obtain a comparison between high-efficacy and control conditions, we repeated the PROCESS analyses with a new indicator coding considering high-efficacy as the group reference. In this case, no indirect effects were found (IE = 0.08, SE = 0.06, CI 95% [-0.1953, 0.0382]).

The same pattern was found for collective action participation. Participants in the high-efficacy condition scored significantly higher in the perception of collective efficacy than participants in the low-efficacy condition and perceived collective efficacy was positively associated with signing the petition in favour of Roma rights (D1: IE = 0.31, SE = 0.14, CI 95% [0.0488, 0.6241]). Again, no indirect effect was found when comparing low-efficacy and control conditions (D2: IE = 0.13, SE = 0.13, CI 95% [-0.1271, 0.4083]), nor

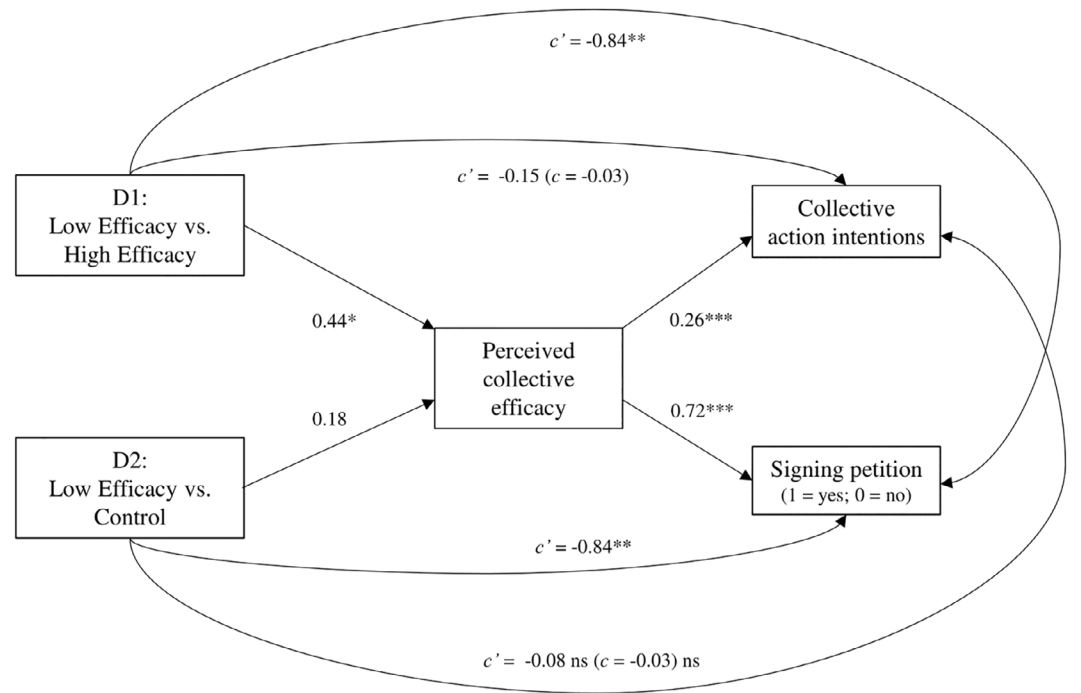


FIGURE 3 Indirect effect of collective efficacy (experimental condition) on collective action intention via perceived collective efficacy (Study 2). The total effects are in brackets but were not available for the petition because it is a dichotomous measure. D1 compared low-efficacy (0) with the high-efficacy condition (1), and D2 compared low-efficacy (0) with the control condition (1). Direct effect when comparing High-efficacy vs. Control on collective action intentions: $c' = 0.06$ ns. Direct effect when comparing High-efficacy vs. Control on collective action participation: $c' = 0.003$ ns.

when comparing high-efficacy and control group (D2: IE = -0.18 , SE = 0.14 , CI 95% [-0.4800 , 0.0876]). As only five participants (after filtering for multivariate outliers) answered 'yes' to the question of whether they would volunteer in a pro-Roma NGO, no analyses were conducted for this variable.

Potential moderating variables on the effect of collective efficacy on collective action

The results showed that the perception that Roma people are discriminated against positively predicted both collective action intentions ($b = 0.35$, SE = 0.07 , $p < .001$) and the tendency to sign the petition ($b = 1.03$, SE = 0.24 , $p < .001$), but did not interact with collective efficacy ($bs \leq -0.08$, $ps \geq .387$). Meritocracy beliefs did not predict collective action intentions nor the tendency to sign the petition. There were also no significant interaction effects ($bs \leq 0.35$; $ps \geq .352$), not supporting Hypothesis 3.

Discussion

In contrast to Study 1 conducted in Hungary and Spain (and contrary to H1), in Slovakia we found no significant direct effect of the collective efficacy manipulation on either of the collective action measures. However, when including the measure of perceived collective efficacy as a mediator, we found an indirect effect of the collective efficacy manipulation on the two measures through the perception of allies' collective efficacy, providing indirect support for Hypothesis 1 and in line with previous literature on collective efficacy beliefs. These findings suggest that, in line with Cohen-Chen and van Zomeren (2018), in contexts where the expectations that negative intergroup relations might change are low, manipulated collective efficacy beliefs might not increase individuals' collective action intentions. However, indirect effects through perceived efficacy should be analyzed more in depth in future research. Neither perceived discrimination nor meritocracy moderated the effect of the experimental manipulation on collective action, contrary to Hypotheses 2 and 3. Although previous research has shown that in Slovakia, the ethnic majority Slovaks' support for pro-Roma policies was based on the principle of reciprocity with benefits conditional on the contribution (Findor et al., 2023), no previous studies have focused specifically on the role of general meritocracy beliefs in collective action support in hostile normative environments concerning intergroup relations, such as Slovakia (Kende et al., 2017).

STUDY 3

The effects found in previous studies could be influenced by the wider conceptualization of collective efficacy adopted in the manipulation. In general, collective efficacy might be related to the number of people involved in the protest since thinking that a great number of people are involved may affect our perceived efficacy of the movement. However, this aspect might be activating a social norm more than specifically a collective efficacy perception (see Fritsche & Masson, 2021; Hamann et al., 2024). To clarify it and contribute to the collective efficacy research, we conducted a third study using a more specific efficacy manipulation with the aim of disentangling the effect of collective efficacy from the effect of a pro-Roma social norm.

Method

Participants

Study 3 was conducted in Hungary as Study 1. Accordingly, we took the effect size found in Study 1 (manipulation with two conditions) as reference: η_p^2 of 0.047 (Cohen's f : 0.217). G*Power (Faul et al., 2009)

suggested a total sample size of 170 participants to compare two groups ($n = 85$ per condition) considering such effect size. As Study 3 included three conditions, we calculated 85 additional participants for the control condition. That resulted in a minimum of 255 participants. Nevertheless, as the manipulation changed (narrower vs. wider conceptualization of efficacy) and three conditions were considered, we pre-registered to reach a maximum of 400 participants. Once participants that did not pass the attention check or were self-identified as Roma were eliminated, we conducted the analyses with a final sample of 382 participants (306 women and 71 men, 3 no binary, 2 prefer not to say) with an average age of 22.26 years ($SD = 4.64$) ranging from 18 to 55. A sensitivity analysis indicated that a sample of 382 participants could detect an effect of $f = 0.16$ ($\eta^2 = .025$) with 80% power in a one-way ANOVA with three groups; and 0.020 for a linear multiple regression for the interaction term.

Design and measures

Similar to Study 2, participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions (high-efficacy, low-efficacy, or control). We ensured that the manipulation of collective efficacy includes words recommended by Hamann et al. (2024). The main difference between the previous study was the exclusive focus on collective efficacy and the avoidance of any possible activation of social norms. In the high-efficacy condition, participants were informed that:

[...] the action of the non-Roma allies was able to achieve a significant, actually demonstrable change in eliminating the disadvantaged position of the Roma. The movements proved to be effective in achieving their goals, and the effect was also detectable in the long term. Other social movements can exploit the positive influence of majority allies and can also utilize this strategy to achieve greater social equality. Although the majority of people believe that participation in such movements is not very productive, research confirms the opposite, emphasizing that majority movements acting for the interests of minority groups actually have a significant impact on society. There are many past examples of minority groups with majority allies on their side being able to influence decision-making processes and achieve real change in the rights of vulnerable groups. According to experts, some of the most successful and lasting social change starts with small steps by people just like you.

Whereas in the low-efficacy condition, participants were informed that:

[...] the action of non-Roma allies has no realistic chance of reducing the inequalities affecting the Roma. In fact, these movements have neither a visible nor a demonstrable long-term effect on improving the situation of the Roma people. Although the majority of people believe that participation in such movements can be productive, research confirms the opposite, revealing that majority movements that act for the interests of minority groups do not actually have an impact on society. Minority groups with majority allies on their side have not been able to significantly influence decision-making processes or achieve real change in the rights of vulnerable groups. According to experts, major social changes are mainly the result of decisions made by decision-makers “from above”.

The control manipulation was similar to the one used in Study 2. All other materials were similar to the first two studies (see Materials in OSF). Although more measures were included, we only focused on the main pre-registered hypotheses as in previous studies. All scale reliabilities ranged from good ($\alpha = .83$) to excellent ($\alpha = .92$).

Results

An independent samples *t*-test confirmed that participants reported that according to the news they had just read, the participation of non-Roma as allies in pro-Roma movements was more effective in the high-efficacy condition ($M=5.66$; $SD=1.21$) than in the low-efficacy condition ($M=1.86$, $SD=1.17$), $t(256)=-25.58$, $p<.001$, Cohen's $d=1.19$.

Regarding the perceived collective efficacy measure, results from the ANOVA suggested a clear significant difference between conditions, $F(2, 379)=30.32$, $p<.001$, $\eta_p^2=0.138$. Post-hoc comparisons with *Bonferroni* tests revealed that participants in the low-efficacy condition perceived significantly less collective efficacy ($M=3.73$, $SD=1.44$) than participants in the high-efficacy condition ($M=4.99$, $SD=1.24$, $p<.001$) and control condition ($M=4.67$, $SD=1.36$, $p<.001$), with no significant differences between these two conditions ($p=.175$).

Effect of collective efficacy on collective action tendencies and participation

Based on Mahalanobis distance, one participant was excluded from the following analyses. The ANOVA suggested no significant differences between conditions in the intentions to participate in pro-Roma collective actions, $F(2, 378)=0.28$, $p=.754$, $\eta_p^2<.001$. Binary logistic regression revealed that the differences between the three conditions were not statistically significant concerning participation ($ps>.068$). Although Hypothesis 1 (direct effects of the manipulation) was not confirmed, we examined whether there was an indirect effect of the manipulation on collective action intentions and participation through perceived collective efficacy as in Study 2.

We used the macro PROCESS (Hayes, 2018) with indicator coding for multicategorical predictors: D1 compared the low-efficacy (0) with the high-efficacy condition (1), and D2 compared the low-efficacy (0) with the control condition (1). According to the Mahalanobis distance, no outliers were identified for these analyses. Indirect effects through participants' perception of collective efficacy were found when comparing the low-efficacy condition with both high-efficacy (D1: IE = 0.36, SE = 0.06, CI 95% [0.2457, 0.4921]) and control conditions (D2: IE = 0.27, SE = 0.06, CI 95% [0.1556, 0.3933]). Changing the terms of comparison, we also found that there was a weak indirect effect when comparing high-efficacy (0) with the control condition (1), IE = -0.09, SE = 0.05, CI 95% [-0.1898, -0.0003].

Indirect effects were also found for collective action participation when comparing the low-efficacy condition with the high-efficacy condition, D1: IE = 0.46, SE = 0.12, CI 95% [0.2482, 0.7208]; and control conditions, D2: IE = 0.34, SE = 0.10, CI 95% [0.1681, 0.5671], but not when comparing the high-efficacy condition with the control condition, IE = -0.11, SE = 0.07, CI 95% [-0.2645, 0.0015]. As shown in Figure 4, participants in the low-efficacy condition (vs. high efficacy and control conditions) perceived less collective efficacy as allies, which, in turn, was associated with lower collective action intentions and participation.

Potential moderating variables on the effect of collective efficacy on collective action

The results showed that the perception that Roma are discriminated against positively predicted collective action intentions ($b=0.51$, SE = 0.09, $p<.001$), and participation ($b=1.05$, SE = 0.26, $p<.001$), but did not interact with collective efficacy ($bs\leq-0.47$, $ps\geq.178$). Meritocracy beliefs were negatively associated with collective action intentions ($b=-0.49$, SE = 0.10, $p<.001$), and participation ($b=-0.69$, SE = 0.25, $p=.007$), but did not interact with the manipulation of collective efficacy ($bs\leq-0.18/0.15$, $ps\geq.333$).

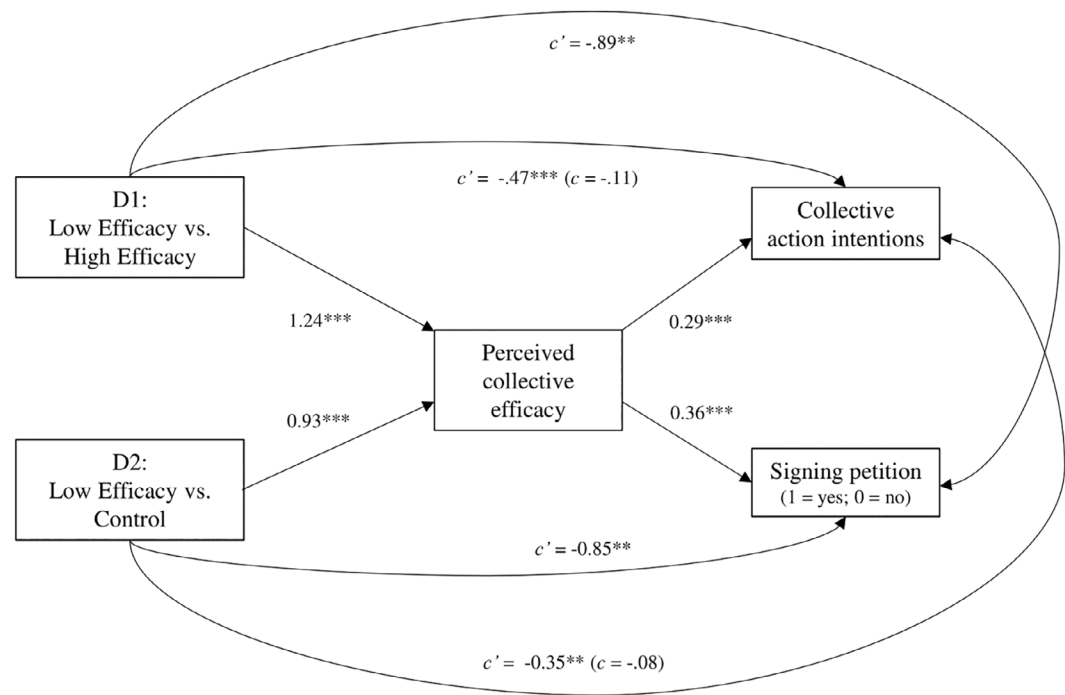


FIGURE 4 Indirect effect of collective efficacy (experimental condition) on collective action intentions via perceived collective efficacy (Study 3). The total effects are in brackets but were not available for the petition because it is a dichotomous measure. D1 compared low-efficacy (0) with the high-efficacy condition (1), and D2 compared low-efficacy (0) with the control condition (1). Direct effects when comparing High-efficacy (0) vs. Control (1) were not significant on collective action intentions, $c' = 0.12$; and participation, $c' = 0.05$.

Discussion

When it is disentangled from components that could be related to pro-Roma social norms, we do not observe the direct effects of the manipulation of collective efficacy. A broader and wider conceptualization of efficacy, including other dimensions that reinforce collective agency (see Fritsche & Masson, 2021) may strengthen the effects of collective efficacy manipulations.

However, in line with Study 2, when considering perceived collective efficacy as a mediating mechanism, we confirmed the indirect effects of the manipulation, suggesting the risks of presenting messages that strengthen the already existing low beliefs in the potential of collective efficacy in these contexts. As in Study 2, although perceived discrimination and meritocracy were related to collective action intentions and participation, they were not working in interaction with collective efficacy.

Although not found in the ANOVA analyses when testing H1, an unexpected direct effect of the manipulation emerged on the dependent variables when conducting the mediational analyses, revealing more collective actions reported in the low efficacy condition. As this effect was not found in previous studies and was counterintuitive, future research should clarify it.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Guaranteeing the authentic social inclusion of Roma people, a historically stigmatized and oppressed ethnic minority, is a challenging process that should be reinforced with the coordinated effort of members of disadvantaged and advantaged groups. However, research has not paid much attention to factors

that can motivate non-Roma allies to participate in collective action for Roma rights and equality. Although perceived discrimination and associated emotions, such as anger, have been shown to predict collective mobilization even among allies, there is less empirical evidence (especially experimental) about the process that links the collective efficacy of allies with mobilization. However, the role of collective efficacy beliefs can be particularly important in social and political contexts with low levels of trust and a lack of strong anti-discrimination movements where perceived efficacy for producing egalitarian social change is threatened. Using experimental designs, we analyzed how information on allies' collective efficacy affected non-Roma participants' collective action intentions and participation to reduce inequalities for Roma people in three European countries: Hungary, Spain, and Slovakia. We also analyzed the influence of perceived discrimination and meritocracy beliefs on the effect of collective efficacy.

The results of Study 1 (conducted in Hungary and Spain) supported our hypothesis that participants assigned to the condition of higher collective efficacy were more willing to participate in pro-Roma collective actions than participants in the low-efficacy condition in two different societal contexts and with different samples (undergraduate students and general population). This direct effect was not found in the study conducted in Slovakia on a demographically more diverse sample or in Hungary with a narrower manipulation of collective efficacy that distinguishes it from the potential effect of social norms. In a hostile context where the majority is largely indifferent or hostile towards the Roma, high efficacy (and pro-Roma norms) might not be perceived as likely and realistic by participants, and this might explain why the effect was only present as indirect via perceived collective efficacy. Perceived collective efficacy might have captured to what extent the manipulation was even efficient, that is, to what extent the participants believed or internalized the information from the press release. Future research should analyze in more detail the role of the context when trying to manipulate collective efficacy.

However, when we analyzed the effect of the manipulation through the level of perceived allies' collective efficacy, perceived collective efficacy predicted collective action intentions and participation. Previous research has found indirect effects of manipulations of collective efficacy via self-efficacy and perceived collective efficacy (Jugert et al., 2016). In this research, we confirm the role of perceived collective efficacy as a conductor of the effect of collective efficacy manipulations, considering both wider and narrower conceptualizations of the construct.

Such findings support the positive impact of collective efficacy on collective action as well as the dangers of reducing the perceived efficacy of the role of allies for producing social change, contrary to the apathy effect proposed of political efficacy on mobilization (Osborne et al., 2015; Thomas et al., 2020). This might be because this efficacy-apathy effect was studied considering political efficacy, whereas we analyzed the efficacy of the collective action itself for social change. As Hornsey et al. (2006) discussed, the conceptualization of efficacy is essential to understanding its effects on collective action. Regarding the absence of a direct effect on participation, collective efficacy beliefs might matter for those members of advantaged groups who are not yet mobilized (the general population examined in the present manuscript), but less so for those who are already politicized and participate in movements (Radke et al., 2022). We believe that the advantaged groups first 'need' to feel that they can or rather should do something; thus, increasing their collective efficacy is especially important in the first step of mobilization. For that reason, it would be easier to find the effects of collective efficacy on collective action tendencies than on direct participation. Additionally, a broader and wider conceptualization of efficacy, including other dimensions that reinforce collective agency may increase the potential effects of collective efficacy manipulations (see Fritsche & Masson, 2021).

Overall, the results support the importance of considering collective efficacy for predicting social mobilization (van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2013), and also suggest the relevance of promoting collective efficacy not only for actions conducted by Roma activists but also those conducted by the non-Roma allies. Pro-Roma activism is extremely scarce; most people are either indifferent or prejudiced against the Roma (Kende et al., 2017, 2021), so information about collective efficacy can potentially change such

negative and demobilizing social norms. Our findings alert us to the danger of low-collective-efficacy messages—a common narrative in countries where trust in politics and a positive outlook on the social-political situation is low—that can decrease the already existing low beliefs in collective efficacy, and accordingly, people's willingness to engage in pro-Roma actions. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first time there is experimental evidence of the effects of collective efficacy on the mobilization of allies in general, and specifically in the case of mobilization for the rights of Roma people.

Although perceived discrimination did not moderate the effects, ideological factors such as meritocracy beliefs moderated the effect of collective efficacy in integrated data analyses that merged data from Spain and Hungary. The collective efficacy manipulation was not effective for high-meritocracy believers. This is in line with research that shows that meritocracy beliefs are associated with negative attitudes towards low-status groups and denying social inequalities (Knowles & Lowery, 2012; Madeira et al., 2019). This indicates that ideological factors are crucial in some specific contexts as they can modulate the openness of people to messages of collective efficacy. However, meritocracy beliefs did not moderate the effect of efficacy on collective actions among the Slovak and Hungarian participants (Studies 2–3). The historical and sociological factors could explain why meritocracy might be construed differently or even questioned in these countries, but it could also be because meritocracy is usually framed in individual terms, and the experiment was framed in collective terms. Future studies should clarify the role of meritocracy in different contexts.

These findings have implications for the potential mobilization of allies, especially regarding their perception of the efficacy that social campaigns may threaten or elicit. When making visible the unfair situation of the Roma people, we should first accompany it with the idea that we can all do something to change injustice to avoid the dangers of helplessness. Additionally, we need to make sure that messages suggesting low efficacy do not emerge in the context of presenting injustices. Educational interventions might benefit from finding ways to strengthen the collective efficacy of allies and providing concrete examples that have worked to change inequalities, as well as appropriate approaches to being a good ally.

Limitations and future research

The direct effects of collective efficacy on the willingness to participate in collective actions for social change were not very strong in the two countries of Study 1, and they were absent in Studies 2 and 3. Manipulating collective efficacy in contexts where high efficacy (and pro-Roma norms) may be perceived as unrealistic entails a major difficulty that should not be ignored. Exposure to just one press release may be insufficient, especially in such contexts, and new forms of reinforcing collective efficacy should be found, maybe, resorting to more immersive technologies.

Previous research has also failed to demonstrate direct or total experimental effects of efficacy in collective action (e.g. Hamann & Reese, 2020; Hornsey et al., 2021; Jugert et al., 2016). The existence or absence of the effects may be probably related to the operationalization of the construct itself in the manipulations, so considering models that disentangle components of collective efficacy such as the Triple-A (Agent-Action-Aim framework of self-efficacy beliefs in the context of collective social aims of Hamann et al., 2024) or different components of collective agency (see Fritzsche & Masson, 2021) can help to understand the state of the research. In line with what we observe in the comparison of the results of Studies 1 and 3, we consider that different elements contribute to the perception of the efficacy of a movement and that a key aspect could be that each movement has more and more participation since the number of participants in a movement can contribute to the perception that it will be able to achieve its goals and it might be needed to obtain direct effects of the manipulation in collective action (see Fritzsche & Masson, 2021).

Additionally, the effect of collective efficacy on direct behaviours was not always consistent. In general, people typically report greater interest in collective action than actual involvement in collective action behaviours (Tropp & Brown, 2004; Uluğ et al., 2022). In line with Radke et al. (2022), it would be

easier to find the effects of collective efficacy on collective action tendencies than in direct behaviour, which implies a real mobilization of someone who is already habituated to do so. In the context of Roma's collective action, the mobilization of both Roma and their allies is generally low, and there are no collective movements to challenge the structural discrimination of the Roma, unlike other racial inequalities. Hence, our results should be recognized as important initial steps towards understanding mobilization for collective action for Roma equality.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite these limitations, the strength of this work is to present theoretically grounded experimental evidence of the direct or indirect effect of collective efficacy on the collective action of non-Roma allies in three different European countries with a high presence of Roma people. These findings contribute to the conceptualization and operationalization of collective efficacy in experimental studies and its effects on allies' collective action intentions and participation with relevant implications for social change.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Ana Urbiola: Conceptualization; supervision; project administration; writing – original draft; writing – review and editing; methodology; investigation; funding acquisition; validation; formal analysis. **Lucía López-Rodríguez:** Conceptualization; writing – original draft; writing – review and editing; investigation; methodology; visualization; supervision; validation; formal analysis. **Laura C. Torres-Vega:** Conceptualization; formal analysis; writing – review and editing; data curation; investigation; methodology; visualization. **Xenia-Daniela Poslon:** Conceptualization; investigation; methodology; visualization; writing – review and editing; formal analysis. **Barbara Láštiová:** Conceptualization; writing – review and editing; funding acquisition; project administration; investigation; methodology. **József Pántya:** Conceptualization; writing – review and editing; visualization; data curation; formal analysis; investigation; methodology. **Hanna Szekeres:** Writing – review and editing; methodology; conceptualization; investigation. **Anna Kende:** Conceptualization; writing – review and editing; funding acquisition; project administration; investigation; methodology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was funded by the European Commission: European Union's Rights, Equality, and Citizenship (REC) Programme (2014–2020) (Grant No. 963122—ENGAGE—REC-AG-2020/REC-RDIS-DISC-AG-2020). The work of Ana Urbiola was supported by the Ministry of Universities, *recualificación del sistema universitario español* Ref: RR_B_2022_02 and by RYC2022-035896-I funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033. The work of Lucía López-Rodríguez was supported by the project PID2021-126085OB-I00, funded by MICIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033. The work of Anna Kende was supported by the National Research and Innovation Research Grant (Grant Number: NKFI-K138429). The work of Barbara Láštiová and Xenia Daniela Poslon was supported by the Slovak Scientific Grant Agency VEGA project No. 2/0102/22 and by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract no. APVV-23-0119.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The design of the studies and the analyses conducted were pre-registered. Pre-registrations, materials, data sets, and [Supporting Information](https://osf.io/6h5cp/?view_only=9baa35cdbce9455eae3e9098f2ad94a3) can be consulted at https://osf.io/6h5cp/?view_only=9baa35cdbce9455eae3e9098f2ad94a3.

ORCID

Lucía López-Rodríguez  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9153-0220>

REFERENCES

- Bagci, S. C., & Canpolat, E. (2020). Group efficacy as a moderator on the associations between perceived discrimination, acculturation orientations, and psychological well-being. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 30(1), 45–58. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2421>
- Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 9(3), 75–78. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.00064>
- Batruch, A., Jetten, J., Van de Werfhorst, H., Darnon, C., & Butera, F. (2022). Belief in school meritocracy and the legitimization of social and income inequality. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 14(5), 621–635. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19485506221111017>
- Bay-Cheng, L. Y., Fitz, C. C., Alizaga, N. M., & Zucker, A. N. (2015). Tracking homo economicus: Development of the neoliberal beliefs inventory. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 3(1), 71–88. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i1.366>
- Becker, J. C., & Tausch, N. (2015). A dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action: Psychological antecedents, consequences, and barriers. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 26(1), 43–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2015.1094265>
- Becker, J. C., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Yet another dark side of chivalry: Benevolent sexism undermines and hostile sexism motivates collective action for social change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(1), 62–77. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022615>
- Cohen-Chen, S., & van Zomeren, M. (2018). Yes we can? Group efficacy beliefs predict collective action, but only when hope is high. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 77, 50–59. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2018.03.016>
- Curran, P. J., & Hussong, A. M. (2009). Integrative data analysis: The simultaneous analysis of multiple data sets. *Psychological Methods*, 14(2), 81–100. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015914>
- European Commission. (2018). *Antigypsyism: Increasing its recognition to better understand and address its manifestations*. https://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/just/document.cfm?doc_id=55652
- European Commission. (2020). *EU Roma strategic framework for equality, inclusion and participation*. European Commission. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52020DC0620>
- European Commission. (n.d.). *Roma equality, inclusion, and participation by EU country*. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/roma-eu/roma-equality-inclusion-and-participation-eu-country/hungary_en#facts-and-figures
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA]. (2017). Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey – Main results. https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2017-eu-midis-ii-main-results_en.pdf
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A. G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, 41, 1149–1160. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BRM.41.4.1149>
- Findor, A., Hruška, M., Hlatky, R., Hrustič, T., & Bošefová, Z. (2023). Equality, reciprocity, or need? Bolstering welfare policy support for marginalized groups with distributive fairness. *American Political Science Review*, 117, 805–821. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055422001046>
- Fritzsche, I., Barth, M., Jugert, P., Masson, T., & Reese, G. (2018). A social identity model of pro-environmental action (SIMPEA). *Psychological Review*, 125(2), 245–269. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000090>
- Fritzsche, I., & Masson, T. (2021). Collective climate action: When do people turn into collective environmental agents? *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 42, 114–119. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2021.05.001>
- García, D. M., Branscombe, N. R., Desmarais, S., & Gee, S. S. (2006). Attitudes toward redistributive social policies: The effects of social comparisons and policy experience. In S. Guimond (Ed.), *Social comparison and social psychology: Understanding cognition, intergroup relations, and culture* (pp. 151–173). Cambridge University Press.
- Hamann, K. R. S., & Reese, G. (2020). My influence on the world (of others): Goal efficacy beliefs and efficacy affect predict private, public, and activist pro-environmental behavior. *Journal of Social Issues*, 76, 35–53. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12369>
- Hamann, K. R. S., Wullenkord, M. C., Reese, G., & van Zomeren, M. (2024). Believing that we can change our world for the better: A triple-a (agent-action-aim) framework of self-efficacy beliefs in the context of collective social and ecological aims. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 28(1), 11–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683231178056>
- Hayes, A. F. (2018). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach (methodology in the social sciences)* (2nd ed.). The Guilford Press.
- Hornsey, M., Blackwood, L., Louis, W., Fielding, K., Mavor, K., Morton, T., Hornsey, M. J., O'Brien, A., Paasonen, K.-E., Smith, J., & White, K. M. (2006). Why do people engage in collective action? Revisiting the role of perceived effectiveness. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36(9), 1701–1722. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9029.2006.00077.x>
- Hornsey, M. J., Chapman, C. M., & Oelrichs, D. M. (2021). Why it is so hard to teach people they can make a difference: Climate change efficacy as a non-analytic form of reasoning. *Thinking & Reasoning*, 28, 327–345. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13546783.2021.1893222>
- Jost, J. T., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology*, 25(6), 881–919. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00402.x>

- Jugert, P., Greenaway, K. H., Barth, M., Büchner, R., Eisentraut, S., & Fritsche, I. (2016). Collective efficacy increases pro-environmental intentions through increasing self-efficacy. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 48, 12–23. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2016.08.003>
- Kende, A., Hadarics, M., Bigazzi, S., Boza, M., Kunst, J. R., Lantos, N. A., Láštiová, B., Minescu, A., Pivetti, M., & Urbiola, A. (2021). The last acceptable prejudice in Europe? Anti-Gypsyism as the obstacle to Roma inclusion. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 24(3), 388–410. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220907701>
- Kende, A., Hadarics, M., & Láštiová, B. (2017). Anti-Roma attitudes as expressions of dominant social norms in Eastern Europe. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 60, 12–27. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2017.06.002>
- Kende, A., & Láštiová, B. (2024). Anti-Gypsyism as a historically lasting form of prejudice in politically unstable societies. In A. Kende & B. Láštiová (Eds.), *The psychology of politically unstable societies* (pp. 153–168). Routledge.
- Klandermans, B., van der Toorn, J., & van Stekelenburg, J. (2008). Embeddedness and identity: How immigrants turn grievances into action. *American Sociological Review*, 73(6), 992–1012. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300606>
- Knowles, E. D., & Lowery, B. S. (2012). Meritocracy, self-concerns, and whites' denial of racial inequity. *Self and Identity*, 11(2), 202–222. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2010.542015>
- Kóczé, A., & Róvid, M. (2012). Pro-Roma global civil society: Acting for, with or instead of Roma? In M. Kaldor, H. L. Moore, S. Selchow, & T. Murray-Leach (Eds.), *Global civil society 2012. Global civil society yearbook* (pp. 110–122). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230369436_7
- Ledgerwood, A., Mandisodza, A. N., Jost, J. T., & Pohl, M. J. (2011). Working for the system: Motivated defense of meritocratic beliefs. *Social Cognition*, 29(3), 322–340. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2011.29.3.322>
- Madeira, A. F., Costa-Lopes, R., Dovidio, J. F., Freitas, G., & Mascarenhas, M. F. (2019). Primes and consequences: A systematic review of meritocracy in intergroup relations. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2019.02007>
- Mummendey, A., Kessler, T., Klink, A., & Mielke, R. (1999). Strategies to cope with negative social identity: Predictions by social identity theory and relative deprivation theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(2), 229–245. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.2.229>
- Navas, M., Pumares, P., Sánchez-Miranda, J., García, M. C., Rojas, A. J., Cuadrado, I., Asensio, M., & Fernández-Prados, J. S. (2004). *Estrategias y actitudes de aculturación: la perspectiva de los inmigrantes y de los autóctonos en Almería* [Acculturation strategies and attitudes: Perspectives of autochthonous and immigrants in Almería]. Junta de Andalucía.
- Osborne, D., Yogeeswaran, K., & Sibley, C. G. (2015). Hidden consequences of political efficacy: Testing an efficacy-apathy model of political mobilization. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 21, 533–540. <https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000029>
- Pénzes, J., Pásztor, I. Z., Tátrai, P., & Kóti, T. (2019). Roma population in Hungary-spatial distribution and its temporal changes. *Deturope*, 11(3), 138–159.
- Radke, H. R. M., Kutlaca, M., & Becker, J. C. (2022). Applying the dynamic dual pathway model of approach coping to collective action among advantaged group allies and disadvantaged group members. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 13, 875848. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.875848>
- Ravas, A., Marković, F., & Kovács, E. (2020). *Atlas rómskych komunit 2019* [Atlas of Roma Communities 2019]. Veda.
- Saab, R., Tausch, N., Spears, R., & Cheung, W. Y. (2015). Acting in solidarity: Testing an extended dual pathway model of collective action by bystander group members. *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, 54(3), 539–560. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12095>
- Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic. (2021). *The 2021 population and housing census*. <https://www.scitanie.sk/en>
- Tausch, N., Becker, J. C., Spears, R., Christ, O., Saab, R., Singh, P., & Siddiqui, R. N. (2011). Explaining radical group behavior: Developing emotion and efficacy routes to normative and nonnormative collective action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(1), 129–148. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022728>
- Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. A. (2009). The role of efficacy and moral outrage norms in creating the potential for international development activism through group-based interaction. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48, 115–134. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X313774>
- Thomas, E. F., Zubielevitch, E., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2020). Testing the social identity model of collective action longitudinally and across structurally disadvantaged and advantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 46(6), 823–838. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167219879111>
- Tropp, L. R., & Brown, A. C. (2004). What benefits the group can also benefit the individual: Group-enhancing and individual-enhancing motives for collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 7(3), 267–282. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430204046111>
- Uluğ, Ö. M., Chayinska, M., & Tropp, L. R. (2022). Conceptual, methodological, and contextual challenges in studying collective action: Recommendations for future research. *TPM-Testing, Psychometrics, Methodology in Applied Psychology*, 29(1), 9–22.
- Urbiola, A., Navas, M., Carmona, C., & Willis, G. B. (2022). Social class also matters: The effects of social class, ethnicity, and their interaction on prejudice and discrimination toward Roma. *Race and Social Problems*, 15(3), 262–276. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-022-09368-1>
- Urbiola, A., Willis, G. B., Ruiz-Romero, J., & Moya, M. (2018). Does a multicultural perspective shape unbiased minds? The moderating role of outgroup threat. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 48, 608–617. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12551>

- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(4), 504–535. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504>
- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Bettache, K. (2011). Can moral convictions motivate the advantaged to challenge social inequality? Extending the social identity model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14(5), 735–753. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430210395637>
- van Zomeren, M., Saguy, T., & Schellhaas, F. M. H. (2013). Believing in “making a difference” to collective efforts: Participative efficacy beliefs as a unique predictor of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 16, 618–634. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430212467476>
- van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-focused anger and group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 649–664. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.87.5.649>
- van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., & Leach, C. W. (2010). Experimental evidence for a dual pathway model analysis of coping with the climate crisis. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(4), 339–346. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.02.006>
- Velasquez, A., & LaRose, R. (2015). Youth collective activism through social media: The role of collective efficacy. *New Media & Society*, 17(6), 899–918. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813518391>
- Vermeersch, P. (2002). Ethnic mobilisation and the political conditionality of European Union accession: The case of the Roma in Slovakia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(1), 83–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830120103949>

SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

How to cite this article: Urbiola, A., López-Rodríguez, L., Torres-Vega, L. C., Poslon, X.-D., Láštíková, B., Pántya, J., Szekeres, H., & Kende, A. (2025). Believing that social change is possible: Collective efficacy to promote engagement and mobilization of non-Roma as allies. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 64, e12895. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12895>