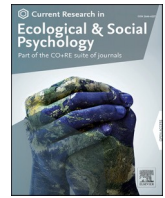


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Why, how and with whom? The impact of perceived ally motives on migrants' support for collective actions

Ana Urbiola^{a,c,*}, Cristina Carmona-López^{a,c}, Soledad de Lemus^b

^a Department of Psychology, University of Almería, Almería, Spain

^b Department of Social Psychology, University of Granada, Granada, Spain

^c Center of Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations (CEMyRI), University of Almería, Almería, Spain

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ABSTRACT

Social inequalities between migrants and the host society trigger collective actions that aim to reduce such inequalities. Such actions can be led by migrants themselves, or by advantaged members from the host society who act as allies. In three studies conducted in Spain (N Study 1 = 182 low vulnerability migrants; N Study 2 = 160 forced migrants and refugees; N Study 3 = 418 migrants with different levels of vulnerability) we evaluated: How perceived ally motives (egalitarian, paternalistic and performative) impact three different types of migrants' collective action tendencies: pro-alliance (e.g., meetings between migrants and Spaniards), led by Spaniards (e.g., pro-migrant demonstrations organized by Spaniards), and/or led by migrants (e.g., creation of political associations led by migrants). Additionally, we evaluated what type of alliance (as one-group recategorization or coalition) migrants prefer to build with members of the advantaged group. We also analyzed how perceived motives to support migrants relate to the evaluation for the types of alliance (Studies 2 and 3), and whether the level of vulnerability of the participants moderates the role of perceived paternalistic motives on collective action tendencies (Study 3). The results confirm that perceived ally egalitarian motives predict higher migrant support for pro-alliance collective action, as well as those led by Spanish allies across studies. Perceived paternalistic motives have a greater impact on highly socioeconomically vulnerable migrant support for collective action tendencies than on less vulnerable ones. There is no clear pattern of preference about perceiving themselves as part of a singular group (one-group recategorization) or in a coalition with advantaged group members who share the goal to promote migrants' rights. However, perceived egalitarian motives are positively related to the value attached to one-group recategorization. This research contributes to understanding the factors involved in participation to achieve social change amongst refugees or asylum seekers as well as less vulnerable migrants.

In Europe, the most important cultural minorities (in size, visibility, and diversity) are migrants. While part of the majority population contributes to migrants' struggles and suffering by endorsing xenophobic and racist attitudes towards them (e.g., [European Social Survey, 2016](#)), others choose to become migrants' allies and stand in solidarity for their rights ([Thomas et al., 2019](#)). Identity and perceived injustice are clear antecedents of collective actions amongst both advantaged and disadvantaged groups (e.g., [Agostini and van Zomeren, 2021](#); [Thomas et al., 2020](#)). However, the attributions migrants make about the reasons that motivate advantaged allies might also impact their own actions.

We consider it essential to study the perspective of minority/disadvantaged groups on intergroup alliances aiming to achieve social change (cf. [Kutluca et al., 2022](#)), and to analyze migrants' perceptions of the

outgroup's motives as an antecedent of migrants' collective actions. However, migrants' perspectives are constrained by cultural and contextual factors, such as country of origin, language, religion, socio-economic status and level of vulnerability.

In this work, we analyze how motives (egalitarian, paternalistic or performative) attributed to majority members who support migrants in the host country can affect migrants' collective action tendencies depending on their level of vulnerability. Further, we examine the type of alliance (as a one-group recategorization or coalition) that migrants prefer to build with members of the advantaged group who support their cause.

* Corresponding authors at: Department of Psychology, University of Almería, Almería, Spain.
E-mail address: aurlbiola@ual.es (A. Urbiola).

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Collective action and support by advantaged allies

To challenge structural inequalities, members of disadvantaged groups can ‘engage’ in a number of collective responses such as protests and other forms of collective actions (van Zomeren et al., 2008; Wright et al., 1990). Advantaged allies can also participate in these collective actions. Allies are defined as people who belong to an advantaged group, are informed about the problem and participate in solidarity with the disadvantaged group (Kutlaca et al., 2020; Brown and Ostrove, 2013; Subašić et al., 2008). Advantaged allies can support migrants in different ways and for different reasons. Allies that support the plight of migrants could be considered an opinion-based group (see Thomas and McGarty, 2009), which supports migrants by proposing and leading their own actions, or by joining those actions led by migrants themselves. In this work, we analyze the effect that perceived ally egalitarian, paternalistic or performative motives have on migrants’ support for different forms of collective actions (i.e., led by migrants or by advantaged allies).

We can distinguish between collective actions led by the disadvantaged group itself (e.g., migrant population in Spain) or led by the advantaged group (e.g., Spanish members that work or do activism in defending the rights of migrants in the country). The first ones clearly promote the disadvantaged group’s agency and satisfy their need for autonomy (Nadler, 2002). The second ones, led by advantaged members, could be more influential and mobilize the general population, but might imply a form of dependency-oriented support (Nadler, 2002) that might have negative consequences for disadvantaged group members such as losing their distinctiveness or empowerment for developing social movements (Becker et al., 2019; Droogendyk et al., 2016).

The actions that allies undertake on behalf of disadvantaged groups might not always have positive consequences for them. That is, there are conditions under which allies can harm more than help (Ostrove et al., 2009). Indeed, the (lack of) influence of allies in activism is pivotal in perceiving them as real and trustworthy allies (Park et al., 2022). Sometimes disadvantaged groups present negative emotions and responses to the fact that the leaders of collective actions are from the advantaged group, even if it is in solidarity contexts and the beneficiary is the disadvantaged group (Iyer and Achia, 2021). Also, disadvantaged groups evaluate allies less positively and are less willing to support them when they communicate their support in a dominant way compared to a neutral one (Radke et al., 2021). Another factor that might differently influence migrants’ collective actions is the motives that migrants attribute to allies who help them. We examine the effect that allies’ attributed motives have on migrants’ willingness to support for migrant-led and Spanish-led collective actions for migrants’ rights, as well as their support for pro-alliance joint action tendencies.

Allies’ support can also influence disadvantaged groups differently depending on how the alliance is constructed or represented. Intergroup alliances might be perceived in a more unitary way (e.g., “we are all antiracists”) leading to a superordinate recategorization as one group (Dovidio et al., 2009; Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000). When recategorization takes place, a process of identification with the superordinate category could lead to changes in intergroup perception, and support for social change actions to meet the goals of this common ingroup (Subašić et al., 2008). Paradoxically, such recategorization can make intergroup differences or the presence and influence of the more disadvantaged group inside the shared category less visible (Crisp et al., 2006), which might lead to maintaining the status quo (Dovidio et al., 2016). Although evidence exists showing that superordinate identities promote positive intergroup outcomes (e.g., Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000), there is also evidence suggesting that superordinate categories could lead to a reduction in people’s willingness to engage in collective action (Greenaway et al., 2011), and increase acceptance of intergroup inequalities among members of low-status groups (Jaško and Kossowska, 2013). Relatedly, joint actions between advantaged and disadvantaged groups can reduce the perception of “us versus them”, thus those who most highly identify with the minority group might not support such

actions (Hasan-Aslih et al., 2020).

Alternatively, alliances can be founded as coalitions between different groups that maintain their separate identities (i.e., Bukowski et al., 2022). A coalitional alliance implies a more distinctive and instrumental perception of the outgroup as a means to increase ingroup agency and power in the fight for a shared goal, leading to a more situational/strategic approach to cooperation (Cikara, 2021). Such an alliance might help to maintain more status-based respect and acknowledgement of the illegitimacy of the inequality by advantaged allies, as key factors that promote support for collective actions amongst minority groups (Becker et al., 2013; Glasford and Johnston, 2018). A coalition does not require a strong process of identification with the outgroup, but it is based on a common interest or goal (i.e., promoting migrants’ rights) and establishes an alliance between groups while maintaining their distinctiveness (i.e., being aware of which group they belong to, e.g., “you are our allies, but you are not us”). Thus, migrants might prefer coalitional alliances in which the intergroup disadvantage can still be contested, maintaining the salience of their cultural or ethnic identity. In this work we analyze migrants’ preference for different allyship representations (as one-group or a coalition), as well as the impact of allies’ attributed motives on the value attached to these forms of alliance.

Perceived ally motives

Attributional processes (“the motives or attitudes that I perceive that the other group has in intergroup relations”) can be a determinant for predicting perceivers’ behaviors (Kteily et al., 2016; O’Brien et al., 2018). In line with this, collaboration with potential allies might be determined by the perceived underlying motives based on self or other interests, which lead advantaged group members to support actions oriented towards social change or in support of the disadvantaged (Radke et al., 2020). For example, in the case of gender inequality, egalitarian and paternalistic motives of men who confront sexism have been identified as differentiated motivational forces that affect women’s empowerment and intentions to confront sexism in the future (Esterwan-Reina et al., 2020; 2021). Paternalistic motives lead to acting in favor of a group because it is perceived as weak and/or unable to act alone, whereas egalitarian motives are based on supporting a disadvantaged group because the existing inequality is perceived as unfair. Paternalistic motivation can lead to protective actions (Radke et al., 2018) and dependency-oriented help, thus running the risk of maintaining inequality; whereas egalitarian motivation has been related to support for autonomy (Nadler and Chernyak-Hai, 2014; Shnabel et al., 2016). Minorities identify that autonomy-oriented help offers better possibilities (Becker et al., 2019) and they are most appreciative of allies who are moved by an egalitarian motivation (Wiley and Dunne, 2019).

However, migrants who suffer higher levels of vulnerability might perceive allies’ motives differently. Migrants face multiple sources of threat and vulnerability in host countries. Migrants in vulnerable situations are those who cannot effectively enjoy their human rights, who are at a greater risk of suffering violations and abuses, and who therefore have the right to demand greater protection from duty bearers (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2018). Vulnerability in this context must be understood as both a situational and a personal reality. We recall that “migrants are not inherently vulnerable, nor do they lack [resilience] and capacity to act. On the contrary, vulnerability to violations of their human rights is the result of multiple interrelated forms of discrimination, inequality, and structural and social dynamics that impose limits and imbalances on the levels of power and enjoyment of rights” (UNHCHR, 2018). Migrants in high vulnerability conditions might consider help based on paternalistic motives to be useful in order to cover their basic needs (“I am in need of their help”) and perceive it as a form of support (“They care about us”). Thus, it is important to examine whether paternalistic and egalitarian motives have differentiated effects on migrants’ tendencies to support collective actions in

cooperation with host allies, depending on their level of vulnerability. We predict that while egalitarian motives will be generally positively related to migrants' collective action tendencies, paternalistic ones might only be mobilizing for highly vulnerable migrants.

In addition to paternalistic and egalitarian motives to support the cause of the disadvantaged group, we consider that allies' help might also be attributed to performative motives (e.g., to help the disadvantaged because it is socially valued, in order to be popular or to be included in a group). This self-focused motivation has been denounced by minorities in other mobilization contexts. For instance, in connection to the Blacks Lives Matter movement, many influencers who posted black squares on their social media were perceived as doing it strategically to build and maintain credibility with followers. Influencers were unable to genuinely merge their existing brand image with the Black Lives Matter movement in the long term, resulting in the memeification of social justice activism and no substantial progress toward diversity or equity (Wellman, 2022). Such performative motives might be perceived as non-genuine, and based on self-interest (Radke et al., 2020), thus preventing minorities from supporting joint collective actions.

The present research

This research was conducted with migrants in Spain between 2019 and 2023. In the case of Spain, there were 5.42 million foreign people in January 2022. Of these, more than 776,000 were of Moroccan origin, making them the largest migrant minority group. However, migrants from other African countries, Latin America and the European Union are also common (Statista, 2022). Overall, the majority of migrants coming from Africa do not have Refugee Status; they are asylum seekers or considered non-regulated migrants who were forced to escape from their countries of origin and live in a highly vulnerable situation. Most of them arrive by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. Despite decreased departures in 2020 during the pandemic, 1754 people were reported dead or missing (European Commission, 2021). For those who do arrive, their life conditions are very hard, a situation that lasts many years in most cases. In regions like Almeria, in the south of Spain, segregation is high, with many migrants living in crowded conditions in irregular settlements, inadequate residences or shacks that do not comply with the minimum standards for decent housing (Martínez-Veiga, 1999; Checa-Olmos, 2007). This migrant group lives in conditions of high vulnerability and without efficient solutions by regional or national governments to break the circle of poverty.

A significant portion of migrants, applicants for international protection, stateless persons and refugees in Spain survive with low-wage precarious or temporary jobs, often without access to social protection. This situation is aggravated for migrants without permanent residence since the immigration law in Spain directly links the renewal of their residence and work authorizations to obtaining a job and employer solvency. The administrative situation is an additional form of discrimination and causes devastating effects for many migrants as they are forced to work in a submerged economy, in very precarious sectors and are exposed to abuse (Red Acoge, 2021).

Another large group of migrants in Spain is composed of descendants of Spaniards that migrated during the war or Franco's dictatorship, often to Latin American countries. For example, 260,000 Argentinians immigrated to Spain in 2019 (International Organization for Migration, 2020). Their main reason for immigrating is a lack of job opportunities in their countries, and they choose Spain due to historical and language reasons. Part of that group has an easier path to obtaining Spanish nationality and a work permit because they are considered returning emigrants (Ministry of Inclusion, Social Security and Migrations, 2022). Overall, Latino migrants have a larger cultural and identity overlap with the host society than those from Africa.

In the present research we considered three samples of migrants with varying levels of social vulnerability (see sample sociodemographic information for all the studies in Table 1). The first one is composed of

Table 1
Sample characteristics of Studies 1, 2 and 3.

		Study 1 N=182	Study 2 N=160	Study 3 N=418
Origin	African	15.7%	82%	2.4%
	Non-African	84.3%	18%	97.4%
Studies	University studies	75.7%	11.3%	52.9%
	Less than university studies	24.3%	88.7%	47.1%
Gender	Female	65.2%	35%	66%
	Male	30.3%	65%	34%
	Other	4.5%	0%	0%
Average age		29.01	34.68	50.05

migrants with a relatively high status, from diverse countries of origin (Poland, Morocco, Colombia, Argentina, etc.) and legal stability in the host country (Study 1). The second one is composed of forced migrants with higher levels of vulnerability coming mostly from African countries, with lower levels of education and work stability (Study 2). The third study was composed of migrants of varying vulnerability, mostly from Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela). We analyzed the following research questions: a) How do perceived ally motives (egalitarian, paternalistic or performative) impact migrants' tendencies to participate in different types of collective actions: pro-alliance, led by Spaniards, and led by migrants?; b) What type of alliance (one-group recategorization or coalition) do migrants prefer to build with members of the advantaged group?; c) How do perceived motives relate to evaluating the type of alliance with advantaged members? (Studies 2 & 3 only); d) Does objective vulnerability moderate the role of perceived paternalistic motives in collective action tendencies? Specifically, in Study 3 we tested whether paternalistic motives had a stronger positive effect on collective action tendencies amongst participants with higher levels of vulnerability.

Study 1

In the first study, we examine the relation between the perceived motives of allies and the intention to participate in different types of collective action tendencies for migrants' rights (i.e., pro-alliance, led by migrants, led by Spaniards) and their preferences for coalitional or one-group recategorization alliances¹ with a convenience sample.

We hypothesized a positive effect of perceived egalitarian motives on pro-migrant collective action tendencies, but not of paternalistic and performative allyship motives.

Method

Participants and design

We planned to collect a minimum of 150 and a maximum of 300 migrants after applying exclusion criteria, who were currently living in Spain. In the end, 326 responses were collected. Following the pre-registered exclusion criteria, 130 participants who did not complete at least 50 % of the survey, 2 participants who did not pass the attention check, and 12 participants who were not migrants were excluded from the analyses. The final sample comprised 182 people. We carried out a sensitivity analysis based on the Power Analysis Working Group 2019 for a linear model for three tested predictors using G*Power. With 182 observations and 80 % desired power, the effect size sensitivity analysis returns that this power will be achieved for a critical F of 2.65 and an effect size (f^2) of 0.06.

¹ As part of a larger project, we pre-registered in OSF the study including other hypotheses and exploratory predictions: https://osf.io/sb4cm/?view_only=4f73f9e16c934f47a3f3848193c87e2a.

Of this sample, 65.2 % were women, 30.3 % men, and 4.5 % non-binary. Their age ranged from 18 to 60 years old ($M = 29.01$; $SD = 9.19$). 29.3 % of the sample came from Europe (Poland, Romania, Germany, Ukraine, Greece, Portugal, Lithuania, United Kingdom, Serbia, Norway, France, Bulgaria, and Italy), and 47.3 % from Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela). Only 15.7 % came from Africa (Mauritania, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Argelia, and Morocco). Other origins were Russia (1.1 %), China (2.8 %), Armenia (0.6 %), Pakistan (0.6 %), and the United States of America (1.1 %). Regarding religious denomination, 37.9 % did not believe in a deity or belong to a religious denomination, 22.5 % believed in a deity but did not belong to a religious denomination, followed by 15.9 % who stated that they were Roman Catholics.

Procedure and materials

The sample was recruited using a snow-ball procedure, via local organizations and networks of migrants in Spain. Participants responded to an online survey on Qualtrics with an estimated duration of 15 to 20 min (available as online supplementary material 1 on OSF: https://osf.io/3gt6z/?view_only=d4af906c9df0407fa40d74b7e4cba54b). At the beginning of the questionnaire, participants were informed about the study, and the possibility to withdraw at any time. They were offered participation in a raffle of €100. They answered the following questionnaires.

Perceived underlying motives. We adapted 6 items from [Estevan-Reina et al. \(2020\)](#) to measure for what reasons they believed that some Spanish people supported migrants' rights. These motives were divided into 3 groups: perceived paternalistic motives ($\alpha=.84$) (e.g., To defend migrants because they need to be protected), perceived egalitarian motives ($\alpha=.92$) (e.g., To fight against racism and xenophobia), and as a third group of motives, we developed three new items to measure performative allyship motives for supporting migrants ($\alpha=.88$) (e.g., To help others because it is currently socially valued). Responses ranged from *Nothing* (1) to *Very much* (5). The results of the exploratory factor analyses confirmed the three-factor structure (the results of this analysis can be found in the online supplementary material 3).

Type of alliance preference. We developed a pictorial measure (available in the online supplementary material number 1 in OSF), where we asked the participant what kind of alliance they preferred to have with Spaniards who supported migrants' rights: coalition ("I would prefer that both groups work together with a common goal, but without forgetting their differences") or one-group recategorization ("The best thing would be for the two groups to merge into one instead of working separately"). This measure attempts to capture what kind of alliance migrants prefer to have with their Spanish allies in order to engage in migrant rights activism.

Collective action tendencies. We developed 7 items related to their intention or tendencies to participate in those actions together using a Likert scale from *Totally disagree* (1) to *Totally agree* (5). There were 3 items referring to their intention to participate in pro-alliance actions, about migrants' cooperation with Spaniards ($\alpha=.77$) (e.g., "promote dialogues between migrants and Spaniards who support the rights of migrants"), 2 items ($r = .54, p < .001$) of their tendency to participate in collective actions led by Spaniards (e.g., "participate in demonstrations

in favor of migrants organized by Spaniards who support the rights of migrants"), and 2 items ($r = .63, p < .001$) related to their tendency to participate in collective actions led by migrants (e.g., "participate in mobilizations promoted by migrants").

Results

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations of the main variables in the study.

In relation to the prediction of their tendency to participate in different collective actions via perceived ally motives (see **Table 3**), we found that egalitarian motives predict a greater tendency to participate in pro-alliance and collective actions led by Spaniards. Unexpectedly, paternalistic motives predict a greater tendency to participate in collective actions led by migrants.

The preference for a coalition or one-group recategorization was distributed in a balanced way amongst participants, 49 % of whom chose coalition as the preferred type of alliance between Spanish allies and migrants, while 51 % selected one-group recategorization as the preferred type of alliance.

Discussion

In this first study, results show that perceived egalitarian motives predict a greater tendency to participate in pro-alliance and Spaniard-led collective actions. This is consistent with the prediction that allies' egalitarian motives can be most effective in supporting migrants ([Droogendyk et al., 2016](#)) and can mobilize them to a higher extent to participate in social change actions, as was found previously for gender relations ([Estevan-Reina et al., 2020; 2021](#)). This is especially the case for those actions that involve advantaged members' participation.

Although paternalistic motives did not predict migrants' tendency to participate in pro-alliance collective actions, they predicted higher intentions to participate in collective actions led by migrants. This might be a form of reaffirming migrant agency in the face of allies' paternalism as a form of resistance ([Schwartz, 2022](#)). No differences were found for preferences for the different types of alliance.

Since this was a convenience sample recruited online and not representative of the most numerous migrant groups in Spain, we decided to test our hypotheses with migrants who have a situation of higher vulnerability and instability in Southern Spain.

Study 2

Study 2 focused on a highly vulnerable profile of migrants living in marginal neighborhoods or in shanty towns in the area of Almeria and in a reception center for refugees. Moreover, we introduced a measure of the value and consequences of the type of alliance for their ingroup and qualitatively explored the discourses about alliances, collective action tendencies and perceived motives of Spanish allies of migrants in high vulnerability situations.

Table 2
Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Paternalistic motives	3.25	0.96	–	.311**	.010	.137	.169*	.137
2. Egalitarian motives	3.79	1.12		–	–.380**	.340**	.117	.235**
3. Performative allyship motives	3.21	1.16			–	–.113	–.074	–.078
4. Pro-alliance CA	4.17	0.88				–	.529**	.444**
5. CA tendencies led by migrants	4.08	0.98					–	.470**
6. CA tendencies led by Spaniards	3.55	1.13						–

Note. *M* = Mean; *SD* = Standard deviation; $p < .001$ **; $p < .05$ *.

Table 3

Prediction of intentions to participate in different collective actions from the perception of the motives of Spaniards in support of migrants' rights.

Variable	Pro-alliance collective action tendencies			Collective action tendencies led by Spaniards			Collective action tendencies led by migrants		
	β	t	p	β	t	p	β	t	p
Paternalistic motives	.030	0.438	.662	.083	.908	.365	.158	1.9978	.050*
Egalitarian motives	.263	4.133	<.001**	.219	2.571	.011*	.041	0.548	.584
Performative allyship motives	.011	0.185	.853	.003	.042	.967	-.049	-0.724	.470
R ²	.117			.060			.036		
F(3,181)	7.829		<.001**	3.781		.012*	2.205		.089

Note. $p < .05^*$; $p < .001^{**}$.

Method

Participants and design

We planned to collect a minimum sample of 150 migrants living in Spain through associations and NGOs that work with more vulnerable migrant populations. Four researchers conducted a total of 161 interviews, although one participant was finally eliminated as he did not meet the requirement of being born outside of Spain. Therefore, the sample used for the analyses was 160 people. Using G*Power with 160 observations for 2 tested predictors and 80 % desired power, effect size sensitivity analyses returns that this power will be achieved for a critical F of 3.05 and an effect size (f^2) of 0.06.

Regarding gender, 35 % were women, and 65 % were men. Ages ranged between 18 and 70 years old ($M = 34.68$; $SD = 10.57$). Regarding origin, 82 % of the participants came from African countries (Morocco, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Argelia, Cameroon, Mauritania, Chad, Senegal, and Egypt). Only 11.3 % of the participants studied at university. Regarding religious denomination, 78.8 % proclaimed themselves to be Muslims, followed by Roman Catholics (8.8 %) and people who believed in a god but did not belong to any religion.

Procedure and materials

The materials of Study 1 were adapted for in-person interviews and the characteristics of the sample. In most cases they did not know how to read and/or write in Spanish. When needed, a translated version of the questionnaire in English, French and Arabic was used for greater understanding and comfort of the participant.

Each questionnaire was completed in an estimated time of 25 min. At the beginning of the questionnaire, the participants were informed about the study, the anonymity of their responses, and the possibility to withdraw at any time. They were also informed that they would get a set of a notebook and a pen as compensation at the end. After that, participants answered the following questions which were supported with visual material to facilitate their understanding (items used can be found in the online supplementary materials 4 on OSF: https://osf.io/3gt6z/?view_only=d4af906c9df0407fa40d74b7e4cba54b):

Perceived underlying motives. In line with Study 1, participants were asked to rate the perceived motives that Spaniards had to support migrants' rights on a scale ranging from "Nothing" (1) to "Very much" (5) for two specific items: one assessed perceived paternalistic motives ("How much do you agree that Spanish people support the rights of migrants because they think they are weak and need to be protected?"), and one assessed egalitarian motives ("How much do you agree that Spanish people support the rights of migrants because they think that racism and discrimination must be fought against?"). Responses to the two items were uncorrelated, showing that they measure distinctive aspects ($r = .062$, $p = .434$).

Qualitatively, participants were asked about other reasons that they believed had to do with the help of Spaniards who supported the rights of migrants.

Type of alliance preference. The pictorial measure of preference for a one-group recategorization or coalition was used, however the definitions were slightly modified from Study 1 to increase the clarity as follows: coalition ("I would like them to work as independent groups for

the same objectives, but each one has its own identity") and one-group recategorization ("I would like migrants and Spaniards to form a single group and not have different identities").

Evaluation of alliance type for the ingroup. Further, participants responded on a 5-point scale from *Nothing positive* (1) to *Very positive* (5) to two items measuring how positive they thought each of these forms of alliance were for their group. Responses to the two items were negatively correlated ($r = -.268$, $p = .001$).

Collective action tendencies. Participants responded to two items on a 5-point Likert scale from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (5) about whether they would participate in demonstrations promoted by migrants or promoted by Spaniards who support the rights of migrants. The correlation between the items was high ($r = .832$, $p < .001$). That is, participants did not differentiate between these two types of actions. However, for the purpose of comparison across studies, we decided to analyze them separately. Also, qualitatively, participants were asked about other collective actions (apart from demonstrations) that they would like to participate in.

Results

Table 4 presents the descriptive statistics and correlation analysis results for Study 2.

Linear regression analyses were carried out with perceived motives of Spaniards who support migrant rights (egalitarian or paternalistic) as predictors of their participation in collective action tendencies led by Spaniards, and those that are led by migrants (Table 5). Results show that the perception of egalitarian motives is related to higher collective action tendencies led by migrants, whereas both egalitarian motives and paternalistic (in a marginal way) predict the tendency to participate in collective actions led by Spanish allies.

Regarding the type of alliance chosen (coalition or recategorization in a group), the results showed that 65.6 % preferred the coalition, compared to 34.4 % who preferred recategorization in a group. Further, we found statistically significant differences in the value attached to the two alliance types (coalition or one-group recategorization) where coalition scores ($M = 4.06$; $SD = 1.21$) were higher than one-group recategorization scores ($M = 3.44$; $SD = 1.51$), $t_{(159)} = 3.563$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.453$. When we openly asked participants about their preferences, they indicated that although most of them prefer a coalition, they also valued one-group recategorization as a form of cooperation because in their situation, all forms of help are welcome: "I prefer a coalition because I maintain my culture, but we need help" or "help is help, no matter how".

We computed two simple linear regression models to predict the effect of perceived motives (paternalistic or egalitarian) on the evaluation of coalitions and one-group recategorization as good strategies for the ingroup (Table 6). Neither of the models was significant (Coalition, $F_{(2,157)} = 1.589$, $p = .207$; One-group recategorization, $F_{(2,157)} = 2.077$, $p = .129$). However, we observe that when controlling for paternalistic motives, the perception of egalitarian motives is positively related to the value attributed to one-group recategorization for the group, $p = .047$.

Finally, the qualitative responses to other perceived motives that Spanish allies have were analyzed with Atlas.ti. The open answers in

Table 4
Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations.

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Paternalistic motives	3.57	1.38	–	.062	.131	–.031	.108	.152
2. Egalitarian motives	3.99	1.14		–	.059	.155	.246**	.231**
3. Value of Coalition	4.06	1.21			–	–.268**	.121	.083
4. Value of One-group recategorization	3.44	1.51				–	.081	.024
5. CA tendencies led by migrants	4.25	1.15					–	.832**
6. CA tendencies led by Spaniards	4.20	1.19						–

Note. M = Mean; SD = Standard deviation; $p < .001^{**}$.

Table 5
Prediction of intention to participate in different collective actions from the perception of the motives of Spaniards in support of the rights of migrants.

Variable	Collective action tendencies led by migrants			Collective action tendencies led by Spaniards		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Paternalistic motives	.078	1.210	.228	.120	1.793	.075
Egalitarian motives	.242	3.111	.002*	.233	2.891	.004*
R ²	.069			.072		
F(2,159)	5.828		.004*	6.135		.003*

Note. $p < .05^*$.

Table 6
Prediction of the value of alliance types for the ingroup as a function of perceived motives.

Variable	Value of coalition			Value of one-group recategorization		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Paternalistic motives	.128	1.617	.108	–.041	–0.523	.602
Egalitarian motives	.051	0.648	.518	.158	1.99	.047*
R ²	.020			.026		
F(2,157)	1.589		.207	2.077		.129

Note. $p < .05^*$.

relation to the perceived motives showed categories in common (Fig. 1 and Table 7). The categories were established post hoc by the interviewers based on the similarities of the answers. The responses under "humanity" refer to those reasons for support because they are inherently good people (e.g., "they are good people and they see that we need help"); "self-interest" includes all reasons associated with Spaniards helping for their own personal and/or economic interest (e.g., "because we are good workers and we are paid less"); "charity" is a motivation where one person offers resources to another who is in a disadvantaged position and needs support (e.g. "natives have the possibility to help"); "solidarity", although similar to the previous category, implies that the person feels a social commitment to a cause (e.g., "solidarity"); motives that fall under the

Table 7
Frequency table of open responses on participation in other collective actions and perceived motives.

Question	Answers	Frequency
Why do you think there are Spanish people who support migrants?	Self-interest	10
	They are good/Humanity	8
	Awareness	5
	Charity	3
	Empathy	3
	Solidarity	2
	Pity	2
	For religious convictions	2
	Personal experience	1
	Allow people to live without limitations	1
What other actions would you participate in?	Social change	1
	Would participate in anything	10
	Would not participate	9
	Talks	10
	Dialogues/Debates	3
	Spanish lessons	3
	Training for an application/job	1
	Vote for political parties	1
	Mediation	1
	Workshops	1
Peaceful march	1	

category of "awareness" are those that include an acknowledgement of a disadvantage and a moral reason to act (e.g. "they know that (migrants) are needed"); although similar to the previous one, "personal experience" is not exactly the same, since in this sense, the motivation comes from a personal experience that mobilized them to change their mind (e.g., "having experienced the same situation"); "empathy" is recognizing the importance of putting yourself in other people's shoes and understanding their feelings and perspectives; "pity" (e.g., "they feel sorry for us"); and finally "religious convictions" encompasses responses where the motivation of Spaniards is explicitly based on religion.

Regarding frequencies, the most repeated motives were that Spaniards helped for their own benefit and because of their humanity.



Fig. 1. Other reasons why migrants think that Spaniards help.

When asked about other collective actions (apart from demonstrations) that they would like to participate in, the most frequent response was “whatever event or activity” that supports and helps the rights of migrants or that they would “not participate” in any activity of this nature (Fig. 2 and Table 7).

Discussion

In the second study we managed to reach a sample of migrants that are underrepresented in the psychological literature (Urbiola et al., 2021). Results show that the perception of an egalitarian motive is related to higher participation in collective action tendencies led by migrants, whereas both paternalistic (in a marginal way) and egalitarian motives predict participation in collective action tendencies led by Spanish allies. This could mean that for more vulnerable migrants, paternalistic motives are less negatively perceived. Paternalism might be instrumentally perceived as an acceptable way to obtain some help when reality constraints situate the disadvantaged group in highly vulnerable conditions and any type of help is needed (Kende et al., 2022).

In relation to the preference and value attributed to the type of alliance, the sample of this study clearly preferred the coalition over the one-group recategorization, and the coalition was more positively evaluated. However, the perception of egalitarian motives is positively related to the value attributed to one-group recategorization.

In order to provide converging confirmatory evidence with a higher sample of migrants and considering the role of vulnerability as an influencing factor, we conducted Study 3 as a well-powered pre-registered study.

Study 3

The results of Studies 1 and 2 suggest different patterns regarding the effect of perceived ally motives on migrants' collective action tendencies depending on the type of sample we focus on. This might be due to the large differences in vulnerability between the samples. However, since these differences might be due to several confounding factors (e.g., country of origin, gender, education), we cannot draw conclusions without a replication in which vulnerability is properly assessed. For this purpose, we conducted a high-powered pre-registered study.

In this study the pre-registered hypotheses in OSF (https://osf.io/a38yr/?view_only=dad4e822d77a419ba08fd109b8fcc77d) were: 1) Perceived ally egalitarian motives will predict their tendency to participate in pro-alliance collective action and collective action led by Spaniards; 2a) The relationship between perceived ally paternalistic motives and collective action tendencies led by Spaniards will depend on the level of vulnerability of migrants, such that it will be stronger for participants with greater vulnerability; 2b) The relationship between perceived ally paternalistic motives and collective action tendencies led by migrants will depend on migrants' level of vulnerability, such that it will be stronger for participants with lower vulnerability; 3) Based on previous results, we expected that participants would prefer coalition alliance versus one-group recategorization as the type of alliance between migrants and Spaniards who support migrants' rights; 4) Participants will value a coalition alliance more versus one-group recategorization.

In order to faithfully replicate the findings of Study 1, we incorporated three distinct categories of motives: egalitarian, and performative allyship. No specific a priori hypothesis was formulated with regard to performative motives. Performative motives attributed to Spaniards could discourage cooperation with them if they are perceived as non-genuine, and based on self-interest (Radke et al., 2020), however we found no evidence of this demobilizing effect in Study 1.

Method

Participants and design

We carried out a power analysis for an F test of linear multiple regression with 2 predictors present in the hypotheses in G*Power, it showed that for a low to medium effect size ($f^2 = 0.06$), with a power of 0.90, we need a sample of 214 participants. Since we also aimed at testing the moderation by vulnerability levels, we collected the double number of participants. We pre-registered that we would continue sampling until we obtained at least 400 and no more than 500 migrant participants (after predetermined exclusions). The final sample comprised 418 people after removing participants based on the pre-registered exclusion criteria (participants who did not complete at least 80 % of the survey, participants who did not pass the attention check, and participants who were not migrants). With 418 observations for 2 tested predictors and 90 % desired power, effect size sensitivity analysis returns that this power will be achieved for a critical F of 3.02 and an effect size (f^2) of 0.03.

The sample was representative in terms of socioeconomic status, provided by the sample collection company according to various sampling factors: net household income, number of people living with them, properties (e.g., cars, houses), neighborhood, private services (e.g., health insurance), leisure purchased services (e.g., streaming platforms). From the sample, 47.6 % were from medium to high social classes, and 52.4 % from medium to low social classes.

The sample was composed of 66 % women and 34 % men, with ages ranging from 24 to 84 years old ($M = 50.05$; $SD = 14.25$). In relation to their origin, 54.8 % are from Latin American countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela), 38 % of the sample came from Europe (Germany, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Netherlands, United Kingdom, Italy, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Norway, Poland, Czech Republic), and only 2.4 % came from Africa (Morocco and Tunisia). Other origins were Canada (0.2 %), China (0.2 %), United States of America (1 %), Japan (0.2 %), Jordan (0.2 %), New Zealand (0.2 %), and Russia (2.2 %). The religious denomination of the participants was diverse, with 35.9 % Roman Catholics, 31.1 % people who did not believe in a deity and did not belong to any religious denomination, and 16 % believing in a deity but not belonging to any religious denomination.

Participants were asked about the reasons for why they migrated to Spain within some categories (the participants who did not migrate through the pre-established categories were able to answer openly and were later coded): for academic motives (4.5 %), for a job transfer (4.8 %), for health motives (1.9 %), for economic difficulties (40 %), to escape war (0.7 %), to avoid political or religious persecution (2.9 %), return of Spanish parents/grandparents to Spain (12.4 %), for pleasure (11 %), because of insecurity in their country (2.4 %), for love (8.1 %), familiar motives (8.6 %), family reunification (2.4 %), and personal motives (0.2 %).

Procedure and materials

The materials used for this study were adapted from Study 1 and 2. This questionnaire was collected in Spanish and online on the Qualtrics platform, with an estimated duration of 10–15 min. Participants were informed of the voluntary nature of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed among the panelists of the sample collection company (Netquest), which gives the participants points redeemable at different online establishments. The questionnaire can be found in the project materials at OSF (as online supplementary material 9: https://osf.io/3gt6z/?view_only=d4af906c9df0407fa40d74b7e4cba54b).

Objective vulnerability (socioeconomic status). The panel company was explicitly asked to recruit approximately 50 % of participants with high or low levels of vulnerability considering their socioeconomic status. Netquest provided 7 levels of social class based on the following



Fig. 2. Other collective actions in which migrants would participate.

formula: Estimated income = Working group + Activity of the main breadwinner (e.g., active, retired) + Matrix household size x number of income-earning individuals (Association for Media Research & National Association of Market and Public Opinion Research Companies, 2015). They were coded as following from lower to higher socioeconomic index: iA1, iA2, iB, iC, iD, iE1, iE2. This index proposes a new more evolved way of measuring social classes that overlap with the current 5 social classes in Spanish society: The two groups with the highest socioeconomic level (iA1, iA2) corresponds to high social class, the upper-middle social class corresponds to category iB, the middle class to category iC, the lower-middle class to category iD, and the last two categories (iE1, iE2) correspond to the low social class. Thus, we recoded it into a 5-point Likert Scale from *High Social Class - Low Socioeconomic Vulnerability* (1) to *Low Social Class - High Socioeconomic Vulnerability* (5).

Reason for migration. Participants were asked to openly explain the reasons for why they migrated from their country of origin. Subsequently, they had to select the reason from a provided list: reasons more related to vulnerability (e.g., fleeing a war) and reasons less related to vulnerability (e.g., transfer of a job).

Perceived underlying motives. Paternalistic ($\alpha = .84$), egalitarian ($\alpha = .93$), and performative allyship ($\alpha = .66$) motives were asked in the same way as in Study 1. An open question about other perceived motives was added as in Study 2.

Type of alliance preference. Preference was asked in the same way as in Study 2.

Evaluation of alliance type for the ingroup. Alliance type preference was asked in the same way as in Study 2 with a pictorial measure and evaluation of the consequences for the group. In addition, in this study, participants were asked to what extent they thought each type of alliance would allow migrants to achieve their goals with a 5-point Likert scale from *Nothing* (1) to *A lot* (5).

Collective action tendencies. Collective action tendencies were asked in the same way as in Study 1. They were divided into pro-alliance collective action tendencies ($\alpha = .91$), collective action tendencies led by migrants ($r = .73, p < .001$) and collective action tendencies led by Spanish allies ($r = .61, p < .001$). An open question about other collective action they would like to participate in was added.

Results

Table 8 shows the descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations of the main variables in the study.

Linear regressions were performed with the motives of Spaniards who support migrants' rights perceived by migrants (paternalistic, egalitarian, and performative allyship) as predictors of their intention to participate in the three types of collective actions (pro-alliance, led by migrants, and led by Spaniards). In line with H1, egalitarian motives predicted the tendency to participate in pro-alliance and collective action led by Spaniards. However, paternalistic motives also predicted both types of action tendencies to a lesser extent. In relation to the tendency to participate in collective actions led by migrants, both

egalitarian and paternalistic motives predicted a higher tendency to participate in these actions. Finally, performative motives were negatively related with support for collective actions led by Spaniards (Table 9).

An analysis of moderation in PROCESS macro was carried out to test whether the perceived paternalistic motives of allies (X) and participation in collective action tendencies led by Spaniards (Y) was moderated by the degree of objective vulnerability of the participants (W) in line with Hypothesis 2a. The interaction between perceived paternalistic motives and the objective vulnerability was found to be statistically significant [$coeff = .082, SE = .04, t = 1.93, p = .054, C.I. (-.001, .166)$], but is in line with the predicted effect. The conditional effects analysis showed that perceived paternalistic motives did not predict migrants' tendency to participate in collective actions amongst participants with low socioeconomic vulnerability [$coeff = .214, SE = .12, t = 1.78, p = .072, 95\% C.I. (-.023, .451)$], whereas this effect was significant for participants with high socioeconomic vulnerability [$coeff = .543, SE = .09, t = 6.18, p < .001, 95\% C.I. (.370, .716)$].² Thus, the effect tends to be larger for more vulnerable participants (Fig. 3).

To test Hypotheses 2b, we conducted moderation analyses with perceived Spanish ally paternalistic motives (X) and their tendency to participate in collective actions led by migrants (Y) and degree of objective vulnerability of the participants as a moderator (W), but the interaction was not significant [$coeff = .023, SE = .04, t = 0.54, p = .589, 95\% C.I. (-.061, .107)$].

In relation to the third hypothesis regarding the type of alliance chosen (coalition or one-group recategorization), the results showed that 74.2 % of participants preferred the one-group recategorization, compared to 25.8 % who preferred the coalition. Thus, the results contradict our hypothesis.

Then, we tested the differences between the evaluation of the type of alliance (coalition or one-group recategorization). We found significant differences between the value and control for their group of coalition ($M = 3.66; SD = 0.86$) and the value and control for their group of one-group recategorization ($M = 3.93; SD = 0.84$); [$t_{(418)} = -5.360, p < .001, d = 0.262$]. Contrary to Hypothesis 4, which stated that the participants would better value the coalition as a type of alliance between Spaniards who support the rights of migrants, the results show a

² Using the objective vulnerability variable as a dichotomous variable (high vulnerability vs. low vulnerability), we can observe that there is a significant interaction between allies' perceived paternalistic motives and objective vulnerability [$coeff = .268, SE = .12, t = 2.27, p = .024, 95\% C.I. (.036, .501)$]. About participation in collective action tendencies led by Spaniards, it is significant for participants with low socioeconomic vulnerability [$coeff = .267, SE = .09, t = 3.03, p = .003, 95\% C.I. (.094, .440)$] and those with high socioeconomic vulnerability [$coeff = .535, SE = .08, t = 6.78, p < .001, 95\% C.I. (.380, .690)$].

Table 8
Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations.

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Paternalistic motives	3.28	1.00	–	.682**	.044	.158**	.346**	.295**	.353**	.319**
2. Egalitarian motives	3.65	1.08		–	.007	.090	.342**	.317**	.383**	.359**
3. Performatives allyship motives	3.13	0.97			–	.048	–.044	–.010	–.063	–.103*
4. Value of coalition	3.66	0.86				–	.272**	.181**	.195**	.200**
5. Value of one-group	3.93	0.84					–	.369**	.316**	.358**
6. Pro-Alliance CA tendencies	3.39	1.19						–	.671**	.666**
7. CA tendencies led by migrants	2.81	1.28							–	.838**
8. CA tendencies led by Spaniards	2.87	1.26								–

Note. M = Mean; SD = Standard deviation; $p < .001^{**}$; $p < .05^*$.

Table 9
Prediction of participation in different collective actions tendencies from the perception of the motives of Spaniards in support of the rights of migrants.

Variable	Pro-alliance collective action tendencies			Collective action tendencies led by Spaniards			Collective action tendencies led by migrants		
	β	t	p	β	t	p	β	t	p
Paternalistic motives	.177	2.335	.020*	.187	2.377	.018*	.228	2.888	.004*
Egalitarian motives	.239	3.414	.001**	.303	4.190	<.001**	.312	4.290	<.001**
Performative allyship motives	–.023	–0.400	.690	–0.145	–2.468	.014*	–.096	–1.632	.104
R ²	.112			.152			.168		
F(3,414)	17.7		<.001**	24.7		<.001**	28.5		<.001**

Note. $p < .05^*$; $p < .001^{**}$.

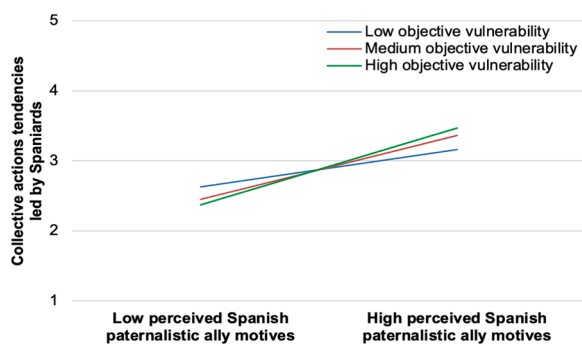


Fig. 3. Perceived Spanish paternalistic ally motives and the tendency to participate in collective actions led by Spaniards moderated by the participant’s objective vulnerability.

higher value associated with one-group recategorization than a coalition.

Finally, in line with our third goal³, we carried out two simple linear regression models to explore the effect of perceived motives (paternalistic, egalitarian, and performative allyship) on the evaluation of coalition and one-group recategorization as a good type of allyship for the ingroup (see Table 10). The results show that the perception of paternalistic motives predicts a better assessment of both types of alliance. However, the perception of egalitarian motives only predicts a more positive evaluation of one-group recategorization ($p = .002$).

To explore whether the preference for a one-group recategorization over a coalition was dependent on the level of vulnerability, we created an index of preference for valuing one-group recategorization as a type of alliance (value of one-group recategorization - value of coalition) and we carried out a linear regression analysis where the predictor variable was the participant’s objective vulnerability. Results show that a greater objective vulnerability predicts a higher value placed on one-group recategorization as a type of alliance ($\beta = .071$, $t = 2.009$, $p = .045$).

For the qualitative responses about other perceived motives that

³ Note that this analysis was not pre-registered, but it was conducted in order to check whether the preliminary findings of Study 2 were replicated with this representative sample.

Table 10
Prediction of the value of alliance types for the ingroup as a function of attributed motives.

Variable	Value of coalition			Value of one-group recategorization		
	β	t	p	β	t	p
Paternalistic motives	.154	2.667	.008*	.181	3.458	.001*
Egalitarian motives	–.025	–0.466	.642	.152	3.147	.002*
Performative allyship motives	.036	0.830	.407	–.048	–1.216	.225
R ²	.027			.144		
F(3,414)	3.840		.010*	23.209		<.001**

Note. $p < .05^*$, $p < .001^{**}$.

Spanish allies have, most of the responses overlap with the categories derived from the previous study (personal experience, awareness, self-interest, are good/humanity, empathy, solidarity, charity, religious convictions and pity). New categories also emerged: “social change” encompasses those motives that follow the principle of treating all people fairly and equally, as well as the search for social change (e.g. “promoting equality regardless of origin”); because they work in “NGOs or associations” and it is their job; “political interest” focuses on any benefits that Spain or its political parties may obtain (e.g. “Because it is convenient for increasing political popularity”); “personal motives” (e.g., “familiar motives”); and “culture” (e.g. “The Spanish people in their idiosyncrasies are hospitable and very helpful”).

The most frequent categories were social change motives, where social equality between people was sought, and the personal experience of something similar that would have changed the minds of Spaniards because of their recent past in which many people had to migrate during the Civil War and the fascist dictatorship.

When asked about other collective actions (apart from those mentioned before) (see Table 11), most participants repeat actions already present in the scale (e.g., signing petitions, dialogues, and debates) or mentioned others such as training for an application/job and creation of job positions, donations, or participation in forums). Only 60 participants (14.35 % of the sample) mentioned that they would not participate in any collective action, either because their personality did not go along with it, because they did not see it as necessary or because

Table 11
Frequency table of open responses on perceived motives and participation in other collective actions.

Question	Answers	Frequency
Why do you think there are Spanish people who support migrants?	Social change	39
	Personal experience	34
	Empathy	16
	Self-interest	14
	Political interest	13
	Solidarity	12
	They are good/ Humanity	9
	Awareness	6
	Culture	5
	Personal motives	3
	They belong to NGOs	2
	Pity	3
	Charity	2
	For religious convictions	2
	Other motives (e.g., hypocrisy, moral help, socialize, give to they a good life)	8
	What other actions would you participate in?	Would not participate
Cultural encounters between Spaniards and migrants		19
Help in social integration		15
Dialogues/Debates		14
Training for an application/job and creation of job positions		13
Support to NGOs and associations		11
Donations		10
Education		19
Would participate in anything		7
Sign petitions		6
Help with bureaucratic procedures		5
Forums		4
Volunteering		4
Publicity of true information about migrants		4
Vote political parties		3
Participation in social policies and laws		3
Support groups		3
Workshops		2
Protests and demonstrations		2

"it was a waste of time".

Discussion

In this last well-powered and pre-registered study, we confirmed that perceived egalitarian motives of allies predicted migrant participation in pro-alliance and collective action tendencies led by Spaniards. However, perceived paternalistic motives also predicted these actions as well as those led by migrants, supporting the idea that the limits of paternalism are not always clear (Kende et al., 2022). On the contrary, performative motives negatively predicted participants' intentions to participate in collective actions led by Spaniards. Such performative motives might be perceived as non-genuine, and based on self-interest (Radke et al., 2020), thus preventing minorities from supporting joint collective actions.

In line with H2a, we found that the relation between paternalistic motives and collective actions tendencies led by Spaniards was stronger for participants with higher objective vulnerability. Although we need to be cautious with this result, it supports our argument that paternalism might be instrumentally perceived as an acceptable way to obtain some help when reality constraints situate migrants in highly vulnerable conditions. However, the subjective experience of vulnerability (i.e., perceived social class, perceived discrimination, and anxiety) did not moderate this relation (see supplementary materials for these results).

In relation to the preference for coalition over one-group recategorization, our Hypotheses 3 and 4 were not confirmed. Participants preferred a one-group recategorization and value this form of alliance as

more positive for the group than the coalition. This could be because the sample included in this study was mainly formed by migrants from Latin America, who share key cultural features with Spanish allies, including, in some cases, nationality as descendants of Spanish migrants (8.1 %).

General discussion

In the present research we evaluated the responses from three different samples of migrants. The first sample was younger and formed by people who in most cases had studied at a university, had spent a longer amount of time in Spain, and knew how to speak and read Spanish (Study 1). The second sample was older, with the majority not having studied at a university, from African countries, and who lived in substandard housing. Most of these participants needed a translation of the questionnaire/interview because they did not understand Spanish (Study 2). In addition, regarding their socioeconomic level, 59.7 % of participants from the first sample stated that they belonged to the middle class, whereas in Study 2 the interviews were conducted in shantytowns or low-class neighborhoods and in an organizational center in which they were awaiting refugee status. The third sample is composed mainly of Latin American migrants and 84.4 % of migrants had been in the country for more than 10 years but are representative in terms of high and low socioeconomic status. Thus, our results need to be interpreted taking into account the diversity and the socioeconomic situation of each group.

Despite the large variability of the samples, perceived egalitarian motives were positively related to migrants' intentions to participate in collective action tendencies across studies. The positive effect of egalitarian motives on participation in collective action tendencies led by migrants (found in Study 2 and 3) suggests that a perceived egalitarian motivation of Spanish allies can be empowering for migrants. This extends previous findings that showed that women feel more empowered when they perceive men as egalitarian allies (Estevan-Reina et al., 2021), and is in line with the recommendations for positive intergroup contact between allies and disadvantaged groups (Droogendyk et al., 2016; Hässler et al., 2021). A major contribution of this work is that it provides much support for the importance of egalitarian ally motives from the perspective of migrants, one of the most disadvantaged groups in society. However, we should point out that there are a number of alternative explanations for the results that cannot be ruled out. For instance, considering the correlational nature of our designs, the causality between perceived egalitarian motives and intentions to engage in collective action may be reversed, with those who take part in such actions being exposed to more allies with such motives and thus developing a more positive perception. It is also possible that other underlying factors are involved affecting both constructs, such as group efficacy perceptions about the situation of migrants in Spain.

Further, our research shows that greater tendency to participate in collective actions led by Spanish people is also predicted by perceived paternalistic motives in the case of the most vulnerable migrants in Study 2. We confirmed this finding in Study 3 where the effect of paternalism on those collective action tendencies was higher for participants with high vulnerability. However, this modulating effect was not found when using the measures related to subjective/perceived vulnerability. While it is true that subjective social class appears to be a better predictor than objective social class for some outcomes such as self-rated health, physiological health outcomes, or interpersonal functioning (Adler et al., 2000; Kraus et al., 2009; 2011), it should be noted that this finding may not hold true in all studies or across intergroup contexts. In our study, the vulnerability that seems to matter is actually an objective structural variable that goes beyond perceptions. This is in line with the UNHCHR (2018) definition of vulnerability which states that the fact that "migrants are not inherently vulnerable is the result of multiple interrelated forms of discrimination, inequality, and structural and social dynamics that impose limits and imbalances on the levels of power and enjoyment of rights".

The discrepancies between the role of paternalistic motives as a function of social vulnerability might suggest that allies' paternalism plays a different role depending on the hostile conditions in which migrants live. Although previous literature has clarified the limits of paternalism for social change (Becker et al., 2019; Ostrove et al., 2009), some of the testimonies collected during the surveys suggest that paternalism might be instrumentally perceived as an acceptable way to obtain some help when reality constraints situate migrants in highly vulnerable conditions and any type of help is needed. This is consistent with recent findings showing that acceptance of paternalistic pro-Roma discourse promotes solidarity intentions through moral inclusion (Kende et al., 2022). Despite the operationalization of paternalistic motives in line with previous literature (e.g., Estevan-Reina et al., 2020) and the clarifications made through the interviews (in Study 2), we should be cautious regarding whether we assume that all participants interpret such paternalistic items as condescending, or whether they just see them as a motivation to protect them. Thus, we need to consider the possibility that some participants could understand paternalistic motives as a "protection motive" in the context of migration more than a "paternalistic motive".

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that some participants might already have or be waiting for their refugee status (i.e., some of the interviews in Study 2 were conducted in an asylum seeker center). However, other participants do not have such a status, although their reasons to migrate are related to their high vulnerability in their country of origin and can be considered forced migrants. Additionally, their precarious situation in Spain perpetuates this vulnerability. It should be noted that in Spain the majority of people from Africa are in an irregular situation (i.e., hold a non-legal status) and have arrived by crossing the Mediterranean Sea in unsafe ways. African countries face serious problems due to droughts and floods, loss of fresh water and glaciers, a 34 % decline in agriculture, and increasing difficulties with food security and malnutrition (World Meteorological Organization, 2022). Thus, although migrants from Africa do not fall within the current formal definition of refugee status in all cases, these migrants cannot return to their countries of origin as their lives may be in danger. Taking this into account, it is important to understand how most vulnerable migrants (e.g., forced migrants, asylum seekers) perceive Spanish allies and the impact it has on them, as this might help to adjust social support by host society members in order to reduce intergroup power asymmetries (Vescan et al., 2023).

Interestingly, we observe that vulnerable migrants referred to Spanish allies as being motivated by pity or humanitarian reasons. Some of these motives could be related to paternalism (i.e., pity), but also to compassion that arguably helps to promote identity gain and positive change in asylum seekers (Ballentyne and Drury, 2023). However, it should be considered that they also referred to self-interest as an important motive, which suggests that they are not naïve in interpreting the intentions of allies or considering all of them as good allies (see Selvanathan et al., 2022). In line with this, performative allyship motives (such as helping the disadvantaged for social approval or inclusion in a group) were negatively related to collective action tendencies led by Spaniards in the last study (but not in Study 1). This is consistent with the assumption that self-interest motives might be perceived as non-genuine (Radke et al., 2020), and provides initial evidence that such motives may hinder minority support for collective actions involving advantaged groups. Future studies should confirm this effect and examine the potential underlying processes that could explain it, such as perceived sincerity or intergroup trust (i.e., Park et al., 2022).

In terms of the type of preferred alliance there is not a clear pattern across studies, we observe that while in Study 1 approximately half of the participants preferred a coalition versus a one-group recategorization, in Study 2 a higher percentage of participants preferred a coalition. This led us to expect for the last study that participants would prefer a coalition over one-group recategorization. However, we found that one-group recategorization was preferred over a coalition in the last study,

and that this effect was positively predicted by migrants' vulnerability. These discrepancies might be interpreted as a consequence of the perceived permeability of the barriers between the groups. Perhaps migrants with higher levels of vulnerability of African origin (Study 2) perceive the intergroup barriers as more rigid and less permeable. On the contrary, forming a one-group recategorization with majority members might seem more attractive or realistic for migrants from Latin American countries or Spanish descendants (Study 3), who share cultural features, and even nationality due to more favorable migration policies. An alternative explanation could be the higher necessity of distinction for vulnerable migrants, for whom the culture of origin (e.g., to be Muslim or to be Senegalese) might be more central to their lives. In line with this, in Study 2, but not in Study 3, participants perceived more positivity for their ingroup to a coalition alliance in comparison to a one-group-recategorization. As we mentioned, the disadvantaged group, especially from a more differentiated culture, might prefer coalitional alliances in which the intergroup disadvantage can still be contested, maintaining the salience of their cultural or ethnic identity.

Egalitarian motives attributed to Spanish allies were related to higher value of the one-group recategorization (see Table 6 and Table 10). This might imply that egalitarian allies are seen as more supportive (Droogendyk et al., 2016), therefore leading to higher acceptance of recategorization and needing less distinctiveness or seeing intergroup barriers as more permeable. We should also clarify that the measure of preference for the type of alliance, and especially that for recategorization, could be seen as representing an opinion-based group (Bliuc et al., 2006). Allies that support the plight of migrants can be considered an opinion-based group, understood as a group "where people perceive themselves to share an opinion with other people... that need share no more than an opinion (i.e. they do not need to share some other demographic social category or institution)" (Thomas and McGarty, 2009, p. 117). However, we focused on the cooperation of migrants and advantaged allies, where one of the represented subgroups would share a social identity category (to be migrant) and one superordinate opinion-based identity (supporter of migrant rights), whereas allies would endorse only the opinion-based one. Moreover, we are not measuring identity or identification with this new group, but migrants' preference for how to construct a cooperation process for social mobilization with advantaged allies in which identity distinctiveness is an important factor, but not the only one. For that reason, in Studies 2 and 3 we introduced the measure of the value and consequences for the migrant ingroup of the two types of alliance.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that the tendency to participate in collective actions overall was moderately high (above the midpoint of the scales in the first two studies, and around the midpoint in Study 3). However, there is a relatively small number of participants who responded in the open-ended questions that they would not participate in anything (5.63 % of the sample in Study 2 and 14 % of the sample in Study 3). The explanation given for not participating was mostly for legal reasons (Study 2), since they were currently living in Spain non-legally and they feared that participation in certain collective actions (e.g., demonstrations or peaceful marches) could have legal consequences for them (e.g., being deported to their country of origin). In line with this, the other proposed actions (participating in talks, dialogues, debates, or Spanish lessons) do not usually have legal consequences. In general, those who have a lower tendency to participate are those in Study 3 (mostly people from Latin American countries), who are precisely those who have the most permeability with Spanish culture, less bureaucratic issues and more facilities in the adaptation process in the country.

In conclusion, this research contributes to the understanding of the psychological processes that motivate migrants to participate in collective actions considering different levels of vulnerability in migrants' groups in at least three ways: First, it contributes to a better understanding of the role of paternalistic and egalitarian motives perceived in advantaged allies on different types of collective action tendencies

amongst less and more vulnerable migrants, including those who have experienced forced migration and are waiting for a refugee status. Second, it provides initial evidence of the type of alliance that migrants want to construct with allies and their desire for distinctiveness in the cooperation processes as well as their perceptions of the value those alliances have for their migrant ingroup. Third, it contributes to understanding how social vulnerability of different migrants can influence social mobilization as well as the acceptance of paternalistic motives. Finally, mixing these quantitative data with some qualitative information contributes to a deeper understanding of the factors involved in participation to achieve social change amongst refugees or asylum seekers with high levels of socioeconomic vulnerability.

Altogether, our results support the idea that when allies are perceived as having egalitarian motives, migrants are more likely to participate in collective actions for social change. Further, paternalistic (but not performative) ally motives might also promote collective action tendencies especially amongst the most vulnerable migrants. Results suggest that migrants' vulnerability might constrain their support for collective actions, as well as increase their acceptance of advantaged allies' support regardless of the perceived motives.

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Data availability

We have shared the data in OSF (the link is provided in the manuscript).

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