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Transforming Words Into Action: Exploring Moderators to Racial Social Justice Action by White College Students

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TRANSFORMING WORDS INTO ACTION: EXPLORING MODERATORS TO RACIAL SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTION BY WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

LINDSAY CHASSAY

62 pages

The aim of this study is to better understand how to transition White students' intentions into actions. This study proposes an integrative model based on the Health Belief Model, Theory of Planned Behavior, and the Bystander Effects model. These models serve as guides for investigating the moderators that address the intention-behavior gap to predict barriers and active participation in racial social justice movements. It was hypothesized that cues to action and perceived barriers would both moderate the relationship between intention and behavior. The present study utilized a cross-sectional non-experimental design and sampled undergraduates. Analyses examined the moderators, barriers and cues to action, in relation to the dependent variables of decisions to engage in racial social justice behavior by clicking a link for resources and previous participation in social justice. The results indicated that perceived barriers was a significant predictor of the decision to seek social justice information in the study and cues to actions predicted previous social justice behaviors. There were no statistically significant moderation effects. Intent was a significant predictor of the decision to seek social justice information for both internal and external barriers. This study has implications that can be used at the personal, collegiate, and community level. Specifically, results suggest that many students may look for environmental signals that justify taking action to promote social justice efforts.

KEYWORDS: Racial Social Justice, Intentions, Bystander Effect, Health Belief Model, Action

TRANSFORMING WORDS INTO ACTION: EXPLORING MODERATORS TO RACIAL

SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTION BY WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

LINDSAY CHASSAY

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

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TRANSFORMING WORDS INTO ACTION: EXPLORING MODERATORS TO RACIAL

SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTION BY WHITE COLLEGE STUDENTS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In a just society, opportunities, resources, and services are distributed equally and fairly; however, in reality some individuals or groups have greater access to educational, economic, and career success than others. For example, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2019), in the United States, approximately 40 million (12.2%) people annually live below the poverty line, which is $12,760 for a single person and $26,200 for a family of four. Nondominant ethnic groups hold less power than others and may experience stereotyping, discrimination, or other forms of oppression. Minorities are disproportionately living below the poverty line (35% African American and 32% Hispanic vs 17% White) even though the US is about 73% white. Given these discrepancies, there has been a struggle between the racial majority and minority groups that has led to the growing need for social justice. From this, many groups have emerged to fight for the equity that has not been shown to minority groups. Many people from different backgrounds emerge to support the movements and groups in various ways even though they may not personally identify with the group (Jolly, et al., 2021). There are others who are likely outraged by the inequality, and while they may verbally express those feelings, they never act (Jolly, et al., 2021). Understanding factors that not only capture interest in social justice, but also involvement are essential to broader societal change. Therefore, the present study aims to address this issue by exploring the various motivators and barriers to social justice advocacy to better mobilize recruitment efforts.

College students have a long history of being involved with social justice activism and change (Kerpelman, 1969; Hurtado, et al., 2002; Serow & Dreyden, 1990). Variables such as age, gender, religious, and political orientation among college students are important factors in predicting their social justice advocacy (Kerpelman, 1969; Hurtado, et al., 2002; Serow &

Dreyden, 1990). Specifically, students who are more active in social justice advocacy tend to be older, more advanced in their education, more involved in student organizations (Kerpelman, 1969), and having a liberal political ideology (Lee, 1997; Sutherland, 1981). Advocacy behaviors are linked to greater knowledge about activist groups, reading of activist publications, and being male (e.g. protesting) (Lee, 1997). Women, compared to men, have values that are more consistent with social justice and tend to be more involved in community service (e.g. food drives, clothes drives, etc.) (Hurtado, et al., 2002; Serow, 1990; Serow, et al., 1990). Additionally, students who value spirituality/religion are more engaged in community service, an indicator of social responsibility (feeling that they are the producers of change), and that valuing community service also results in more involvement in such activities (Serow, 1990).

Previous research has focused on factors that lead to social justice interest and commitment, but most have not measured if someone follows through on that interest or commitment (but see Hagen, et al., 2018; Hope, et al., 2018.; Gorski, 2019; Dashjian, 2014; Lent, et al., 1994). Participants may indicate they are interested because they have a feeling that they should be or maybe they want to be and there are barriers (Miller, et al., 2007). It is unknown what factors need to be present to influence someone who has intentions to be involved with social justice to actually be involved. Also, it appears that previous studies have used a general sample of people or predominately racial/ethnic minoritized individuals and their involvement with social justice (Hagen, et al., 2018; Hope, et al., 2018; Gorski, 2019). As useful as this research is, it is also important to look at what moderators influence White students or cause barriers for them as they make up a large portion of the United States. Additionally, understanding what gets White students to participate in specifically racial social justice is largely under researched. Much of previous research looks at general social justice (Miller, 2003;

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Hope, et al., 2018; Gorski, 2019). Lastly, White students may view racial social justice differently than racial/ethnic minorities which in itself may create barriers for movements as communities may be reluctant to participate in a movement they misunderstand even if they agree with what it is trying to do overall (e.g., A White person believing they should donate money to BLM over protesting with BLM). White allyship is an important area of research to note for this study. It has been defined as "a continuous, reflexive practice of proactively interrogating Whiteness from an intersectionality framework, leveraging one's position of power and privilege and courageously interrupting the status quo by engaging in prosocial behaviors that foster growth-in-connection and have both the intention and impact of creating mutuality, solidarity, and support" (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019). White allyship is a mutually beneficial for both as they exchange and create new resources (Creary, et al., 2015; Rousseau & Ling, 2007).

This study also focuses on racial social justice behavior as compared to previous research that has looked at social justice as a very broad term. This can create issues of generalizability from the broad research findings of social justice to specifically racial social justice as someone can agree that they would participate for gender equality, but still hold biased views against other racial/ethnic groups. So, looking at the motivations and barriers to racial social justice specifically is necessary.

To address this gap in research, this study proposes an integrative model that predicts racial social justice behavior based on the theories of Health Belief Model (HBM), Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB), and the Bystander Effect model. HBM has been one of the most widely used psychosocial approaches to explaining health-related behavior (Sheeran, et al., 2003). It is conceptualized that those who will take health related action regard themselves as susceptible (*Perceived susceptibility)*, believe the target health condition has serious consequences

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(*Perceived severity/threat)*, the course of action will be beneficial in reducing susceptibility or severity of condition (*Perceived benefits)*, and the anticipated barriers are outweighed by the benefits (*Perceived barriers)*. *Cues to action* are anything that triggers action, *Other variables* which are anything that may affect the individuals' perceptions of the other moderators (e.g. demographics), and *Self-efficacy* is ones perception that they are capable of executing said behavior to produce the wanted outcome, and *outcome expectation* which is the individuals estimate that a given behavior will lead to certain outcomes.

The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) was proposed by Ajzen (1991) to link beliefs to behaviors. The TPB proposes three core components of attitude (the reaction of an individual to an object in the environment), subjective norm (e.g., "My family thinks it is important that I exercise to manage my diabetes"), and perceived behavioral control (e.g., "I have the confidence and ability to manage my diabetes through exercise"). Together, these factors shape an individual's behavioral intention which is believed to be the most proximal determinant of human behavior (Ajzen, 1991).

The Bystander Effect is an event in which the greater the number of people present, the less likely someone is to help a person in distress because of a diffused sense of responsibility. When an emergency situation occurs, Latané and Darley (1970) found five characteristics of emergencies that impacted the bystander's decision: Emergencies involve threat of harm or actual harm; emergencies are unusual and rare; the type of action required in an emergency differs from situation to situation; emergencies cannot be predicted or expected; and emergencies require immediate action. These five characteristics then lead the bystanders through a cognitive and behavioral process in which they go through five stages: *Notice* that something is going on;

Interpret the situation as being an emergency; *Feel a Degree of responsibility*; *Form an assistance*; and *Implement the action choice.*

Informed by these models, the present study presents a model that examines important moderators of racial social justice involvement. First, the present study will measure participant's intention to be involved in racial social justice. Second, the present study will examine the moderators of students' intention to engage in racial social justice behaviors, which include external and internal barriers and cues to action. This research can provide faculty, student affair professionals, and those who organize any type of social justice movement with needed information on how to facilitate growth and interest in this area.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Social Justice

The concept of social justice has a long history with the earliest documentation tracing back to Aristotle (Reisch, 2002). Aristotle was considered to have had a view of social justice that was primarily concerned with political distribution amongst citizens of the state (Jackson, 2005). He believed individuals should be given what they deserve, not what they need. Many in the United States espouse a similar view with the motto "pull yourself by your bootstraps". Ironically, the original meaning of this idiom was "to try to do something completely absurd" due to the fact that pulling up oneself by the bootstraps was physically impossible (Bologna, 2021). However, over time, the meaning became: to succeed by one's own efforts without any outside help. Unfortunately, this meritocracy view suggests that bettering one's circumstances can be achieved by independent hard work alone. Such a view fails to recognize the numerous disadvantages that hinder racial minority groups from succeeding, given the long history of oppression, slavery, racism, legal and informal discrimination, and other structural barriers (Ansell, 2008).

In the 17th century A.D., people began to acknowledge the presence of different groups in society and felt it was important to give power to the state or nation to ensure peace within the society (Reisch, 2002). This was problematic, as it left complete power to the elite which allowed for slavery to be legal and the oppression of many different groups (Reisch, 2002). Historically then, the concept of social justice has been associated with terms such as getting what one deserves, maintenance of a social class system, and differentials in the distributions of resources and power. In the 21st century, the concept of social justice has been used as a way to

question the status quo, promote extreme social reforms, and justify revolutionary action (Reisch, 2002).

Today, social justice is the process by which one achieves equitable treatment for individuals and/or communities of people (Reisch, 2002). Social justice advocacy is the use of information, collaboration, research, and resources to educate others to influence and change policy and legislation for the promotion of fairly distributed and equitable resources and human rights (Lewis, et al., 2002; Fouad, et al., 2006). Social justice activism is the intentional action or behavior one takes towards social justice, while social action is the process of people coming together to tackle an issue, support other people, or improve their local area (Bruce, 1980). Advocacy and activism are the methods used to promote social justice.

White Allyship

More recently, attention has been paid to the continuing efforts of ensuring equality and fair treatment of nondominant racial and ethnic groups through movements such as Black Lives Matter and Stop Asian Hate (Rickford R., 2016). Katz (2003) described racism as "a White problem" and that White people have some responsibility to correct it. White people benefit from a system that oppresses people of color. For example, in 1790, Congress passed an act declaring that only free, White immigrants could become naturalized citizens (Kerber, 1997). In other words, White people had rights while other groups had none. This citizenship status provided access to numerous privileges such as voting and the ability to be elected to office. The laws therefore reflected the interest of White people and not anyone else. Today, American society is a product of racism and White privilege which still provides White citizens with access to better homes, jobs, and more. For example, one study found that the name on a resume can be a strike against someone if it does not sound like a traditionally "White" name regardless of their

qualifications. Simply, someone who has a "Whiter" name is more likely to be hired regardless of having identical qualifications (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Therefore, to address this system that unfairly advantages White people, what motivates and hinders White people from being involved should be explored. Previous literature has not answered the question of what draws the interest of White people to racial social justice, nor has it found what gets them involved (or prevents) with their anticipated behaviors. However, the White allyship literature does give some direction.

White allyship has been defined as "a continuous, reflexive practice of proactively interrogating Whiteness from an intersectionality framework, leveraging one's position of power and privilege and courageously interrupting the status quo by engaging in prosocial behaviors that foster growth-in-connection and have both the intention and impact of creating mutuality, solidarity, and support" (Erskine & Bilimoria, 2019). Motivators for White allyship include the desire and drive to benefit others or to expend effort simply out of concern for others (prosocial motives; Bolino & Grant, 2016), social justice orientation or the disposition of allies to align themselves with social justice beliefs, values, advocacy (Bell, 1997), and self-efficacy. Self-efficacy potentially amplifies White allyship behaviors in that if would-be allies have developed a social justice orientation and feel confident they are more likely to see allyship behaviors as worthy of the potential risks involved and therefore act (Detert & Bruno, 2017). Detractors of White Allyship include White privilege which empowers Whites with the option to ignore, normalize, and neutralize race when race benefits them (Wildman & Davis, 1997). This privilege prevents Whites from recognizing disparities due to race and detracts from their engagement in White allyship behaviors. Other detractors include White fragility (DiAngelo, 2011, 2018), fear

(Baldwin, 1965; DiAngelo, 2018; Shelton, et al., 2010; Stern & West, 2014), performative White allyship (Spanierman & Smith, 2017), and resistance (Carton & Knowlton, 2017).

Performative White Allyship may be the most hindering as performative allies are driven by the need for validation and may intellectually understand the issues at hand, yet not sacrifice their personal or professional capital to challenge or transform systems that they benefit from and does not facilitate structural change (Spanierman & Smith, 2017). Examples of performative allyship include engaging in "hashtag activism" where a would-be ally changes her or his Facebook profile, for example, to support #BlackLivesMatter or the #MeToo movement or retweets these hashtags on Twitter. However, they then do not participate in any other form of advocacy on behalf of either of these causes (Cheeks, 2018). Even more harmful, performative White allyship may result in the recreation of oppression and/or the perpetuation of new forms of oppression through "White Knighting". It has been operationalized as a form of dependency-oriented help, which consists of providing the full solution to someone's problem, in this case a racial/ethnic minority individual, and/or solving their problem for them through acts of protecting, defending, or supporting them in ways that deny their agency (Lopez, 1997; Ruiz, 2017). The effect of White Knighting, in terms of White allyship behaviors, manifests as paternalistic citizenship behaviors, which convey a subtle sense of superiority yet do nothing to challenge systems or structures of dominance (Endres & Gould, 2009; Liu & Baker, 2016; Spanierman & Smith, 2017; Swan, 2017; Trepagnier, 2010). Rather, it perpetuates a self-identity where White people see themselves as helpers, generous, kind, and giving to help "the less fortunate" who "need" their help (Max, 2005), which reinforces the status quo of White supremacy and deficits among other groups.

Research has explored motivations and barriers related to peoples' interest in social justice (Dashjian, 2014; Lent, et al., 1994; Miller, et al., 2011) which cover a wide array of injustices (e.g., racial conflicts, sexual/gender, religious, disabilities). Previous research has focused on factors that predict social justice interest, but less has examined actual engagement, i.e., social justice activism (Lewis, et al., 2002; Fouad, et al., 2006). Participants may indicate that they are interested because they have a feeling that they should be or maybe they want to be and there are barriers (Miller, et al., 2007). It is unknown what moderators need to be present to influence someone who has intentions to be involved with social justice to actually take action. Also, previous studies have looked at social justice actions in general and have not viewed participant's responses to racial social justice specifically (Miller, 2003). This may cause the generalization of some previous research as someone may be an advocate for gender equality, but not be an advocate for racial equality.

Interest, Orientation, and Engagement in Social Justice

Many social justice related constructs exist (e.g., interest, orientation, engagement, etc.) that overlap to some extent. This causes a degree of confusion (e.g., jingle jangle fallacies) among the constructs. Someone may consider themselves as being engaged with social justice by sharing resources on social media or "liking" something. However, others may consider this to be "performative" social justice engagement (i.e., activism done to increase one's social capital rather than because of one's devotion to a cause) and only consider actions such as protests to be "true" engagement. In the following section, I will review various social justice constructs and their definitions and how I operationalize social justice constructs in this study.

Social justice interest is an individual's desire to engage in social justice related activities (Miller, et al., 2011). The same study found that students with social justice interest were more

likely to intend to engage in social justice advocacy and activism in the future. Additionally, individuals are drawn to activities in which they possess a strong interest, confidence, and success (i.e., self-efficacy; Dashjian, 2014; Lent, et al., 1994). Although a small body of work, previous research has found that personal experiences and experiential learning opportunities are important to developing social justice interest (Beer, et al., 2012). Experiential learning includes witnessing/observing injustice, clinical and community work, exposure to culturally different people and experiences with discrimination and oppression (Caldwell &Vera, 2010; Constantine, et al., 2004).

Social justice orientation refers to the social justice beliefs one has and social justice advocacy they engage in (Caldwell, et al., 2010). It is implied by Caldwell and Vera (2010) that individuals who identify with a social justice orientation also possess interest in social justice. They found that exposure to injustice and influence of significant persons (mentors, parent/family, and peers) ranked as the two most influential factors towards social justice orientation. In a study to examine demographic and personal variables that may predict social justice advocacy such as attitudes and behaviors, the variables including political involvement, spirituality, multicultural competency, and discrimination experiences predict a greater orientation toward social justice advocacy (Linnemeyer, 2009).

Engagement in social justice is defined as changing decisional processes within the political and socioeconomic realms, which influences the lives of individuals at a broader societal level (Cohen, 2001). For white college students, this may involve internal and external change processes, including challenging oneself to examine cultural beliefs, proactively self-educating about social justice issues, incorporating social justice concerns into one's future

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career, and/or educating peers about social justice issues (Adams, 2007; Cohen, et al., 2012; Kenny, et al., 2009).

While a plethora of opportunities are available on and off campus, locally, nationally, etc. to engage in social justice work, there are various barriers that seem to deter students from being involved. A general sample of college students have cited academic barriers such as limited available time, lack of a supportive college and more personal factors such as low self-efficacy, low social support, lack of proximity to the social issue, lack of knowledge of resources and limited person resources (Beer, et al., 2012). Age (Crook, et al., 2015), gender (Inman, et al., 2015), and personality (e.g., extraversion, openness to experience) have been indicated as predicting social justice engagement in college students while race has not (Parikh, et al., 2011; Fietzer, et al., 2016). However, other studies have found that proximity to the issue (identifying with a certain group or having close family or friends that identify in a certain group) is a predictor of social justice behavior, so it seems that the question of whether race influences social justice behavior is unanswered (Littman, et al., 2021).

For this study, social justice engagement will focus on racial social justice. Due to there being many areas social justice can extend to (e.g., women's rights, disability rights, etc.), it is important to note this as someone may feel strongly about one social justice cause, but may feel differently about another (i.e., supporting women's right strongly, but being indifferent about disability rights).

Theoretical Frameworks for Conceptualizing Social Justice Advocacy

Theoretical frameworks that conceptualize predictors of enacting behaviors have studied concepts analogous to social justice. There are studies that support the direction of this current study and useful parallels can be drawn to support the hypotheses of the current study and the

model that will be used. These include the Health Belief Model, Theory of Planned Behavior, and the Bystander Effect.

Health Belief Model and Social Justice

The Health Belief Model (HBM) has been one of the most widely used psychosocial approaches to explaining health-related behavior (Sheeran, et al., 2003). Within the HBM model, it is conceptualized that those who will take action against ill conditions regard themselves as susceptible (*Perceived susceptibility)* ("My chances of having a diabetes-related complication is high"), believe it has serious consequences (*Perceived severity/threat)* ("It is serious to have high blood sugar"), the course of action will be beneficial in reducing susceptibility or severity of condition (*Perceived benefits)* ("Monitoring my blood sugar makes diabetes easier to live with"), and the anticipated barriers are outweighed by the benefits (*Perceived barriers)* ("It takes too much time to monitor my blood sugar every morning"). There are also *Cues to action* that are factors that trigger action ("Hearing about diabetes through the media reminds me to take care of myself"), *Other/Modifying variables* correspond to factors that may affect perceptions of other moderators (e.g., demographics (age, gender, etc.), psychosocial (personality, social class, etc.)), and *Self-efficacy* which is the individuals estimate that they are capable of executing said behavior to produce the wanted outcome ("I am sure that I can monitory my blood sugar on a daily basis"), and *outcome expectation* which is the individuals estimate that a given behavior will lead to certain outcomes ("I expect that monitoring my blood sugar will lead to a healthy life"). Based on the value-expectancy framework, HBM suggests that people desire to avoid illness or to get well (value) and engage in a behavior to do so if they also believe that specific action would prevent illness (expectancy). The expectancy is then further impacted by the

individual's evaluation of personal susceptibility to, and severity of, an illness, and of the

likelihood of being able to reduce that threat through action.
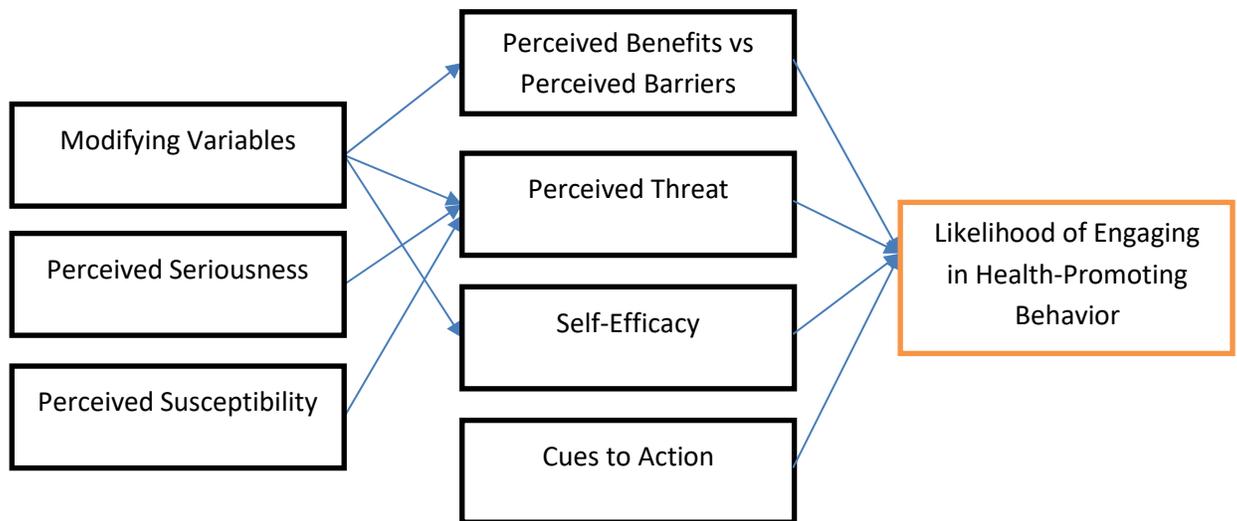
Figure 1. Health-Belief Model (Adapted from Urich, 2021)

Although it was originally designed to explain participation in programs to prevent

disease, the HBM has been applied to areas outside of the health field (Lynch, et al., 2019). The

research to adapt the HBM is slowly emerging. A study by Lynch, et al. (2019) looked at how

the model can be used to assess the implementation of domestic violence and gun policies in

communities. Their goal was to explore if the components of the health belief model

significantly associated with the likelihood of communities consistently implementing firearm

relinquishment as part of a protective order at the (a) short-term (i.e., Emergency Protective

Order) versus (b) long-term (i.e., Domestic Violence Order) levels. They found that perceived

risk of domestic violence was more relevant to implementing firearm relinquishment at an

emergency state and perceived community disapproval for gun policies was more relevant to

long term levels.

Another study found it to be a useful model for understanding users' computer safety

behaviors (Ng, et al., 2009). They hypothesized that perceived susceptibility, perceived benefits,

perceived severity, cues to action, general security orientation to security incidents, and self-efficacy would be positively related to computer security behavior and that perceived barriers of practicing computer security would be negatively related to computer security behavior. They also hypothesized that perceived severity increased the positive effect of perceived susceptibility, cues to action, and general security orientation on computer security behavior. Perceived severity was also predicted to reduce the positive effect of perceived benefits and self-efficacy on computer security behavior and reduce the negative effect of perceived barriers on computer security behavior. They found that perceived susceptibility, perceived benefits, and self-efficacy were determinant of a user's computer security behavior.

Given that the HBM has been applied to domains outside of just health behaviors and at community levels (see Lynch, et al., 2019), it serves as a good model to explore moderators to White students' participation in racial social justice. It includes many variables that have already been studied within social justice such as perceived barriers and cues to action and includes more that may be relevant to the relationship between intention and action such as perceived barriers and supports. This study will utilize perceived barriers, cues to action, and self-efficacy.

Perceived barriers to social justice have been the most researched, but the research is still limited. Miller, et al. (2007) found that barriers are significant to the relationship between interest and commitment. Additionally, there is some evidence that perceived barriers may be the greatest factor in determining behavior change (Janz, et al., 1984). Overtime this finding has remained as a meta-analysis of 18 studies found perceived barriers and perceived benefits to be the strongest predictors of changed behavior (Carpenter, 2010). However, the relationship between self-efficacy and perceived barriers may be dependent. Witte (2013) found that perceived barriers were meaningful only for individuals with low to moderate self-efficacy. This

suggests that self-efficacy may be low because individuals perceived too many barriers to actions leading to the low self-efficacy. Those with high self-efficacy did not perceive as many barriers as those in the low or moderate self-efficacy group. In a broader sense, self-efficacy has been essential to understanding the relationship between social justice and predicting behaviors. Social justice self-efficacy refers to one's perceived ability to perform specific social justice tasks across interpersonal, intrapersonal, community, and political/institutional domains (Miller, et al., 2009). For social justice behaviors someone with high self-efficacy wants and knows how to be involved and feels they are capable to do so. Someone with low self-efficacy may want to be involved in social justice behaviors but is unsure of how to be or of their capabilities.

Lastly, Miller, et al. (2009) found that social justice self-efficacy had a direct effect on social justice interest, and that social justice interest had a direct effect on social justice commitment. These results suggested that the higher one's social justice self-efficacy, the more likely she or he is to become interested in social justice activities. Further, the more interest one shows in these activities, the more likely she or he is to commit to engage in them in the future. While Miller, et al. (2009) examined social justice self-efficacy in relation to future engagement, the current study will extend the social justice self-efficacy research by examining social justice self-efficacy as a predictor of actual social justice engagement. Therefore, social justice self-efficacy will be examined as a moderator between intention and actual behavior within the HBM. Given the close link between these variables and social justice, there may be a relationship to the more specific domain of racial social justice.

Theory of Planned Behavior and Social Justice

One theory for exploring factors that impact someone's interest in social justice is the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) that was proposed by Icek Ajzen (1991) to link beliefs to

behaviors. The TPB proposes three core components of attitude ("I feel good about my action and think it will be a good change"), subjective norm (i.e., "My family thinks it is important for everyone to have equal rights"), and perceived behavioral control (i.e., "I have the confidence and ability to make a change in my community"). Together, these factors shape an individual's behavioral intention ("I plan to be involved with protests"), which is believed to be the most proximal determinant of human social behavior. In a meta-analysis by Armitage & Conner (2001) found that TBB accounted, respectfully, for 27% and 39% of the variance in behavior and intention. Attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control account for significantly more of the variance than intentions or self-predictions when the measure is self-report compared to objective or observed. However, intentions and self-predictions of behavior (i.e., self-ratings) from the self-reports were better predictors of behavior. Additionally, the subjective norm construct is generally found to be a weak predictor of intentions.
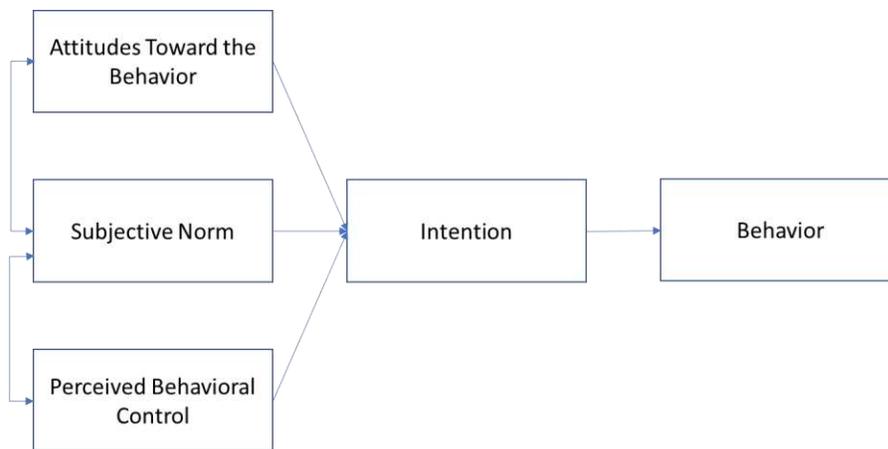
Figure 2. Theory of Planned Behavior Conceptual Model (adapted from Ajzen, 1991)

The assumption of much of the previous research is that assessing behavioral intentions serve as a proxy for measuring behaviors; however, this may not accurately capture people's actual behaviors (Faries, 2016). The "intention-behavior gap" has been coined to explain this discrepancy and has led intention to be seen as a poor predictor of behavioral activation (Ajzen,

1991, Faries, 2016). In other words, although people intend to enact a behavior, data suggests that most do not follow through with the behavior that they intended to do (Ajzen, 1991). Therefore, even if people intend to change or maintain a given behavior, they may not follow through with their intention.

In terms of social justice, someone may endorse social justice as important or even express intentions to be involved, without ever taking action. Thus, to better understand what makes the shift from intention to action, this gap should be addressed by measuring their actual behaviors and if they follow through with said intentions. Another limitation of the TPB is that it assumes that the person has acquired the opportunities and resources to be successful in performing the desired behavior (Carmack, et al. 2009). This is an issue in regard to racial social justice as White people may lack the lived experiences necessary to understand the change that is needed. Lastly, this theory does not address what inclines someone from being interested to actually participating in the action they indicated was of interest.

Bystander Effect and Social Justice

Bystander effect research was catalyzed by the infamous Kitty Genovese case in 1964. Kitty was attacked and killed outside of her apartment in Queens, New York despite 38 confirmed witnesses who saw or heard the attack but failed to call the police or help her (Gansberg, 1964). Formally called "Genovese Syndrome", the bystander effect states that individuals are less likely to offer help to a victim when there are other people present.
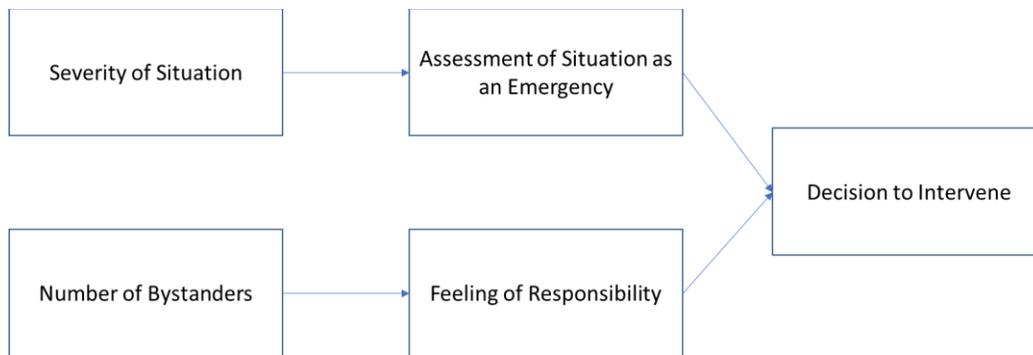
Figure 3. The Bystander Effect (Latané and Darley, 1970)

Latané and Darley (1970) found five characteristics of emergencies affected the bystanders: 1) Emergencies involve threat of harm or actual harm; 2) Emergencies are unusual and rare; 3) The type of action required in an emergency differs from situation to situation; 4) Emergencies cannot be predicted or expected; and 5) Emergencies require immediate action. These five characteristics then lead the bystanders through a cognitive and behavioral process in which they go through five stages: 1) *Notice* that something is going on; 2) *Interpret* the situation as being an emergency; 3) *Degree of responsibility* felt; 4) *Form of assistance*; and 5) *Implement the action choice.*

For stage one (notice) those who were alone were quicker and more likely to notice things than in a large group as those who are alone are more conscious of their surroundings. For those who did notice something (e.g., smoke in Latane's study) they were more likely to seek help if others had reactions to it that indicated an emergency (i.e., gasping, screaming, etc.). Only one person in the group condition reported the smoke in the first four minutes and five out of eight of the groups reported nothing. Previous White Allyship literature has noted that White privilege empowers Whites with the option to ignore, normalize, and neutralize race when race benefits them (Wildman & Davis, 1997). This privilege prevents Whites from recognizing disparities due to race and detracts from their engagement in White allyship behaviors.

Therefore, if a White person does not notice an issue, then it is impossible to move through the other stages and get to a place of Allyship.

For stage two (interpret) Latané and Darleys 1970 study found that interpretations are important when deciding to take action. If it is interpreted as a non-emergency, then most people do not intervene. The importance of interpretations was also shown by Meyes (2010) that if a woman yells "Get away from me, I don't know you" 65% of bystanders intervened vs. 19% when she yelled "Get away from me, I don't know why I even married you". Social norms theory further explains how interpretations, and misinterpretations, happen. Peer influences are affected more by perceived norms (what we view as typical or standard in a group) rather than on the actual norm (the real beliefs and actions of the group). The gap between perceived and actual is a misperception. These misperceptions occur in relation to problem or risk behaviors (which are usually overestimated) and in relation to healthy or protective behaviors (which are usually underestimated) and may cause individuals to change their own behavior to approximate the misperceived norm (Prentice & Miller, 1993). In regard to racial social justice, this suggests that some people may get involved, while others do, because of their interpretation of what they believe others believe. If they interpret a minority individual being followed around the store by an employee as a norm and something others do not see as an issue, then they are less likely to intervene and question the employee. However, if they interpret that individual as being racially profiled and something that violates norms then they are more likely to be involved. Additionally, White privileges would also prevent whites from viewing the racial profiling as an emergency, even if they recognize it as a racial profiling.

Next, the degree that someone feels responsible is dependent on whether or not they feel the person is deserving of help (e.g., someone having a negative stereotype that associates

African Americans with criminality may think they don't deserve help but deserve to be followed around), the competence of the bystander (i.e., someone notices an African American person being followed around, is able to conceptualize that as an undue racial harassment, and believes that stepping in can create change and they are capable of creating that change) and the relationship between the bystander and the victim (e.g., friends, strangers, family, etc.). A bystander is most likely to help in situations that they 1) perceive someone is in need of help, 2) the bystander feels competent to help, and 3) has a personal relationship with them.

Next, forms of assistance are either direct or detour reporting to the authorities (Latané & Darley, 1970). Direct assistance within racial social justice would include leveraging one's position of power and privilege and courageously interrupting the status quo by engaging in prosocial behaviors that foster growth-in-connection and have both the intention and impact of creating mutuality, solidarity, and support. This would include behaviors such as protests/marches, contact political figures, and running for office with the intent of enacting prosocial behaviors beyond one's own group. Detour assistance within social justice involves performative allyship and "White Knighting", these actions and behaviors do not increase racial social justice directly and can actually be more harmful as they create the illusion that racial social justice is being performed when it actually is not. Other detour assistance may be prosocial such as reporting racial bullying observed to an authority such as OEI office at one's place of employment. Lastly, after going through all four previous steps, the bystander makes a decision.

Social justice is often in response to injustices that have presented themselves (e.g., women's suffrage movement for gender equal rights, Black Lives Matters for equal rights for African Americans, etc.) However, without the identification that there is a problem (e.g., noticing racism, sexism, etc. and believing it is an issue) these movements would not exist.

Latané and Darley's (1970) model explains the process that someone goes through to notice a situation and identify it as an emergency that needs intervention. Their model can be used to explain the steps someone goes through in their decision to be involved or not. This is important within the subdomain of racial social justice, specifically with White individuals, as they may not notice events as an emergency since it may not affect them directly as much.

The Proposed Model

While any of the three models may be applicable to understanding the barriers and cues to action for racial social justice behavior, they each were developed to predict different behavioral outcomes and thus have some predictors that are not directly relevant to social justice. Although each model proposes many plausible sets of predicts for intention or behavior; this study focuses on variables that moderate the intention to action link (which previous models do not). The HBM does appear as an adequate candidate for being used as some of the proposed moderators map on to its variables, but it does not differentiate between intention and behavior. Additionally, it proposes predictors for health behaviors, but that does not mean that these predictors could be potential moderators on the intention-behavior link.

TPB proposes three predictors for intention, however these do not serve as moderators conceptually. Additionally, it proposes intention as a proxy to behaviors, but previous research has shown that intention is not always enough and there is something else affecting the outcome behavior (intention-behavior gap). The model and its original studies focus on very specific behaviors (e.g., going for an annual health checkup) and not broad behaviors like racial social justice action behaviors which this study focuses on and aims to address. Lastly, TPB assumes that the person has acquired the opportunities and resources to be successful in performing the desired behavior (Carmack, et al. 2009).

On the other hand, the bystander effect mostly explains why people do not get involved and the barriers they face to move from inaction to action. In terms of social justice, some situations call for immediate intervention such as someone experiencing police brutality or protestors being attacked, whereas others may need less immediate attention such as online comments. However, not every social justice related activity calls for an emergency situation mindset. Therefore, this theory is not applicable to understanding how people decide to act or not in a non-emergency situation. Being able to engage bystanders is essential during these times not only for the physical safety of people, but also to hold the perpetrators accountable and let them know that people are not just going to stand by. The proposed model does not focus solely on emergency situations and encompasses a wide array of racial social justice behaviors. Moreover, all the three models appear to propose some of the same variables with different labels. For example, perceived control in TPB can equate to self-efficacy that is seen in the Bystander model and HBM along with subjective norms could be a perceived barrier within the HBM and anticipated risk in the Bystander model. Also, the HBM perceived severity is similar to perceived emergency/urgency proposed in the Bystander model; perceived benefits are similar to the anticipated benefits in the Bystander model.

Based on the strengths, limitations, and overlaps of the three previously discussed theories, two moderators are proposed for the social justice intention-behavior link: perceived barriers and cues to action. Perceived barriers are predicted to moderate the social justice intention-action link such that the more perceived barriers, the more likely one may not enact their social justice intention. Perceived barriers encompass external barriers and internal barriers. External barriers may include perceived social barriers, anticipated risks, and limited resources. Miller, et al. (2009) defined social barriers to social justice engagement as the perceived social

barriers (e.g., receiving negative comments or discouragement from your friends and family members about your engagement in social justice activities) one would likely encounter while engaging in social justice advocacy, which is conceptually similar to negative subjective norms that TPB proposes. Internal barriers may include low perceived self-efficacy one has to enact and carry out their anticipated action (e.g., "respond to racial social injustice (e.g., discrimination, racism) with nonviolent actions"). This may be an important differentiation based on Social Cognitive Theory that described the influence on individual experiences, the actions of others, and environmental factors on individuals' behavior. Anticipated risks as proposed in the Bystander model would entail assessing if personal harm could happen if someone were to get involved/intervene (e.g., get arrested while protesting, get into a fight, etc.). Limited resources encompass anything that there is only so much of (e.g., time, money, energy, etc.)

Cues to action are defined by the HBM as "factors that trigger action" but have not been studied systematically in social justice (e.g., witnessing police brutality, anti-Asian hate crimes, etc.). Cues to action seem to arise from social influence, experiences, or underlying shifts in the possibilities of change (Miller, et al., 2009). Experiences and social influence due to the health behavior in question seem to initiate changes in confidence, attitude and thereby motivation to change (Meillier, et al., 1997). Additionally, the severity of the situation based on one's perception and how responsible they feel to be involved or to intervene based on the Bystander Model are included. Cues to action could be the driving force for anyone, interested or not, to see something they do not agree with and to take action. For racial social justice cues to action could reveal previously unknown problems in someone's community (e.g., a mass shooting, racial injustices, etc.) that they feel need to be addressed. The severity and level of responsibility findings from the Bystander model in combination with cues to action may cause cues to action

elicit the movement from interest to action, but also that those who perceive the situations as more serious and feel more responsible will more likely be involved. This highlights the need for a unique model to answer the present research question and justifies the need to utilize pieces from various previous theories.

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            ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
            │  Perceived   │      │Cues to Action│
            │  Barriers    │      │              │
            └──────┬───────┘      └──────┬───────┘
                   │                     │
┌──────────┐       │                     │      ┌──────────────────┐
│          │       ▼                     ▼      │  Racial Social   │
│ Intention│──────────────────────────────────▶│ Justice Behavior │
│          │                                    │                  │
└──────────┘                                    └──────────────────┘
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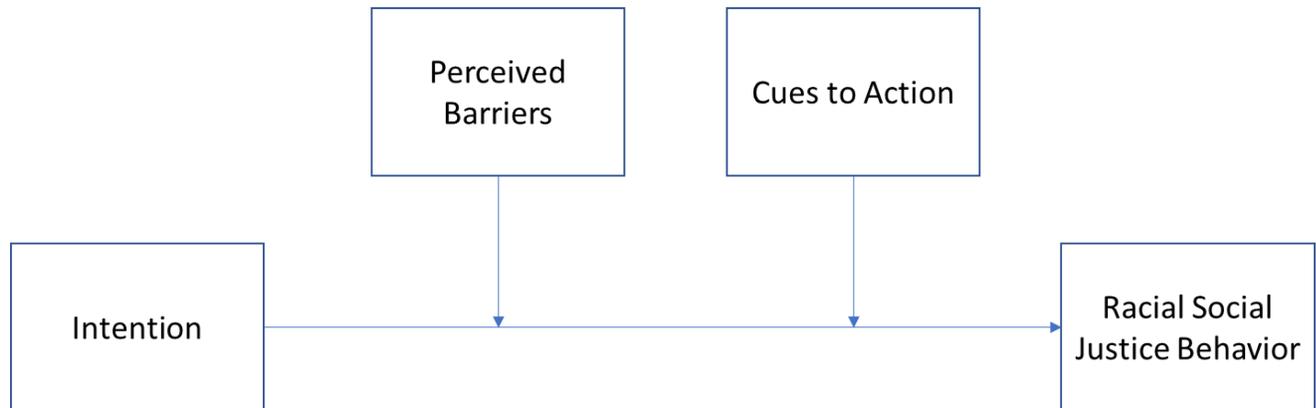
Figure 4. The Proposed Model

Due to the broad scope of this study, intention is defined as "the general orientation or interest/intent to be involved in social justice actions" as it is more inclusive of various behaviors compared to specific health behaviors that TPB or HBM proposed to predict. Although there does not appear to be research that addresses intention to racial social justice behaviors gap directly, there are various studies about interest, orientation, commitment and more to inform this study. Additionally, social justice can encompass a wide array of interests such as gender, race, religion, mental or physically ability and more. Due to this, the present study will focus on racial social justice. The present study will address the gap in the literature regarding moderators of the association between intending to and actually engaging in racial social justice among White college students. For the purposes of this study, racial social justice engagement is defined as "observable, action-oriented behaviors that seek to change institutional systems toward fairness and equity for disadvantaged individuals and groups". Therefore, the present study will examine

factors that prevent White college students from engaging in racial social justice actions, even when they are interested in and intend to get involved.

Taken together, this study aims to test the following hypotheses.

H1: Social justice intention will predict racial social justice behavior positively.

H2: Perceived barriers will predict racial social justice behavior negatively.

H3: Cues to action will predict racial social justice behavior positively.

H4: Perceived barriers will moderate the relationship between intention and behavior such that the relationship will be either non-significant or become weaker when perceived barriers are high.

H5: Cues to action will moderate the relationship between intention and behavior such that the relationship will become stronger when cues to action are high.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

Participants

Recruiting

Participants were students who attend Illinois State University, which is a midwestern university. Participants who completed this as part of a course requirement received credit through SONA. SONA is the online system that was used to manage the subject pool. This is where studies are posted, and participants can login to learn more about the studies and sign up to participate in the studies.

Participant Characteristics

There were 561 participants in this study. I excluded participants if they completed less than 50% of the study, which excluded 20 participants. Participants were also excluded if they took less than 250 seconds, which excluded 47 participants. Lastly, this study was only interested in White participants' responses, which excluded 156 participants. The final sample size was 338 and was primarily composed of 292 women (86.4%) and 36 (10.7%) males, 2 (0.6%) people who are transgender, 4 (1.2%) people who are nonbinary and 4 (1.2%) self-identified others. who were all White (100.0%). Participants had a mean age of 19.69 ($SD = 2.77$) and were predominantly freshman (40.2%). There were also 71 sophomores (21.0%), 75 juniors (22.2%), and 55 seniors (16.3%). A majority of participants (211, 62.4%) indicated that they wanted to learn more about racial social justice movements/groups and clicked on the link while 127 (37.6%) did not. The sample was mostly democratic in political affiliation with 167 (49.4%) identifying as such, 70 (20.7%) identifying as Republican, 73 (21.6%) as independent, 26 (7.7%) as self-identified other, and 2 (0.6%) missing. The participants were also equally representative

regarding those who have participated in racial social justice activities before (50.0%) and those who have not (50.0%).

Measures

Measures included portions of the Social Issues Questionnaire (SIQ; Miller, et al., 2007), cues to action questions that were developed for this study, decision to seek racial social justice information, and a social desirability measure as well as a demographic form, are described in this section.

Demographics. A demographic questionnaire gathered information related to participants' age, gender, sexuality, race, year in school, and political affiliation. These variables were tested to determine potential relationships to dependent variables.

Social justice intentions. Social justice intentions were assessed via the social justice interest's subscales of the Social Issues Questionnaire (SIQ; Miller, et al., 2009). Social justice interest was defined as "the pattern of likes, dislikes, and indifferences regarding social justice advocacy activities" (Lent & Brown, 2006). The nine social justice interest items represent an array of social justice activities (e.g., "selecting a career or job that deals with social issues," "reading about social issues," "talking to others about social issues"). A 10-point scale was used to measure interest in each activity (0 = *very low interest*; 9 = *very high interest*). Higher scores indicated a higher degree of interest in social justice. Miller, et al. (2007) reported that social justice interest total score internal consistency estimates ranged from .81 to .87. Miller, et al. examined further construct validity evidence for social justice interest by finding a negative relationship between social justice interest scores and scores on the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; $r = .60$, $p < .01$). The original scale was broad in terms of the social justice activities it measured. It was adapted for the present

study by focusing on racial social justice. This was done by adding "racial" into the instructions and prompts to orient the participants to think specifically about those actions and not general social justice actions "We are interested in learning about your knowledge of issues related to *racial* social inequality (e.g., poverty, historically underserved populations, oppression, discrimination, racism) and engaging in *racial* social justice activities that seek to reduce and eliminate *racial* injustice and inequality". Additionally, some of the prompts and examples were modified to remove aspects of social justice that were not of interest (e.g., religious intolerance, sexism, ableism). The internal consistency for this study was .93.

Barriers to social justice. Barriers to social justice were assessed via the social justice self-efficacy subscale of the SIQ for internal barriers and barriers to social justice engagement subscale of the SIQ for external barriers.

Social justice self-efficacy subscale of SIQ measures an individual's perceived ability to engage in social justice advocacy behaviors across intrapersonal (e.g., "examine your own worldview, biases, and prejudicial attitudes after witnessing or hearing about social injustice"), interpersonal (e.g., "challenge an individual who displays racial, ethnic, and/or religious intolerance"), community (e.g., "support efforts to reduce social injustice through your own local fundraising efforts"), and institutional/political (e.g., "leading a group of coworkers in an effort to eliminate workplace discrimination in your place of employment") domains (Miller, et al., 2007). Participants were asked to respond to the 20 items by rating on a 10-point scale about their confidence in their ability to complete each task (0 = *no confidence at all*; 9 = *complete confidence*). Higher scores represented increased confidence in performing social justice advocacy behaviors. Internal consistency estimates ranged from .94 to .96 for the social justice self-efficacy total score (Miller, et al., 2007) and .80 for the Intrapersonal subscale, .88 for the

Interpersonal subscale, .86 for the Community subscale, and .92 for the Institutional/Political subscale (Miller, et al., 2009). This study had an internal consistency of .97 for the social justice self-efficacy total score.

Barriers to social justice engagement subscale measured the perceived social barriers (e.g., "receive negative comments or discouragement from your friends and family members about your engagement in social justice activities") one would likely encounter while engaging in social justice advocacy. A 10-point scale was used to rate the 5 social support and 4 barrier items (0 = not at all likely; 9 = extremely likely). For this study only the 4 barriers questions were utilized. Higher scores on each scale represented greater perceived social supports and social barriers to social justice engagement. Miller, et al. (2007) found that scores ranged from .63 to .76 for social barriers. This study had an internal consistency of .64.

Cues to action. Items were created to measure cues to action for this study. This measure was then given to students and professors to review and analyze the face validity. The scale measures how likely someone would be to engage in racial social justice behaviors (i.e., protesting, BLM, Stop Asian Hate, writing to legislators, etc.) based on who the hypothetical event happened to (a family member, a friend, or a stranger). Cues to action was designed for this study due to previous research not having a readily available scale. The measure consists of 22 items with an internal consistency of .981

Decision to Seek Racial Social Justice Information (DSRSJI). At the end of the survey, participants were provided with a link to learn more about a group of their choosing from options relating to "Black Lives Matter", "Stop Asian Hate", "Immigrant Project for Latinx", and "Native Movement", to measure actual racial social justice behavior. Clicking this link was

coded such that 0 = no and 1 = yes, where clicking to learn more represented an actual behavior to seek more information about racial social justice groups (see Lannin, et al., 2016).

      Self-Reported Racial Social Justice Behaviors. To assess previous social justice behaviors related to racial equality social justice, the open-ended question "what behaviors have you done in the past 6 months to contribute to racial equality?" was used. Responses were coded such that 0 = *did not indicate previous social justice behaviors*, and 1 = *did indicate previous social justice behaviors*.

      Socially Desirable Response Set Measure (SDRS-5). A 5-item scale measuring an individual's likelihood to give false responses in effort to uphold a more socially desirable image was used to assess participants' responses. The items are rated using a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from one (definitely true) to five (definitely false). All responses are scored zero except for the extreme response: for items 2 – 4, the extreme response is item 5 (definitely false) which is scored one, for items one and five, the extreme response is item 1 (definitely true) which is scored one. The total score indicated the level of social desirability the participant may be using in responses throughout the study, with higher scores indicating higher social desirability. Hays, et al., (1989) report Cronbach's alpha at .66 and .68 for two samples of the general population. Upon replication, reliability improved to .77 (Hays, et al., 1989). For this study, there was an internal consistency of .46.

Procedure

      The study commenced upon IRB approval. The survey was uploaded to the online survey site, SONA. If a student chose to participate, the survey link led them to a page that reiterated the brief information about the study and asked them to provide consent. If they consented, the student then began the Qualtrics survey after clicking next.

Those who chose to participate in this study, were asked to complete demographic questions, four subscales of the Social Issues Questionnaire (SIQ) (Social justice self-efficacy, Social justice outcome expectations, Social justice interest, Social supports and barriers to social justice engagement), Socially Desirable Response Set Measure, Self-reported Social Justice Behavior, and Cues to Action Questionnaire. Participants were free to withdraw at any time and their information was in no way linked to their survey responses. At the end of the survey, they were asked to click on a link to learn more about racial social justice movements as a way to measure if they would actually display social justice behaviors. Lastly, they were shown a debriefing statement about the goals of this study, the information of the researchers should they need to reach out, and additional information about the study.

Analytic Approach

The hypothesized moderation model's five hypotheses were tested in SPSS utilizing Hayes, et al. (2017) PROCESS model. A positive and statistically significant $b1$ and $b3$ in the model would indicate support for hypothesis one and three. A negative and statistically significant $b2$ in the model would indicate support for hypothesis two. To examine the interaction effects for hypotheses four and five ($b4$, $b5$), a graph was generated from the moderated regression analysis with high and low values for each predictor variable set at $+1$ SD and -1 SD.
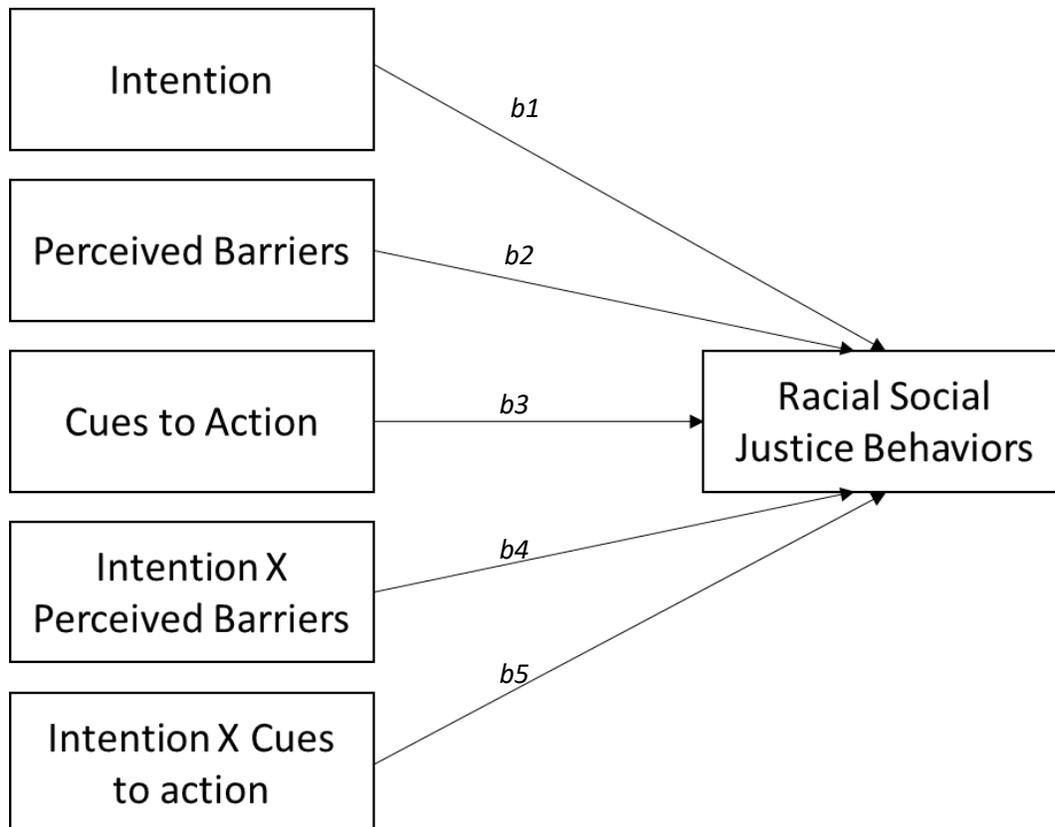
Figure 5. The Analytic Model

Power Analysis

A priori power analysis using G*Power with 6 predictors (the IV, two moderators, two two-way interaction terms, a three-way interaction term) with a power of .80, for a medium effect size at a .05 level showed that the minimum sample size would be 119 participants.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

Gender and Socially Desirable Response Set (SDRS) were utilized as covariates. Previous research indicated gender differences between men and women's social justice involvement (Kerpelman, 1969; Serow & Dreyden, 1990) such that men are more likely to be involved with advocacy behaviors (i.e. protesting) (Lee, 1997) and women tend to be more involved in community service behaviors (e.g. food drives, clothes drives, etc.; Hurtado, et al., 2002; Serow, 1990; Serow, et al., 1990). The SDRS was used to address the possible limitations of people responding based on what they believe is most socially desirable or how they should respond. Table 1 shows bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics. This study found support for hypothesis one that social justice intention would positively predict racial social justice behaviors $r = .52, p = .000$. There was also support for hypothesis two that perceived barriers will predict racial social justice behavior negatively $r = -.12, p = .031$. Lastly, there was support for hypothesis three that cues to action would positively predict racial social justice behaviors $r = .35, p = .000$.

Exploratory correlations were run with previous RSJ behaviors as an outcome variable. Although there were no hypotheses for this outcome variable, this study found support that social justice intention and cues to action would positively predict previous RSJ behaviors $r = .39, p = .000, r = .27, p = .000$. However, there was not support that perceived barriers predicted previous RSJ behaviors negatively $r = -.05, p = .366$.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations of Study Variables (*N* = 338)

Variables	M (SD)	Range	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Intent	5.34 (2.00)	0-9	-								
2. Social Support	5.74 (1.83)	0-9	.42***	-							
3. Barriers	3.41 (1.70)	0-9	-.03	-.23***	-						
4. Self-Efficacy	5.52 (1.89)	0-9	.76***	.55***	-.060	-					
5. Cues to Action	6.45 (2.18)	0-9	.58***	.34***	.02	.59***	-				
6. DSRSJI		0-1	.52***	.27***	-.12*	.43***	.35***	-			
7. Previous RSJ Behaviors		0-1	.39***	.26***	-.05	.35***	.27***	.24***	-		
8. Gender		0-1	-.16**	-.04	.09	-.06	.02	-.19**	-.09	-	
9. Socially Desirable Response Set (SDRS)	.16 (0.18)	0-1	-.02	.07	-.05	.04	.02	.02	-.02	.03	-

Note: *Intent = Social Justice Interest's Subscale of the SIQ, Social Support and Barriers = Social Supports and Social Barriers to Social Justice Engagement Subscale of SIQ, Social Support= Social Supports to Social Justice Engagement Subscale of SIQ, Barriers = Social Barriers to Social Justice Engagement Subscale of SIQ, Self-Efficacy = Social Justice Self-Efficacy Subscale of SIQ, Cues to Action = Cues to Action. Gender is Coded Such That 0 = Woman, 1 = Man. DSRSJI is Coded Such That 0 = Did Not Click on Website, 1 = Did Click on Website. Previous RSJ Behaviors is Coded Such That 0 = No Previous RSJ Behaviors, 1 = Previous RSJ Behavior.*
* *P* < .05. ** *P* < .01. *** *P* < .001.

Main Analyses

To examine hypotheses four and five, a moderation model utilizing model 2 of Hayes, et al. (2017) PROCESS was run twice. Model 1 for this study examines internal barriers (self-efficacy) and model 2 examines external barriers (barriers to social justice) with Decision to Seek Racial Social Justice Information (DSRSJI) as the outcome variable. The internal barriers measure was taken directly for Miller et al.'s (2009) social justice self-efficacy subscale of SIQ. Barriers to social justice was taken from the social support and barriers subscale of the SIQ. The original scale included both aspects of social support as well as social barriers to social justice efforts. Only items 6 through 9 were utilized, which were specifically referring to social barriers rather than social support. Additionally, the SDRS scale and gender were utilized at covariates in all analyses. Odds ratios were calculated for the logistic regression beta values for statistically significant predictors. All continuous variables were centered. Gender (covariate) was not because it is a dichotomous variable. Standardized variables are not produced or calculated in PROCESS macro for models that are not mediation-only.

Table 2. Moderation Analysis of Model 1 (Internal Barriers) on DSRSJI

Effect	*b*	*OR*	*SE*	95% CI LL	95% CI UL	*p*
Fixed Effects						
Intercept	.67		.20	.28	1.06	.000
Intent	.59	1.80	.12	.35	.83	.000
RSJ Self-Efficacy	.06		.12	-.17	.29	.509
Cues	.07		.09	-.10	.24	.449
Covariate						
Gender	-1.06	0.35	.44	-1.91	-.20	.015
SDRS	.61		.83	-1.01	2.24	.461
Interactions						
Intent x Cues	.00		.07	-.13	.14	.963
Intent x RSJ Self-Efficacy	.03		.07	-.10	.15	.666

Note. Gender was coded such that 0 = *woman*, 1 = *man*.

Model 1 (internal barriers) with DSRSJI as the outcome variable did not find evidence for hypothesis 4 that perceived barriers would moderate the relationship between intentions and actual behaviors such that the relationship would become weaker when perceived internal barriers are high. Additionally, there was no evidence for hypothesis 5 that cues to action would moderate the relationship between intentions and actual behavior, such that the relationship would be stronger when cues to action are high. The three main effects only produced one significant result that intent does predict racial social justice behavior ($b = 0.59$, $t(322) = 4.76$, $p = .000$). Cues to action ($b = 0.07$, $t(322) = 0.76$, $p = .449$) and racial social justice self-efficacy (internal barrier)($b = 0.06$, $t(322) = 0.51$, $p = .509$) did not predict racial social justice behaviors. The interaction between intent and cues to action was not significant ($b = 0.001$, $t(322) = 0.05$, $p = .963$). The interaction between intent and racial social justice self-efficacy (internal barriers) was not significant ($b = 0.03$, $t(322) = 0.43$, $p = .666$). Gender was a significant covariate and predicted overall racial social justice behavior $b = -1.06$, $t(322) = -2.43$, $p = .015$.

Odd ratios (OR) were calculated for significant results. Intent had an OR of 1.80, so for every one-point increase in intentions, the odds of clicking the link almost double. Additionally, gender had an OR of 0.35. Controlling for the other predictors, men are 0.35 times as likely as women to click on the website link. Women are almost 3 times more likely to click on the website link for more social justice information. A post-hoc 3-way interaction was run utilizing Hayes, et al. (2017) PROCESS model 3. For model one (Intent x Cues x RSJ Self-Efficacy) for internal barriers (self-efficacy) and it did not produce significant results ($b = 0.01$, $t(322) = 0.22$, $p = .831$).

Table 3. Moderation Analysis of Model 2 (External Barriers) on DSRSJI

Effect	b	OR	SE	95% CI LL	95% CI UL	p
Fixed Effects						
Intercept	.70		.19	.33	1.11	.000
Intent	.64	1.90	.10	.44	.83	.000
Barriers RSJ	-.19	0.83	.09	-.35	-.01	.039
Cues	.09		.08	-.06	.24	.245
Covariate						
Gender	-.92	0.40	.44	-1.78	-.05	.039
SDRS	.55		.81	-1.04	2.15	.496
Interactions						
Intent x Barriers to RSJ	-.03		.05	-.13	.07	.611
Intent x Cues	-.04		.04	-.13	.04	.332

Note. Gender was coded such that 0 = *woman*, 1 = *man*.

Model 2 (external barriers) did not find evidence for hypothesis 4 that perceived barriers would moderate the relationship between intention and behavior such that the relationship will be either non-significant or become weaker when perceived barriers are high. Additionally, there was not supporting evidence for hypothesis 5 that cues to action would moderate the relationship between intention and behavior such that the relationship will become stronger when cues to action are high. The three main effects produced two significant results; intent ($b = 0.64$, $t(322) = 6.44$, $p = .001$) and external barriers to racial social justice ($b = -0.19$ $t(322) = -2.17$, $p = .030$) did predict racial social justice behavior. Cues to action ($b = 0.09$, $t(322) = 1.16$, $p = .243$) did not predict racial social justice behavior. The interaction between intent and cues to action was not significant ($b = -0.04$, $t(322) = -0.97$, $p = .332$). The interaction between intent and barriers to racial social justice was not significant ($b = -.03$, $t(322) = -0.51$, $p = .612$). Gender was a significant covariate and predicted overall racial social justice behavior ($b = -0.92$, $t(322) = -2.07$, $p = .039$).

Odd ratios (OR) were calculated for statistically significant results. Intent had an OR of 1.90, so for every one-point increase in intentions, the odds of clicking the link almost double.

External barriers to RSJ had an OR of 0.83, so for every one-point increase in intentions, the odds of clicking the link decreases by 0.83. Additionally, gender had an OR of 0.40. Controlling for the other predictors, men are 0.40 times as likely as women to click on the website link. Women are almost 3 times more likely to click on the website link for more social justice information. A post-hoc 3-way interaction was run utilizing Hayes, et al. (2017) PROCESS model 3. For model two (Intent x Cues x Barriers to RSJ) for external barriers (barriers to social justice) did not produce significant results (b = -0.00, $t(322)$ = -0.00, p = .991).

Previous Racial Social Justice as Outcome Variable

The same models were run again, but with previous RSJ behavior as the outcome variable. Odds ratios were calculated for the logistic regression beta values for statistically significant predictors. All continuous variables were centered except for Gender (covariate) because it is a dichotomous variable. Standardized variables are not produced or calculated in PROCESS macro for models that are not mediation-only.

Table 4. Moderation Analysis of Model 1 (Internal Barriers) on Previous RSJ Behavior

Effect	b	OR	SE	95% CI		p
				LL	UL	
Fixed Effects						
Intercept	.05		.18	-.29	.39	.762
Intent	.33	1.39	.10	.13	.53	.001
RSJ Self-Efficacy	.16		.10	-.04	.37	.116
Cues	.03		.07	-.11	.17	.677
Covariate						
Gender	-.32		.41	-1.12	-.21	.081
SDRS	-.16		.73	-1.60	1.27	.819
Interactions						
Intent x Cues	-.02		.05	-.11	.07	.627
Intent x RSJ Self-Efficacy	-.02		.05	-.12	.08	.844

Note. Gender was coded such that 0 = *woman*, 1 = *man*.

For model 1, The three main effects only produced one significant result that intent does predict racial social justice behavior (b = 0.33, $t(322)$ = 3.19, p = .001). Cues to action (b = 0.03,

$t(322) = 0.42$, $p = .677$) and racial social justice self-efficacy ($b = 0.16$, $t(322) = 1.57$, $p = .116$) did not predict racial social justice behaviors. The interaction between intent and cues to action was not significant ($b = -0.02$, $t(322) = -0.48$, $p = .627$). The interaction between intent and racial social justice self-efficacy was not significant ($b = -0.02$, $t(322) = -0.32$, $p = .844$). Gender was not a significant covariate and did not predict racial social justice behavior $b = -0.32$, $t(322) = -0.79$, $p = .081$.

Odd ratios (OR) were calculated for significant results. Intent had an OR of 1.39, so for every one-point increase in intentions, the odds of clicking the link increased almost one and a half times. A post-hoc 3-way interaction was run utilizing Hayes, et al. (2017) PROCESS model 3. Model one (Intent x Cues x RSJ Self-Efficacy) for internal barriers (self-efficacy) did not produce significant results ($b = -0.23$, $t(322) = -1.77$, $p = .081$).

Table 5. Moderation Analysis of Model 2 (External Barriers) on Previous RSJ Behavior.

Effect	b	OR	SE	95% CI		p
				LL	UL	
Fixed Effects						
Intercept	.04		.17	-.30	.38	.824
Intent	.42	1.52	.08	.26	.59	.000
Barriers RSJ	-.07		.07	-.22	.08	.359
Cues	.05		.07	-.08	.19	.441
Covariate						
Gender	-.24		.41	-1.04	.56	.550
SDRS	-.11		.71	-1.51	1.28	.874
Interactions						
Intent x Barriers to RSJ	-.00		.04	-.08	.08	.937
Intent x Cues	-.04		.04	-.11	.03	.270

Note. Gender was coded such that 0 = *woman*, 1 = *man*.

For model 2, the three main effects produced one significant result that intent did predict racial social justice behavior ($b = 0.42$, $t(322) = 5.10$, $p = .000$). Barriers to racial social justice ($b = -0.07$ $t(322) = -0.92$, $p = .359$) did not predict racial social justice behavior. Cues to action ($b =$

0.05, $t(322) = 0.77$, $p = .441$) did not predict racial social justice behavior. The interaction between intent and cues to action was not significant ($b = -0.04$, $t(322) = -1.10$, $p = .270$). The interaction between intent and barriers to racial social justice was not significant ($b = -.001$, $t(322) = -0.79$, $p = .937$). Gender was not a significant covariate and did not predict overall racial social justice behavior ($b = -0.24$, $t(322) = -0.60$, $p = .550$).

Odd ratios (OR) were calculated for significant results. Intent had an OR of 1.52, so for every one-point increase in intentions, the odds of clicking the link increased by a little over one and a half times. A post-hoc 3-way interaction was run utilizing Hayes, et al. (2017) PROCESS model 3. For model two (Intent x Cues x Barriers to RSJ) for external barriers (barriers to social justice) it did not produce significant results ($b = -0.02$, $t(322) = -0.80$, $p = .421$).

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study examined factors that prevent White college students from engaging in social justice actions, even when they are interested in and intend to get involved. This study tested the following hypotheses: 1) Racial social justice intention will predict racial social justice behavior positively; 2) Perceived barriers will predict racial social justice behavior negatively; 3) Cues to action will predict racial social justice behavior positively; 4) Perceived barriers will moderate the relationship between intention and behavior such that the relationship will be either non-significant or become weaker when perceived barriers are high; and 5) Cues to action will moderate the relationship between intention and behavior such that the relationship will become stronger when cues to action are high. Findings from the present study offer a new exploration into the role of barriers and cues to action for White college students and their racial social justice behaviors. Given that there was evidence for some hypotheses and not others, it is important to look at why significant findings were not found.

Consistent with hypothesis one, racial social justice intention was a significant predictor of deciding to seek racial social justice information. Previous studies have asked participants if they would get involved in social justice behaviors, but with the addition of the decision to seek racial social justice information in the present study it expands beyond previous studies. It suggests that increasing someone's interest in racial social justice can lead to increased participation in racial social justice events, movements, etc. This aligns with previous literature and theory of planned behavior that finds intentions to be a proximal predictor of behavior.

Consistent with hypothesis two, perceived barriers will predict racial social justice behavior negatively. Perceived barriers were split into two models with two outcome variables: internal barriers (i.e., self-efficacy) and external barriers (i.e., low supports) with desire to seek

racial social justice information (racial social justice behavior) and then previous racial social justice behavior. For external barriers, intent, barriers to racial social justice, and gender were significant predictors of a desire to seek racial social justice information by following the link at the end of the study. As barriers increased the likelihood of following the link decreased. Additionally, intent predicted following the link positively and women were almost three times as likely to follow it. Intent and gender were also significant predictors for internal barriers of the desire to seek racial social justice information such that as intent increased so did the likelihood of following the link and women were almost three times as likely to follow the link. This was consistent with previous research that men are more likely to be involved with advocacy behaviors (i.e. protesting) (Lee, 1997) and women tend to be more involved in community service behaviors (e.g. food drives, clothes drives, etc.; Hurtado, et al., 2002; Serow, 1990; Serow, et al., 1990). Due to women being more likely to follow the link, this could be an indicator that the desire to seek racial social justice information is more closely related to community service behaviors than advocacy behavior.

The present study did not have hypotheses for the relationship between variables and previous racial social justice behavior as the outcome variable, but there were some significant results. Intent was a significant predictor of previous racial social justice behavior for internal and external barriers. Although none of the interactions were significant in this study, it is worthwhile to note that the interaction between Intent x Cues x RSJ Self-Efficacy were close to being significant and may be significant if this study is replicated with a larger sample size and other limitations are addressed

These findings are important because it begins to explain why some individuals get involved with racial social justice and others do not. This suggests that by decreasing the

perceived barriers one has and increasing intent, then increased racial social justice behaviors will follow. This aligns with previous literature and the HBM. Additionally, this is the first time aspects of the HBM have been used to explain racial social justice behavior. This study provides support that there is some validity to using the HBM in the social justice domain.

Consistent with hypothesis three, cues to action will predict racial social justice behavior positively. This finding is important because, along with the first two hypotheses, provides a beginning for explaining racial social justice behavior while also providing support for utilizing the HBM as a model for racial social justice behavior. This aligns with previous literature and the HBM findings. Cues to action was a reliable measure, but did not serve as a significant moderator between intention and racial social justice behavior. One reason for this may be that the prompt asked about how participants would respond if they "witnessed" said activity and witnessing something may not be a powerful enough stimulus to impact someone's behavior. Additionally, utilizing kinship theory that humans tend to devote resources to kin more than non-kin (Krebs, 1987) may be useful to look at further. The measure used three degrees of kinship of family member, friend/community member, and stranger to assess if someone would get involved if they witnessed said activity (i.e., Police brutality) towards said group.

The current study did not examine the moderation effect of each degree of kinship, but based on previous research that has found people dedicate more resources to family members than strangers, it may be that the effects of family members cues to action questions is overshadowed by the stranger cues to action question leading the overall measure to seem nonsignificant in the interaction analyses (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Brewer, 1979; Brewer & Kramer, 1986; Kramer & Brewer, 1984; Lu et al., 2016). Another reason for the significance of cues to action disappearing within the interaction models is that it may have a reciprocal

influence with interests such that as cues to action increase interest, and interest increases

sensitivity to cues to action. Additionally, previous kinship research has found that when faced

with the opportunity to act prosocially towards a stranger, participants are more likely to do so

when strangers are perceived to be physically similar than when they are perceived to be

physically quite different (e.g., race, gender, etc.). This hypothesis is supported also by research

exploring the effects of racial similarity/dissimilarity on interpersonal helping. (Frey & Gaertner,

1986; Gaertner, 1973; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; Ku, 2019) and forgiveness (Cornick, et al.,

2011). Due to this study being interested in White college students' behaviors with racial social

justice, this theory may also explain why there was a lack of findings. Contrary to hypotheses

four and five, this study did not find support that perceived barriers will moderate the effect of

intentions on actual social justice behaviors or that cues to action will moderate the effect of

intentions on actual social justice behaviors.

     Overall, the main reason for nonsignificant moderation findings may be due to small

number of participants or operationalization and specificity levels. Witte (2013) found that

perceived barriers were meaningful only for individuals with low to moderate self-efficacy. The

current study did not address specific levels of self-efficacy. Future research should consider this

as a way to further advance the understanding of the relationship between self-efficacy, barriers,

and racial social justice engagement. Another reason could be that the theory of planned

behavior and health belief model are not optimal models for this study and racial social justice

behavior may be more spontaneous. One theory that may fit better and explain this discrepancy

is the protype willingness model. Its assumption is that behavior is often not reason or planned

but is a reaction to risk-conducive social situations (Gibbons, et al., 2020). This model may fit

better with the bystander model which has aspects of assessing risk of the situation and the need

of viewing the situation as an emergency in order for bystanders to respond. Some racial social justice behaviors may be more planned out such as participating in large gatherings for marches or protests, however many day-to-day behaviors may be less planned out. For example, if someone overhears someone calling someone else a racial slur then they may step in spontaneously. That person did not plan to confront someone specifically that day, even if they planned to go to a protest later. Additionally, some situations may be perceived as more serious, or risk-conducive, than others such as witness police brutality compared to reading something online. Due to this study being the first of its kind it may also be important to note that future research should be done even on the null findings. For example, intentions may actually be such a proximal predictor that operators may be difficult to detect.

An alternative explanation for this finding is that the decision to seek racial social justice information measure is a behavior that can indicate an interest in knowing more about each issue, and not actually measure someone's intentions to engage. This is compounded by that fact that an interest measure was used to measure intention. This creates another potential plausible reason for the null findings of moderation effects due to the issue of operationalization of variables, particularly intention and behaviors, and less optimal alignment of specificity between intention, behaviors, and moderators.

Lastly, as seen in the Bystander model, the severity and level of responsibility may influence the response to a cue to action. The Bystander model in combination with cues to action may cause cues to action to elicit the movement from interest to action, but also that those who perceive the situation as more serious and feel more responsible will more likely be involved. This highlights the need for follow-up studies to examine this relationship more.

Implications

Overall, present findings highlight the potential utility of the TPB, Health belief model, and the Bystander model to identify factors that predict actual racial social justice behavior among White college students. Although the present study did not find significant results for the moderation effects, it is possible that these models all offer some pieces to begin understanding the link between White college students' intentions to be involved with social justice and their actual engagement. The correlations found links between predictors and clicking on a website, which suggests that useful interventions may target students' willingness to gather/seek information pertaining to social justice. This behavioral step may help reinforce their interest in racial social justice and intention for it which leads to increased racial social justice behavior. Also, this highlights the primacy of intentions in predicting racial social justice behaviors. Many racial social justice behaviors require intentional planning, and interventions aimed at helping students engage in planning behaviors may be useful for encouraging actual racial social justice behaviors.

This study still presents with various implications that can be used at the personal, collegiate, and community level. In terms of personal implications, this study can help one to better understand how they go through their own process of deciding to get involved or not. At the collegiate level, colleges can work to integrate social justice more for all college students but may target students who do not have experience with racial social justice issues before and provide more information and opportunities to be involved. Lastly, at the community level, this study can help group and community leaders to understand what may help their efforts be more successful in recruiting and engaging various members of their societies.

Limitations and Future Research

Several limitations of this study should be considered. First, all responses were based on participants self-report and may be subject to social desirability cues, despite controlling for that. Particularly, students may feel that they should be involved with racial social justice despite not actually having been or worry that they may be looked down upon or judged by researchers, despite anonymity. This may have resulted in an over-reporting of both intention to be involved and previous racial social justice behavior. Additionally, the present study is limited in its ability to be generalized to other populations as it focused on White college students from a public midwestern university. This study also coded gender as men and women. Non-binary participants were excluded in PROCESS models which limits the generalizability within non-binary populations. Examining social justice behaviors in non-binary and other marginalized populations may be beneficial for future research. Next, there could be additional variables that could impact the relationship between intention and actual racial social justice behavior such as religion/spirituality and mental/physical capability that were not accounted for at this time. Lastly, the decision to seek racial social justice information measure for actual racial social justice behavior may not be a good measure as some people may not have clicked on it because they did not have time, did not notice it was there, etc. and others may have felt pressure to click on it regardless of interest. Future research should work to address this limitation to improve the strength of results to apply to real life racial social justice behaviors and not performative behaviors.

Future research should aim to address the present study's limitations, and it may also be beneficial to differentiate between the type of previous, or future, racial social justice activities. For example, some people reported sharing things online and others report being physically

involved with protest, marches, etc. Additionally, it may be useful to explore the differences in "who" the incident happened to within the Cues to Action measure. Previous research has found that people react stronger to things that happen to those closer to them than strangers. Also, future research may aim to attempt to parse the possible reciprocal relationship between cues to action and interest apart and explore more about the nature of their relationship. Lastly, seeing that intentions are important to behavioral outcomes, examining mediating variables for intentions could be important (i.e., examine factors that increase self-efficacy).

Conclusion

This study helped to identify possible moderators that predict actual racial social justice behaviors among White college students. Intention, perceived barriers, and cues to action emerged as key predictors of actual racial social justice behaviors but did not emerge significantly as moderators between intention and actual racial social justice behavior. One area of future research might be to utilize to cues to action scale and explore if the degree of closeness that the given event happens towards produces significant results. To date, there has been limited research examining to relationship for White college students as they move from intending to be involved and actual engaging. Building on this line of research is imperative, as it can not only aid in recruitment efforts, but it can also increase the overall momentum in the movement towards equity and equality.

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