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Supporting men or male privilege? Women's progressive and reactionary collective action for men

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Abstract

Collective action for other groups, such as men's action for women, has usually been analysed as social protest advancing equality of disadvantaged groups. In the current research we extend collective action literature by applying SIMCA predictors—identity, injustice, efficacy—to investigate action in support of an advantaged group (women's action for men) and by distinguishing its progressive and reactionary forms. Across three online samples of women (Study 1: $N = 1825$ US; Study 2: $N = 679$ UK; Study 3: $N = 429$ US), we show that support for reactionary action reinforcing male privilege is associated with outgroup identification and *outgroup* injustice. Conversely, progressive action supporting men in adopting egalitarian gender roles is associated with outgroup identification, outgroup-focused efficacy, and *ingroup* injustice. Importantly, some of these associations depend on the content of outgroup-focused variables. We discuss the implications of our findings for collective action and gender research.

KEYWORDS
collective action for the advantaged, gender inequality, reactionary collective action, social change

1 | INTRODUCTION

Collective action for other groups, such as men supporting the #MeToo movement or Whites joining BLM protests, has been typically studied as a social protest advancing equality of disadvantaged groups and aiming for progressive social change (see e.g., Kutlaca et al., 2020 for a recent review). Our research challenges this assumption in two ways: first, by examining collective action for an advantaged group (women protesting for men's rights). Second, by showing that action for the advantaged can have both reactionary and progressive forms. Specifically, we focus on the context of gender as a special case of a disadvantaged group (women) actively supporting the advantaged group (men) either to preserve existing power relations (reactionary action supporting male privilege) or to reduce gender inequalities (progressive action supporting men in adopting egalitarian gender roles).

Our research draws on observations of numerous women who stood with prominent men accused of sexual harassment allegations in the wake of the #MeToo campaign (e.g., Peltz & Kunzelman, 2018; Safronova, 2018) and women active in the men's rights movement who claim that the feminist movement and the society at large unfairly advantage women at the expense of men (e.g., Arndt, 2018; Purtill, 2017). These actions indicate that some women might believe that social progress in the realm of gender has gone too far. At the same time, many women, particularly those active in the feminist movement, believe that the progress towards gender equality has recently slowed down or even stalled when it comes to men's continuing lack of engagement in domestic and caring roles (Kosakowska-Berezecka et al., 2016) and the persistence of 'toxic' masculinity (e.g., Harrington, 2021; Vandello & Bosson, 2013). These women might see collective action for men as a way of advancing gender equality by challenging

norms associated with traditional masculinity and addressing their detrimental impact on women and men.

In the current article, we aim to elucidate the motivations of women (the disadvantaged group) who are willing to engage in collective action for men (the advantaged). Specifically, we aim to examine similarities and differences in predictors of reactionary and progressive action for men. We do so by testing the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA) for outgroup-focused variables (outgroup injustice, outgroup identification, outgroup-focused efficacy). We examine whether these outgroup-related variables shape support for both types of action for men above and beyond ingroup-focused SIMCA variables (ingroup injustice, ingroup identification, ingroup-focused efficacy).

1.1 | Collective action for other groups

Collective action was initially defined as any behaviour, typically political, undertaken by a group member acting as a representative of their social group to achieve its goals (Wright et al., 1990). More recently this definition has been expanded to account for the instances when individuals who do not belong to a given group are acting on behalf of that group (e.g., Dixon et al., 2015; Kutlaca et al., 2020; Louis et al., 2019; Mallett et al., 2008; Radke et al., 2020; Subašić et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2011, 2018). Most prior work in this area has focused on collective action for disadvantaged groups, initiated either by individuals who belong to the advantaged groups (e.g., Subašić et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2011) or by other disadvantaged group members (e.g., Dixon et al., 2015; Mallett et al., 2008; Saab et al., 2015; Radke et al., 2021).

According to the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, Postmes et al., 2008), individuals are more likely to act on behalf of groups that they identify with (group identity), when they perceive groups as unfairly disadvantaged (group-based injustice) and believe that they can achieve their goals through social protest (group efficacy).

Previous studies indicate that SIMCA can be applied both to collective action *among* members of disadvantaged groups and to collective action *for* disadvantaged groups (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2011). Recent studies have also shown that SIMCA applies comparably well to collective action among advantaged group members who engage in social protest to protect their own status (e.g., Thomas et al., 2020). This finding suggests that members of structurally advantaged groups (such as Whites or men) can experience feelings of subjective deprivation and see themselves as the *disadvantaged* group (e.g., Jost et al., 2017; Osborne et al., 2019). More generally, these studies recognise that collective action can be both progressive and conservative (i.e. supporting social hierarchies) or reactionary (i.e. enacted in response to progressive social movements advocating for social change, such as the 'All Lives Matter' movement in response to the 'Black Lives Matter'; see Becker, 2020 for a review).

Recent literature acknowledges that collective action for other groups can be driven both by egalitarian and by non-egalitarian motivations (e.g., Kutlaca et al., 2020; Louis et al., 2019; Radke et al., 2020; Thomas and McGarty, 2018). However, no studies to our knowledge have explored reactionary collective action in the context of actions for advantaged groups, that is, instances when disadvantaged group members actively reinforce the higher status or privilege of the advantaged group. We are also not aware of any studies exploring progressive collective action for the advantaged aiming to advance social equality. Examining what motivates disadvantaged groups to act for the advantaged could broaden our understanding of factors contributing to the maintenance and reinforcement of group inequalities and barriers to achieving group equality. We believe that gender relations provide an interesting and unique context that could give some initial insights into this phenomenon. In the next section, we provide an overview of previous studies looking at collective action in the context of gender and describe our predictions related to women's action for men.

1.2 | Collective action for other groups in the context of gender

Collective action research for other groups in the context of gender has primarily focused on men's intentions to engage in action for women. These studies confirm some of the SIMCA predictions by showing that men are more likely to support action advancing gender equality when they see women as the disadvantaged group (e.g., Vázquez et al., 2021), perceive gender inequality as pervasive (Iyer & Ryan, 2009), and share the sense of common cause between men and women (Subašić et al., 2018). Interestingly, some recent work in this area acknowledges that not all action for women is necessarily progressive. For example, Radke et al. (2018) differentiate between 'feminist action' challenging gender inequality and 'protective action' aiming to protect women from men's violence, but not addressing gender inequality directly. Such paternalistic action is more likely to induce anger, and less likely to increase the well-being of the women it is supposed to benefit, than the egalitarian forms of collective action (Estevan-Reina et al., 2021).

While men's collective action for women has been relatively well researched in social psychological literature, only a handful of studies have explored the motivations of women engaging in action for men. One recent study looking at the heterosexual women's actions for LGBTIQ+ showed the importance of the strategic intra-minority alliance (i.e. the intergroup cooperation resulting from shared experiences of being a disadvantaged group member), in women's support for sexual minorities (Uysal et al., 2022). Although this study did not explicitly measure progressive action for men, it suggests that women might be willing to support non-stereotypical men (as indicated by their sexual orientation) who are seen as a disadvantaged subgroup within the advantaged group of men. In a related study, Mikołajczak et al. (2022) examined the role of ingroup identities as predictors of progressive and reactionary collective action among women. Their results showed that women identifying as traditional (and women low in feminist identity) were willing to support actions defending traditionally defined family values and protecting men from sexual harassment allegations. These findings suggest that women might be motivated to support reactionary action for men if it aligns with the content of their ingroup

identity and preserves their traditional worldview. Indeed, recent studies confirm the role of the perceived threat to traditional values, social hierarchy, and symbolic status (among male respondents) as predictors of collective action supporting the status quo and opposition to feminist social movements (e.g., Choma et al., 2020; Rivera-Rodriguez et al., 2021).

It is also important to recognise that not all women necessarily see themselves as the disadvantaged group. For example, women identifying as traditional perceive women as positively distinct from men rather than lower in social status (e.g., Condor, 1986). Unlike feminist identifiers, they are also unlikely to be motivated to engage in collective action by perceptions of ingroup injustice and efficacy beliefs (Mikołajczak et al., 2022).

Despite men being the structurally advantaged group across a broad range of political and economic indicators, postulates of women active in the men's rights movement imply that women engage in action for men because they see men as disadvantaged. These subjective perceptions of injustice in relation to reactionary action for men are often attributed to seeing gender equality as a zero-sum game in which any gains made by women are framed as losses for men (e.g., Lisnek et al., 2022). In line with this reasoning, the men's rights movement depicts gender policies as a form of reverse sexism giving women an unfair advantage, portrays feminism as a man-hating ideology, and ascribes hidden power motives to women who accuse men of sexual harassment (e.g., Coston & Kimmel, 2012). Notably, similar *victimisation* discourses can be found in the ongoing debates about the 'reverse discrimination' of other historically advantaged groups, such as Whites in the US (e.g., Norton & Sommers, 2011).

Parallel to the 'anti-men' bias debates, pro-feminist men groups, as well as some feminist scholars, have been arguing that similar to women, men are oppressed by traditional gender roles (e.g., Croft et al., 2015; Messner et al., 2015). These psychological costs to the narrowly defined 'toxic' masculinity are reflected in a range of negative psychological outcomes including a higher risk of suicide and lower well-being and relationship satisfaction. Just like women who contest the traditional feminine role by being agentic, men also face backlash when they try to contest traditional (heteronormative) masculinity by engaging in communal roles (see Manzi, 2019 for an overview) or openly declaring to be gay (e.g., Tilcsik, 2011).

While this subjective disadvantage is not fully 'symmetrical' with that of women's (i.e. unlike traditionally feminine traits, traditionally masculine traits *are* associated with status and power; Glick et al., 2004), it is possible that perceived costs to masculinity and psychological and social consequences of non-conforming to traditional masculine norms borne by non-traditional men lead some women to support progressive action in solidarity with men, that is, stems from outgroup-focused motivations. However, it is also plausible that women's support for progressive collective action is driven by ingroup-focused motivations, particularly if women see action for men as an opportunity to dismantle 'toxic' masculinity and alleviate its detrimental impacts on women's well-being and physical and economical safety. Similarly, women can support progressive action for men in the hope that removing barriers to men's engagement in communal roles will lead to men taking on some of the 'care load' carried by women. In sum, support for progressive action for men might be driven both by outgroup- and by ingroup-focused motives given that addressing the cost to masculinity benefits both men and women. Conversely, support for reactionary action for men is more likely to be predominantly driven by outgroup-focused motives given that addressing the perceived victimisation of men exacerbates women's disadvantage (although, as we acknowledge in the general discussion, women might also support reactionary action for men out of ingroup-focused and personal motivations).

1.3 | The current research

In the current research, we explore the concept of collective action for the advantaged by examining women's actions for men. Specifically, we propose that collective action for the advantaged can be both reactionary (e.g. when women defend the privileged status of men and reinforce gender hierarchy) and progressive (e.g. when women engage in actions helping men adopt more egalitarian gender roles and advance gender equality). Across three studies we test whether key SIMCA predictors, which have been shown to predict collective action for the disadvantaged—group identity, injustice, and efficacy—are also associated with reactionary and progressive collective action for the advantaged. Importantly, we examine the role of different content of group variables (injustice and identity), and try to disentangle the role of outgroup-focused and ingroup-focused SIMCA predictors (outgroup and ingroup identity, outgroup and ingroup injustice, and outgroup- and ingroup-focused efficacy).

We propose that perceptions of outgroup injustice will be positively associated with support for both reactionary and progressive collective action (H1), while perceptions of ingroup injustice will be positively associated with support for progressive action (H2). Further, we propose that *outgroup-focused efficacy* will be positively associated with both types of action (H3) given that it assesses one's general belief in the ingroup's strength to improve the situation of an outgroup, which should be independent of the intended goal of collective action (to the extent that women see both types of action for men as a form of intergroup help). We also propose that *outgroup identification* will be positively associated with both types of action (H4), given that most women have positive and frequent contact, and form intimate relationships with men, all of which have been shown to create feelings of closeness and a sense of common cause between the groups (Klavina & van Zomeren, 2020; Subašić et al., 2008).

Additionally, we explore whether support for both types of action for men depends on the content of two SIMCA variables: outgroup injustice and outgroup identification. Specifically, we predict that perceived *victimisation of men* will be positively associated with reactionary action (H5) and that perceived *cost to masculinity* will be positively associated with progressive action (H6). Finally, we predict that support for reactionary action will be associated with perceived

TABLE 1 Overview of hypotheses tested in the studies

#	Hypothesis
H1	Perceptions of outgroup injustice will be positively associated with support for both reactionary and progressive action for men
H2	Perceptions of ingroup injustice will be positively associated with support for progressive action for men
H3	Outgroup-focused efficacy will be positively associated with support for both reactionary and progressive action for men
H4	Outgroup identification will be positively associated with support for both reactionary and progressive action for men
H5	Perceived victimisation of men will be positively associated with reactionary action for men
H6	Perceived cost to masculinity will be positively associated with progressive action for men
H7	Perceived closeness to men who espouse traditional gender roles will be associated with reactionary action for men
H8	Perceived closeness to men who endorse egalitarian gender values and contest traditional gender roles will be associated with positive action for men

closeness to men who espouse traditional gender roles (H7), while support for progressive action will be associated with perceived closeness to non-traditional men who endorse egalitarian gender values and contest traditional gender roles (H8).

In Study 1 we test our initial predictions for the perceptions of ingroup and outgroup injustice (H1–H2). In Studies 2 and 3 we test the full SIMCA model for all three key predictors—injustice (H1–H2), efficacy (H3), and identification (H4)—and for the content of outgroup injustice and identification (H5–H8). A summary of our hypotheses can be found in Table 1. In Study 2b we provide an additional test of our broader assumption that women see progressive action for men as beneficial to both women and men, (thus progressive action for men can be linked to ingroup- and outgroup-focused motives).

2 | Study 1

Previous research indicates that members of advantaged groups (in terms of social status or social privilege) can experience feelings of subjective deprivation (Thomas et al., 2020). Here, we test whether women (members of a disadvantaged group) can see men as subjectively deprived and whether perceptions of outgroup injustice are associated with support for collective action for men. Specifically, we assess whether perceptions of injustice to men will be positively associated with support for both types of action (H1) and whether perceptions of injustice to women will be positively associated with support for progressive action for men (H2).

2.1 | Method

2.1.1 | Participants

We used Prolific to recruit 2118 heterosexual women living in the US.[1] Only heterosexual women were invited given that the focus of a broader study was on exploring heterosexual interdependencies between women and men. Participant responses were then screened and removed if they met one of the following criteria: had a very short completion time (< median completion time/3 ~ 280 seconds), straight-lined the survey (indicated the same response to 15 or more items in a row), provided the same response to all collective action items included in the study (i.e. had no intra-individual response variability), and provided inconsistent responses to two abortion items included in the survey (i.e. indicated support both for restricting and improving legal access to abortion). This resulted in a final sample of 1825 participants (M_{age} = 37.8, SD = 13.1). The majority had a degree (20% postgraduate degree, 46% college degree, 25% some college but no degree, 10% high school or lower) and lived in suburban areas (53%; 29% urban, 18% rural). Power simulations using R Shiny app *pwrSEM* (Wang & Rhemtulla, 2021) indicated that this sample size provided 90% power (α = .001) for detecting standardised regression effects as small as .20 in a structural equation model with five independent variables and two dependent variables. (We assumed that both action subtypes will be measured with three items with factor loadings = .70 and that covariances between all independent variables and error covariance between dependent variables would be = .30).

2.2 | Measures

2.2.1 | Reactionary and progressive action for men

Participants were asked to indicate their willingness (1 - *definitely willing*, 7 - *definitely willing*) to support a range of programs and policies (e.g., paid paternity leave), as well as broader social goals (e.g., men and men's rights) through political behaviour. As examples of political behaviour, we mentioned signing a petition, attending a demonstration or a rally, or donating money, accounting for the fact that typical street protest, such as demonstrations or rallies, is often a progressive/left-wing phenomenon (Torcal et al., 2016). Items were fitted to a two-factor model using CFA (model details can be found in Table S1). Reactionary action for men was measured with three items: 'Protecting men from sexual harassment allegations', 'Protecting men from being punished just for "being men"', and 'Men and men's rights' (ω = .76). Progressive action for men was measured with three items: 'Education programs aimed at combatting "toxic" masculinity', 'Educating men about sexual consent', and 'Paid paternity leave' (ω = .76).

[1] Note that part of this study was reported in Mikołajczak et al. (2022).

2.2.2 | Outgroup and ingroup injustice

Outgroup and ingroup injustice were measured with single item each: 'Do you think that [men/women] are disadvantaged in the US?' (1—*not at all*; 7—*very much so*).

2.2.3 | Political ideology and demographic variables

Political ideology was measured with a single item: 'Please indicate your political views' (1 – *liberal*, 7 – *conservative)*. We also measured participants' age and level of education (recoded into 0 – no degree, 1 – college/undergraduate/graduate/postgraduate degree).

2.3 | Analytical strategy

All analyses were conducted in R v. 4.0.5. Prior to the analyses, in each study, we screened the data for skew, kurtosis, heteroscedasticity, and multi-collinearity. All VIF values were below 4 indicating no issues with multi-collinearity. As the homoscedasticity assumption was violated for some variables, we used bootstrapping for the estimation of test statistics and standard errors. To assess the precision of our estimates, we calculated 95% confidence intervals (CIs) drawing 5000 bootstrap samples with replacement. All SEM models were estimated using the maximum likelihood estimator in R *lavaan* package (Rosseel, 2012) with political ideology, age, and education as covariates. Following recent recommendations (Leys et al., 2019), we detected univariate outliers using the MAD (median absolute deviation, with a cut-off of 3) and multivariate outliers using the MCD75 (Minimum Covariance Determinant with a breakpoint of .25) and ran all analyses with and without outliers. None of the key results relating to our hypotheses changed substantively in analyses without outliers. We comment on minor differences found between the models in the text and in the footnotes to the corresponding tables.

2.4 | Results

Table 2 includes descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between the main variables in Study 1. Support for reactionary action was unrelated to support for progressive action. The means for both collective action scales were above the scale mid-point, with the higher overall support indicated for the progressive action (M = 5.74, SD = 1.22) than reactionary action (M = 4.15, SD = 1.57). Support for reactionary action was negatively associated with perceptions of ingroup injustice and positively associated with perceptions of outgroup injustice. Conversely, support for progressive action was positively associated with perceptions of ingroup injustice and negatively (and weakly) associated with perceptions of outgroup injustice.

2.4.1 | Associations with outgroup and ingroup injustice

Table 3 shows the results of a structural equation model (SEM, estimated using maximum likelihood estimator in R *lavaan* package; Rosseel, 2012) in which we regressed both types of action on perceptions of outgroup and ingroup injustice, using political ideology, age, and education as covariates. To assess the precision of our estimates, we calculated 95% confidence intervals (CIs) drawing 5000 bootstrap samples with replacement. Outgroup injustice had a positive association with reactionary action, but was unrelated to progressive action (thus H1 was confirmed partially). Ingroup injustice had a positive association with progressive action (supporting H2) and a negative association with reactionary action.

2.5 | Discussion

Study 1 provided an initial empirical test of women's collective action for men. In our large sample of women, more than half of the participants indicated some level of support for reactionary action (as indicated by the median response being above the scale mid-point), and high support for progressive action for men. We also confirmed that support for reactionary action was positively associated with perceptions of injustice to men. For progressive action, we found a positive association with ingroup injustice but no association with outgroup injustice. Given that relatively few women in our sample saw men as the disadvantaged group (as indicated by the sample mean) and given that group injustice can be conceived in different ways, in Study 2 we added two items referring to 'unfair treatment' and 'discrimination', respectively. We also measured the content of outgroup injustice and outgroup identities to examine whether support for progressive action is associated only with the specific content of outgroup injustice (i.e., perceived cost to masculinity), or with perceived injustice to specific subgroups of men (i.e. men who contest traditional gender roles), but not all men in general.

3 | STUDY 2

The aim of Study 2 was to extend our findings in three major ways: (1) by improving the measurement of key variables tested in Study 1 (particularly perceptions of injustice); (2) by accounting for the other two SIMCA predictors: group identification and group-focused efficacy; (3) by exploring the content of outgroup injustice and outgroup identification.

As in Study 1, we predicted that perceptions of outgroup injustice will be positively associated with support for both reactionary and progressive action (H1) and that perceptions of ingroup injustice will be positively associated with support for progressive action (H2). Further, we predicted that outgroup-focused efficacy and outgroup

TABLE 2 Means, standard deviations, and correlations with confidence intervals (Study 1)

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Ingroup injustice	4.74	1.56						
2. Outgroup injustice	2.28	1.28	−.06** [−.11, −.02]					
3. Reactionary action for men	4.15	1.57	−.26** [−.30, −.22]	.32** [.28, .36]				
4. Progressive action for men	5.74	1.22	.46** [.42, .50]	−.12** [−.17, −.08]	.03 [−.02, .07]			
5. Political ideology	3.19	1.65	−.45** [−.49, −.41]	.17** [.12, .21]	.34** [.29, .38]	−.47** [−.50, −.43]		
6. Age	37.84	13.10	−.02 [−.07, .02]	.07** [.03, .12]	.08** [.03, .12]	−.15** [−.20, −.11]	.14** [.09, .18]	
7. Education	0.65	0.48	.09** [.05, .14]	−.04 [−.08, .01]	−.17** [−.22, −.13]	.06* [.01, .10]	−.13** [−.17, −.08]	.07** [.03, .12]

Note: Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. Political ideology (1 – liberal; 7 – conservative); education (1 – university degree, 0 – no degree); * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 3 Associations between outgroup and ingroup injustice and women's action for men (Studies 1–3)

	Reactionary action for men				Progressive action for men			
	β	(SE)	*B*	95% CI	*β*	(SE)	*B*	95% CI
Study 1								
Outgroup injustice	**.287*** **	**(.025)**	**0.275**	**(0.222, 0.330)**	−.023	(.405)	−0.014	(−0.046, 0.019)
Ingroup injustice	**−.131*** **	**(.030)**	**−0.102**	**(−0.148, −0.056)**	**.343*** **	**(.030)**	**0.172**	**(0.140, 0.204)**
Study 2								
Outgroup injustice	**.340*** **	**(.045)**	**0.365**	**(0.266, 0.465)**	.116*	(.049)	0.091	(0.013, 0.171)
Ingroup injustice	−.143**	(.050)	−0.155	(−0.263, −0.048)	.170**	(.050)	0.134	(0.060, 0.210)
Study 3								
Outgroup injustice	**.387*** **	**(.050)**	**0.537**	**(0.400, 0.692)**	.016	(.069)	0.011	(−0.086, 0.111)
Ingroup injustice	−.043	(.061)	−0.047	(−0.181, 0.080)	.197**	(.074)	0.110	(0.029, 0.198)

Note: Model fit (Study 1): $\chi^2_{(26)} = 150.071$, $p < .001$; CFI = .974; RMSEA = .051 [.043, .059], $p = .389$; SRMR = .024. Model fit (Study 2): $\chi^2_{(115)} = 254.905$, $p < .001$; CFI = .979; RMSEA = .042 [.035, .049], $p = .965$; SRMR = .039. Model fit (Study 3): $\chi^2_{(115)} = 335.648$, $p < .001$; CFI = .956; RMSEA = .067 [.059, .075], $p < .001$; SRMR = .057. All estimates were calculated controlling for political ideology, age, and education. Effects significant at $p < .001$ are indicated in bold. In a model without outliers in Study 2, all effects of interest were significant at $p < .001$. In a model without outliers in Study 3, the effect of ingroup injustice on progressive action for men was significant at $p < .001$. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

identification will be positively associated with both types of action (H3 and H4). Additionally, we explored whether support for both types of action for men depends on the content of outgroup injustice and identification. Specifically, we predicted that perceived *victimisation of men* and closeness to men who espouse traditional gender roles will be positively associated with reactionary action (H5 and H7) and that perceived *cost to masculinity* and closeness to men who contest traditional gender roles will be positively associated with progressive action (H6 and H8).

Finally, we ran a small follow-up study (Study 2b) to provide empirical support for our argument that women can see progressive action for men as beneficial to both women and men—and thus support for progressive action can be linked both to ingroup- and outgroup-focused motives.

3.1 | Method

3.1.1 | Participants

The sample size for the study was estimated using *pwrSEM* R Shiny app (Wang & Rhemtulla, 2021). When estimating the required sample size, we made the following assumptions: each latent variable would be measured with three items with factor loadings = .70, corresponding

with min. scale reliability = .74, the min. regression effect of interest was .20, the min. indirect effect of interest was .04, min. power of .90 for all regression estimates and min. power of .80 for all indirect effects, at $\alpha = .05$. The estimated sample size was then multiplied by 1.15, to allow for exclusions based on the pre-defined screening criteria. We used Prolific to recruit 750 respondents self-identifying as women and living in the UK. We then removed participants whose responses met the following criteria: failed at least one (out of two) attention checks or provided the same response to all collective action items (i.e., had no intra-individual response variability). This resulted in a final sample of 679 participants ($M_{age} = 37.6$, $SD = 13.7$). The majority of the sample identified as heterosexual (89%; 2% homosexual/lesbian, 8% bisexual, 1% other/prefer not to say), had a degree (12% graduate degree, 41% undergraduate degree, 14% technical/community college, 36% high school diploma or lower) and lived in suburban areas (47%; 29% urban, 24% rural).

3.1.2 | Measures

Unless stated otherwise, all variables were measured using 1–7 Likert-type scales with higher numbers indicating greater agreement with a given statement. We used the same measures of political ideology (using 1-*left*, 7 – *right* response anchors typically used in the UK), age, and education.

3.1.3 | Reactionary and progressive action for men

Participants were asked about their willingness (1—*definitely unwilling*, 7—*definitely willing*), to take 18 different actions to support men through political behaviour. Items were created for the purpose of the study. As examples of political behaviour, we mentioned signing a petition or attending a demonstration. Items for each subscale were selected based on results of a confirmatory factor model (only items with main factor loadings > = .60 were retained; the full list of items used in the study and details of the final CFA model can be found in Table S2). Reactionary action scale included four items: 'Protecting men from sexual harassment allegations', 'Standing with men accused of sexual misconduct', 'Protecting men from domestic violence allegations', and 'Defending men against feminist attacks' ($\omega = .83$). Progressive action scale included five items: 'Extending paid paternity ("fathers-only") leave', 'Family-friendly policies for working fathers', 'Initiatives encouraging men to enter caring professions', 'Nursing scholarships for men', and 'Mental support for men' ($\omega = .90$).

3.1.4 | Outgroup and ingroup injustice

Perceptions of outgroup and ingroup injustice were measured with three items each (adapted from Osborne et al., 2019; 'Do you think that [men/women] are [disadvantaged/discriminated against/treated unfairly] in the UK?'; $\omega = .93/.95$ for outgroup/ingroup injustice).

Outgroup-focused efficacy. Outgroup-focused efficacy was measured with five items (adapted from van Zomeren, Spears et al., 2008): 'I think women can successfully support men', 'Women can successfully support men in need', 'Women are able to achieve things for men', 'When women act together, they can improve the situation of men', 'When women act together, they can help men' ($\omega = .90$).

3.1.5 | Outgroup and ingroup identification

Outgroup identification was measured with four items: 'I feel a bond with men', 'I feel solidarity with men', 'I believe that women share many beliefs and values with men', and 'I feel that women and men have many common goals' ($\omega = .87$; adapted from the solidarity and homogeneity subscales from the Leach et al., 2008 hierarchical model of ingroup identification). We chose these subscales as those which women are likely to endorse in relation to men. Ingroup identification was measured with four items ('I identify with feminists', 'I have strong ties with feminists', 'Feminists are an important part of my self-image', and 'Being a feminist is an important part of how I see myself') adapted from Doosje et al. (1995; see also van Breen et al, 2017; $\omega = .97$). We chose to operationalise ingroup identification as a feminist identification due to its positive association with support for progressive social change, ingroup injustice, and ingroup-focused efficacy in previous research (e.g., Mikołajczak et al., 2022; van Breen et al., 2017).

3.1.6 | Content of injustice to men

Participants were presented with a list of seven items assessing the content of injustice to men ('Do you think that men are disadvantaged in the UK when it comes to …') created for the purpose of the study. Items for each subscale were selected based on the results of an exploratory structural equation model (ESEM, see e.g., Marsh et al., 2014). A two-factor model was chosen after considering models with 1–3 factors and balancing their model fit with conceptual relevance. A three-factor model had the best fit, but the 3. factor included only one item with a main loading >.60. We then fitted a CFA model and removed one item with main loading <.60 (details of the final CFA model can be found in Table S3). Men's victimisation was measured with three items: 'discrimination by feminists', 'wrongful accusations by women', and 'diversity policies favouring women (e.g., gender quotas)' ($\omega = .85$). Cost to masculinity was measured with three items: 'having to act like real men (e.g., be "tough", hide their emotions)', 'being able to take on caring roles (e.g., kindergarten teacher, stay-at-home dad)', and 'being able to dress freely (e.g., wear makeup or feminine clothes)' ($\omega = .79$)

3.1.7 | Content of outgroup identification (men subtypes)

Participants were presented with a list of 11 men subtypes, including those identified in previous research (men-breadwinners, family men, feminine men, traditional men; e.g., Edwards, 1992; Vonk & Ashmore, 2003) and items created for the study, and asked to indicate how close they felt to each of the subtypes (1—*not at all*, 7—*a great deal*). Items for subscales were selected using an Exploratory Structural Equation Model analysis. We chose a two-factor model after considering the fit of models with 1–3 factors. After removing items not meeting our criteria (main factor loadings <.60 and cross-loadings >.30), identification with traditional men was measured with three items (traditional men, masculine men, men-breadwinners; $\omega = .75$), identification with non-traditional men was measured with three items (feminist men, feminine men, queer men; $\omega = .83$; details of the final CFA model can be found in Table S3).

3.1.8 | Analytical strategy

We first examined H1 and H2 by fitting a structural equation model (SEM), regressing both types of action on outgroup and ingroup injustice. We then examined H5 and H6 by regressing both types of action on different content of outgroup injustice (men's victimisation and cost to masculinity), while controlling for ingroup injustice. To test H3 and H4 (and provide a more comprehensive test for H1), we fitted a SEM model testing SIMCA predictions by regressing both types of action on outgroup identification, outgroup injustice, and outgroup-focused efficacy, while controlling for ingroup identification and ingroup injustice. We then examined H7 and H8 (and provided a more comprehensive test for H5, and H6) by fitting SIMCA models including different content of outgroup identification (identification with traditional vs. non-traditional men) and injustice (men's victimisation vs. perceived cost to masculinity), while controlling for ingroup identification and injustice. Finally, to provide a more comprehensive test of H2, we fitted a SIMCA model for ingroup identification and injustice, while controlling for outgroup identification and injustice.

3.2 | Results

3.2.1 | Correlations

Table 4 includes descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between the main variables in Study 2. Support for reactionary action was positively but weakly associated with support for progressive action. As in Study 1, the means for both collective action scales were above the scale mid-point, with the higher overall support indicated for the progressive action ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 0.92$) than for the reactionary action ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.36$). Support for reactionary action was positively associated with generic outgroup identification and identification with traditional men (but not identification with non-traditional men), and negatively associated with feminist identity. Support for progressive action was positively associated with all measures of ingroup and outgroup identification, with the relatively strongest, moderate association with identification with non-traditional men. Both types of collective action had an opposite association with perceptions of ingroup injustice, negative for reactionary action and positive for progressive action. Reactionary action (but not progressive action) was positively associated with outgroup injustice and perceptions of men's victimisation. Both types of action had a positive association with perceived cost to masculinity, moderate for progressive action and weak for reactionary action. Outgroup-focused efficacy was moderately and positively associated with both types of collective action.

3.2.2 | Associations with outgroup and ingroup injustice

Outgroup injustice had a positive moderate association with reactionary action and a weak positive association with progressive action (thus H1 was fully supported; see Table 3). Ingroup injustice had a positive association with progressive action (confirming H2). It also had a weak negative association with reactionary action. When considering different content of outgroup injustice, support for reactionary action was positively associated with men's victimisation (confirming H3), while support for progressive action was positively associated with the perceived cost to traditional masculinity (confirming H4; see Table 5).

3.2.3 | Testing the SIMCA model using outgroup-focused predictors

Figure 1 depicts the results of a SEM model testing SIMCA predictions for both types of collective action for men (direct and indirect effects are summarised in Table 6). In line with the SIMCA, outgroup-focused efficacy was positively associated with both types of action (confirming H5). Outgroup identification had positive associations with outgroup injustice, outgroup-focused efficacy, and support for both types of action (confirming H6; note that in a model without outliers, the direct association between outgroup identification and collective action was only significant for progressive action), and a positive indirect association via efficacy with both types of action. However, the indirect association between outgroup identification and collective action via outgroup injustice was only positive for reactionary action. We also did not find a positive direct association between outgroup injustice and progressive action.

3.2.4 | Testing SIMCA using different content of outgroup identification and injustice

For outgroup-focused variables, we additionally ran a series of SEM models identical to the one depicted in Figure 1, replacing generic

TABLE 4 Means, standard deviations, and correlations with confidence intervals (Study 2)

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Ingroup identification	3.32	1.70													
2. Outgroup identification	4.57	1.02	−.08* [−.16, −.01]												
3. Identification with traditional men	4.61	1.21	-.24** [−.31, −.17]	.48** [.42, .54]											
4. Identification with non-traditional men	4.15	1.34	.52** [.46, .57]	.17** [.10, .24]	−.00 [−.08, .07]										
5. Ingroup injustice	4.88	1.33	.46** [.40, .52]	−.19** [−.26, −.12]	−.22** [−.29, −.14]	.36** [.30, .43]									
6. Outgroup injustice	2.81	1.44	−.27** [−.34, −.20]	.26** [.19, .33]	.20** [.13, .27]	−.11** [−.18, −.04]	−.19** [−.26, −.12]								
7. Men's victimisation	3.96	1.61	−.43** [−.49, −.37]	.31** [.24, .37]	.30** [.23, .37]	−.22** [−.29, −.15]	−.33** [−.39, −.26]	.60** [.55, .64]							
8. Cost to masculinity	4.66	1.45	.09* [.02, .17]	.04 [−.03, .12]	.02 [−.06, .09]	.26** [.19, .33]	.25** [.18, .32]	.10** [.02, .17]	.10* [.02, .17]						
9. Outgroup-focused efficacy	5.63	1.00	.04 [−.03, .12]	.29** [.22, .35]	.25** [.18, .32]	.15** [.08, .22]	.07 [−.00, .15]	.11** [.03, .18]	.16** [.09, .23]	.19** [.11, .26]					
10. Reactionary action for men	4.44	1.36	−.23** [−.30, −.16]	.26** [.19, .33]	.24** [.17, .31]	−.03 [−.10, .05]	−.19** [−.26, −.12]	.36** [.29, .42]	.49** [.43, .54]	.11** [.04, .19]	.26** [.19, .33]				
11. Progressive action for men	6.09	0.92	.21** [.14, .28]	.15** [.08, .23]	.11** [.03, .18]	.32** [.25, .39]	.23** [.16, .30]	.04 [−.03, .12]	.01 [−.07, .08]	.36** [.29, .42]	.42** [.36, .48]	.25** [.18, .32]			
12. Political ideology	4.25	1.56	−.42** [−.48, −.36]	.13** [.06, .20]	.27** [.20, .34]	−.34** [−.41, −.27]	−.34** [−.40, −.27]	.16** [.08, .23]	.29** [.22, .36]	−.21** [−.28, −.13]	−.05 [−.12, .03]	.12** [.05, .19]	−.26** [−.33, −.19]		
13. Age	37.56	13.66	−.34** [−.40, −.27]	.10* [.02, .17]	.15** [.07, .22]	−.24** [−.31, −.17]	−.23** [−.30, −.15]	.06 [−.01, .14]	.14** [.07, .22]	−.21** [−.28, −.13]	−.01 [−.09, .06]	−.04 [−.11, .04]	−.30** [−.36, −.23]	.37** [.30, .43]	
14. Education	0.64	0.48	.11** [.03, .18]	.09* [.01, .16]	−.09* [−.16, −.01]	.07 [−.01, .14]	.05 [−.02, .13]	−.09* [−.16, −.01]	−.12** [−.19, −.04]	−.07 [−.14, .01]	.05 [−.02, .13]	−.10* [−.17, −.02]	.00 [−.07, .08]	−.06 [−.13, .02]	.02 [−.05, .10]

Note: Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. Political ideology (1 – left; 7 – right); education (1 – university degree, 0 – no degree); * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 5 Associations between the content of outgroup injustice and women's action for men (Studies 2 and 3)

	Reactionary action for men				Progressive action for men			
	β	(SE)	*B*	95% CI	*β*	(SE)	*B*	95% CI
Study 2								
Men's victimisation	**.555*** **	**(.049)**	0.552	(0.441, 0.673)	.041	(.057)	0.030	(−0.052, 0.112)
Cost to masculinity	.059	(.052)	0.064	(−0.045, 0.173)	**.337*** **	**(.057)**	**0.266**	**(0.173, 0.369)**
Ingroup injustice	−.062	(.050)	−0.067	(−0.173, 0.040)	.098	(.053)	0.078	(−0.003, 0.156)
Study 3								
Men's victimisation	**.556*** **	**(.076)**	**0.596**	**(0.432, 0.778)**	.003	(.094)	0.596	(0.432, 0.778)
Cost to masculinity	.079	(.063)	0.365	(0.266, 0.465)	.184*	(.071)	0.092	(−0.052, 0.234)
Ingroup injustice	.010	(.069)	−0.155	(−0.263, −0.048)	.157	(.084)	0.011	(−0.139, 0.161)

Note: Model fit (Study 2): $\chi^2_{(161)} = 334.315$, $p < .001$; CFI = .975; RMSEA = .040 [.034, .046], $p = .998$; SRMR = .039. Model fit (Study 3): $\chi^2_{(185)} = 466.558$, $p < .001$; CFI = .950; RMSEA = .060 [.053, .066], $p = .965$; SRMR = .060. All estimates were calculated controlling for political ideology, age, and education. Effects significant at $p < .001$ are indicated in bold. In a model without outliers in Study 2, the effect of ingroup injustice on progressive action was positive and significant at $p < .01$. In a model without outliers in Study 3, the effects of cost to masculinity and ingroup injustice on progressive action were both significant at $p <$. 01. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .001$.

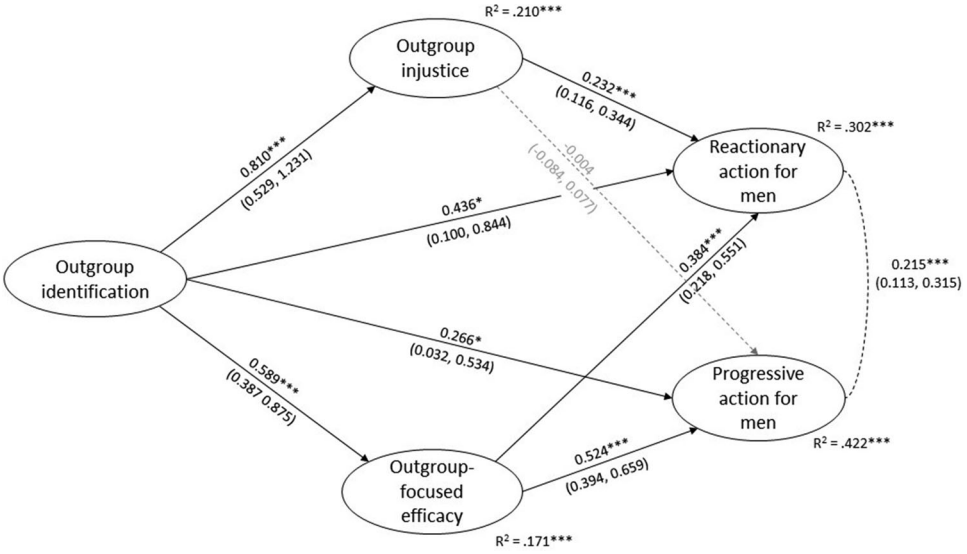

FIGURE 1 Predicting women's reactionary and progressive action for men (Study 2). *Note*: Model fit: $\chi^2_{(390)} = 944.607$, $p < .001$; CFI = .959; RMSEA = .046 [.042, .050], $p = .967$; SRMR = .043. All estimates are calculated controlling for ingroup identification, ingroup injustice, political ideology, age, and education. Estimates are unstandardised regression coefficients (with bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals [CI]). Paths with 95% CIs that do not contain zero are depicted by solid black lines and paths with 95% CIs that contain zero are depicted by grey dotted lines. Latent variable factor loadings were estimated but excluded from the figure due to space constraints. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .001$.

outgroup identification and outgroup injustice with the more specific content of those variables explored in the study (identification with traditional vs. non-traditional men and men's victimisation vs. cost to masculinity, respectively). To show the unique impact of each of these variables, we replaced only one variable at a time. Results of all four SIMCA models using different content of outgroup identification and injustice can be found in Figures S1–S4 and Tables S4–S7. Here we report on the key differences found between the models. Results of the models with men's victimisation and perceived closeness to traditional men were fully consistent with the results of a model with generic outgroup injustice and outgroup identification, respectively (confirming H3 and H7). In a model with perceived cost to masculinity, the indirect effect via outgroup injustice was positive and significant for progressive action (confirming H4), but not for reactionary action. In a model with perceived closeness to non-traditional men, outgroup identification was positively associated with support for progressive action (confirming H8), but none of the indirect effects via outgroup injustice was significant.

TABLE 6 Direct and indirect effects of outgroup-focused variables on women's action for men (Studies 2 & 3)

	Reactionary action for men				Progressive action for men			
	β	(SE)	*B*	95% CI	*β*	(SE)	*B*	95% CI
Study 2								
Indirect effect via outgroup injustice	**.078*** **	**(.022)**	**0.188**	**(0.092, 0.323)**	−.002	(.020)	−0.003	(−0.079, 0.065)
Indirect effect via outgroup-focused efficacy	**.094*** **	**(.025)**	**0.226**	**(0.112, 0.392)**	**.181*** **	**(.034)**	**0.309**	**(0.192, 0.479)**
Direct effect of outgroup identification	.181*	(.077)	0.436	(0.097, 0.858)	.156*	(.072)	0.266	(0.040, 0.538)
Total effect	**.353*** **	**(.064)**	**0.850**	**(0.550, 1.288)**	**.335*** **	**(.058)**	**0.572**	**(0.375, 0.850)**
Study 3								
Indirect effect via outgroup injustice	**.083*** **	**(.024)**	**0.130**	**(0.064, 0.221)**	−.028	(.021)	−0.022	(−0.060, 0.011)
Indirect effect via outgroup-focused efficacy	−.012	(.040)	−0.018	(−0.158, 0.107)	.167**	(.056)	**0.135**	**(0.051, 0.267)**
Direct effect of outgroup identification	**.408*** **	**(.109)**	**0.639**	**(0.313, 0.973)**	.266*	(.119)	0.216	(0.022, 0.395)
Total effect	**.480*** **	**(.083)**	**0.751**	**(0.503, 0.999)**	**.405*** **	**(.081)**	**0.328**	**(0.201, 0.481)**

Note: Model fit (Study 2): $\chi^2_{(390)} = 944.607$, $p < .001$; CFI = .959; RMSEA = .046 [.042, .050], $p = .967$; SRMR = .043. Model fit (Study 3): $\chi^2_{(413)} = 937.055$, $p < .001$; CFI = .955; RMSEA = .054 [.050, .059], $p = .059$; SRMR = .059. All estimates were calculated controlling for political ideology, age, and education. Effects significant at $p < .001$ are indicated in bold. In a model without outliers in Study 2, both the indirect effect via outgroup injustice and the total effect were significant only at p < .01 for reactionary action. The direct effect of outgroup identification was only significant for progressive action (at $p < .01$). In a model without outliers in Study 3, both the direct effect of outgroup identification and the indirect effect via outgroup injustice were significant only at $p <$ .01 for progressive action. The direct effect of outgroup identification on reactionary action was not significant at $p < .05$. * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$.

3.2.5 | Testing SIMCA using ingroup-focused predictors

Additionally, we provided a more comprehensive test of H2 by testing the SIMCA model using ingroup predictors (ingroup identification and injustice), while controlling for outgroup predictors and demographic variables. We found a positive indirect effect via ingroup injustice for progressive action. (We also tested a SIMCA model including perceived closeness to non-traditional men *and* perceived cost to masculinity, for which we found a positive indirect effect via outgroup injustice for progressive action, but not for reactionary action. The indirect effect via ingroup injustice was also significant in a model using perceived cost to masculinity as a measure of outgroup injustice). We also found that ingroup identification was negatively associated with reactionary action (but there was no indirect association via ingroup injustice for reactionary action; see Figure S5 and Table S8).

3.3 | Discussion

Study 2 confirmed the results of Study 1 using more robust measures. As in Study 1, support for reactionary action for men was positively associated with outgroup injustice and progressive action with ingroup injustice. We also found a positive (although weak) positive association between outgroup injustice and progressive action for men. By examining the content of perceived injustice to men, we were able to show that reactionary action is associated with perceived victimisation of men while progressive action is associated with the perceived cost to traditional masculinity.

Results of the SIMCA models further indicated that support for reactionary action for men is associated with perceived closeness to men who endorse traditional gender roles (but not men who contest them). Conversely, support for progressive action for men is associated with perceived closeness to men who espouse non-traditional gender roles. Interestingly, perceived closeness to both non-traditional and traditional men had an indirect positive association with progressive action via outgroup-focused efficacy, suggesting that women see progressive action for men as beneficial to *all* men (and women, as indicated by a positive indirect association between ingroup identity and progressive action via ingroup injustice).

4 | STUDY 2b

To test empirically whether women indeed see progressive action as equally beneficial to women and men, we used Prolific to recruit 100 respondents self-identifying as women and living in the US. We then removed participants who failed an attention check, which resulted in a final sample of 95 participants ($M_{age} = 38.6$, $SD = 16.5$). The sample was balanced on feminist identity ($M = 3.4$, $SD = 1.9$; measured using

items from Study 2 with 1—*not at all*; 7—*a great deal* response scale), and political ideology ($M = 4.3$, $SD = 2.2$; measured using an item from Study 1 with a 1—*liberal*; 7—*conservative* response scale). Respondents were asked how much each of the progressive actions from the final measures in Study 2 could benefit the following groups: 'men', 'men who endorse traditional gender roles', 'men who question traditional gender roles', 'women' and 'society as a whole' (using 1—*not at all*; 7—*very much so* response scale).

Results indicated that women saw progressive action as beneficial to all concerned groups as indicated by the mean responses: slightly more beneficial to men ($M = 5.8$, $SD = 1.2$) than to women ($M = 5.5$, $SD = 1.3$; $t = 1.98$, $p = .049$), and comparably beneficial to non-traditional men ($M = 5.8$, $SD = 1.3$) and to traditional men ($M = 5.4$, $SD = 1.5$; $t = 1.68$, $p = .095$), with the highest scores assigned to perceived benefits to the society as a whole ($M = 6.1$, $SD = 1.0$).

5 | STUDY 3

The aim of Study 3 was to replicate the results of Study 2 in a different cultural context (US). To test the full SIMCA using ingroup-focused predictors, we additionally included a measure of ingroup-focused efficacy.

5.1 | Method

5.1.1 | Participants

The sample size for the study was estimated using *pwrSEM* R Shiny app (Wang & Rhemtulla, 2021). When estimating the required sample size, we used the estimates from the main SIMCA model in Study 2, with min. power of .80 for all indirect effects, at $\alpha = .05$. The estimated sample size was then multiplied by 1.15, to allow for exclusions based on the pre-defined screening criteria. We used Prolific to recruit 454 respondents self-identifying as women and living in the US. After applying the same screening criteria as in Study 2, we obtained a final sample of 429 participants ($M_{age} = 38.1$, $SD = 14.8$). The majority of the sample identified as heterosexual (81%; 6% homosexual/lesbian, 11% bisexual, 2% other/prefer not to say), had a degree (14% graduate degree, 40% undergraduate degree, 15% technical/community college, 30% high school diploma or lower) and lived in suburban areas (57%; 24% urban, 19% rural).

5.2 | Measures

Unless stated otherwise, all variables were measured using 1–7 Likert-type scales with higher numbers indicating greater agreement with a given statement. The same items as in Study 2 were used to measure: progressive action for men ($\omega = .89$), reactionary action for men ($\omega = .88$), ingroup identity ($\omega = .98$), outgroup identification ($\omega = .94$), identification with traditional men ($\omega = .91$), identification with non-traditional men ($\omega = .89$), ingroup injustice ($\omega = .97$), outgroup injustice ($\omega = .93$), men's victimisation ($\omega = .86$), political ideology (1—*liberal*; 7—*conservative*), age, and education. Cost to masculinity was measured with one additional item, 'societal pressure to be the main breadwinner in the family' (4 items in total; $\omega = .87$). Outgroup-focused efficacy was shortened to three items ($\omega = .91$). Ingroup-focused efficacy was measured with three items: 'I think women can successfully support each other', 'When women act together, they can improve their situation', 'When women act together, they can help each other' ($\omega = .91$).

5.3 | Analytical strategy

We used the same analytical approach as in Study 2. In the SIMCA models using outgroup-focused predictors, we additionally controlled for the ingroup-focused efficacy and included ingroup-focused efficacy in the model using ingroup-focused predictors (to comprehensively test H2 about the association between ingroup injustice and support for progressive action for men in a SIMCA model accounting for all three key predictors of protest).

5.4 | Results and discussion

5.4.1 | Correlations

Table 7 includes descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between the main variables in Study 3. As in Study 2, support for reactionary action for men was positively but weakly associated with support for progressive action, with the higher overall support indicated for the progressive action ($M = 6.06$, $SD = 0.97$) than for the reactionary action ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 1.55$). Support for reactionary action was positively associated with generic outgroup identification and identification with traditional men (but not identification with non-traditional men) and negatively associated with feminist identity. Support for progressive action was positively associated with feminist identity and identification with non-traditional men (but unrelated to generic outgroup identification and identification with traditional men). Reactionary action was negatively associated with ingroup injustice and positively and moderately associated with outgroup injustice, men's victimisation, and perceived injustice to traditional men. Progressive action was positively associated with ingroup injustice, cost to masculinity, and injustice to non-traditional men, and negatively associated with outgroup injustice, men's victimisation, and injustice to traditional men. As in Study 2, outgroup-focused efficacy was positively associated with both types of action for men. Ingroup-focused efficacy was positively associated only with progressive action.

5.4.2 | Associations with outgroup and ingroup injustice

Outgroup injustice had a positive association with reactionary action, but no association with progressive action (thus H1 was confirmed

TABLE 7 Means, standard deviations, and correlations with confidence intervals (Study 3)

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Ingroup identification	3.41	1.99														
2. Outgroup identification	4.68	1.27	−.33** [−.41, −.24]													
3. Identification with traditional men	4.28	1.58	−.48** [−.55, −.40]	.77** [.73, .80]												
4. Identification with non-traditional men	3.82	1.54	.49** [.41, .56]	.03 [−.07, .12]	−.06 [−.16, .03]											
5. Ingroup injustice	4.77	1.58	.51** [.44, .58]	−.32** [−.40, −.23]	−.41** [−.48, −.33]	.27** [.18, .36]										
6. Outgroup injustice	2.56	1.40	−.35** [−.43, −.26]	.34** [.25, .42]	.40** [.32, .48]	−.18** [−.27, −.09]	−.26** [−.35, −.17]									
7. Men's victimisation	3.39	1.73	−.63** [−.68, −.57]	.41** [.33, .49]	.54** [.47, .60]	−.32** [−.40, −.23]	−.47** [−.54, −.39]	.60** [.54, .66]								
8. Cost to masculinity	4.38	1.50	.24** [.15, .33]	−.13** [−.22, −.04]	−.26** [−.35, −.17]	.27** [.18, .36]	.38** [.30, .46]	−.02 [−.11, .08]	−.15** [−.24, −.06]							
9. Ingroup-focused efficacy	6.21	0.89	.24** [.14, .32]	.09 [−.01, .18]	−.05 [−.15, .04]	.17** [.07, .26]	.27** [.18, .35]	−.19** [−.28, −.09]	−.20** [−.29, −.11]	.14** [.05, .23]						
10. Outgroup-focused efficacy	5.65	1.17	−.01 [−.10, .08]	.45** [.37, .52]	.28** [.19, .37]	.15** [.06, .24]	.07 [−.03, .16]	.12* [.03, .21]	.13** [.04, .22]	.10* [.01, .20]	.37** [.29, .45]					
11. Reactionary action for men	3.78	1.55	−.31** [−.39, −.22]	.43** [.35, .51]	.46** [.38, .53]	−.07 [−.16, .03]	−.23** [−.31, −.13]	.45** [.37, .52]	.51** [.44, .58]	−.01 [−.10, .08]	−.06 [−.15, .04]	.19** [.10, .28]				
12. Progressive action for men	6.06	0.97	.20** [.11, .29]	.09 [−.00, .19]	−.01 [−.10, .09]	.31** [.23, .40]	.28** [.19, .36]	−.10* [−.20, −.01]	−.17** [−.26, −.07]	.27** [.18, .35]	.29** [.20, .38]	.35** [.27, .43]	.06 [−.03, .16]			
13. Political ideology	4.05	1.93	−.68** [−.73, −.63]	.38** [.30, .46]	.54** [.47, .60]	−.45** [−.52, −.37]	−.52** [−.59, −.45]	.34** [.26, .42]	.59** [.52, .65]	−.36** [−.44, −.27]	−.16** [−.25, −.06]	.05 [−.05, .14]	.33** [.24, .41]	−.27** [−.35, −.18]		
14. Age	38.06	14.80	−.26** [−.35, −.17]	.33** [.25, .41]	.35** [.27, .43]	−.20** [−.29, −.11]	−.26** [−.35, −.17]	.19** [.10, .28]	.25** [.16, .34]	−.23** [−.32, −.14]	−.08 [−.17, .02]	.18** [.09, .27]	.17** [.07, .26]	−.17** [−.26, −.07]	.30** [.22, .39]	
15. Education	0.70	0.46	.09 [−.01, .18]	.03 [−.06, .13]	.01 [−.09, .10]	−.01 [−.10, .09]	−.00 [−.10, .09]	.02 [−.08, .11]	−.06 [−.15, .04]	−.06 [−.16, .03]	−.01 [−.10, .08]	.06 [−.03, .15]	−.04 [−.13, .06]	.01 [−.08, .11]	−.01 [−.11, .08]	.10* [.01, .19]

Note: Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. Political ideology (1 – liberal; 7 – cons); education (1 – university degree, 0 – no degree); * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

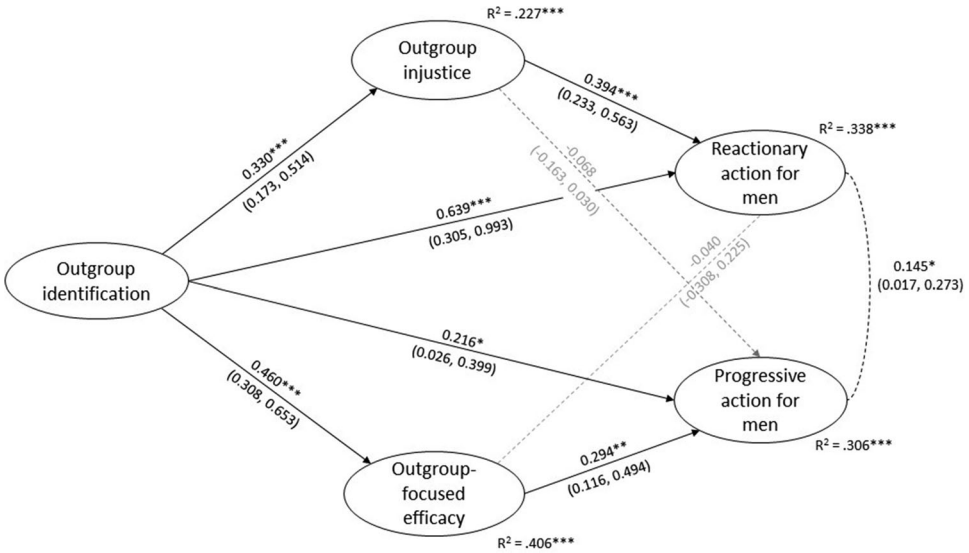

FIGURE 2 Predicting women's reactionary and progressive action for men (Study 3). *Note*: Model fit: $\chi^2_{(413)} = 937.055$, $p < .001$; CFI = .955; RMSEA = .054 [.050, .059], $p = .059$; SRMR = .059. All estimates are calculated controlling for ingroup identification, ingroup injustice, ingroup-focused efficacy, political ideology, age, and education. Estimates are unstandardised regression coefficients (with bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals [CI]). Paths with 95% CIs that do not contain zero are depicted by solid black lines and paths with 95% CIs that contain zero are depicted by grey dotted lines. Latent variable factor loadings were estimated but excluded from the figure due to space constraints. $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

partially). Ingroup injustice had a positive association with progressive action (supporting H2), but was unrelated to reactionary action (see Table). As expected, support for reactionary action was positively associated with men's victimisation (confirming H5), while support for progressive action was positively associated with the perceived cost to traditional masculinity (confirming H6; see Table 5).

5.4.3 | Testing the SIMCA model using outgroup-focused predictors

Figure 2 depicts the results of a SEM model testing SIMCA predictions for both types of action for men (direct and indirect effects are summarised in Table 6). Outgroup-focused efficacy was positively associated with progressive action but not reactionary action (thus confirming H5 only partially). Outgroup identification had positive associations with outgroup injustice, outgroup-focused efficacy, and support for both types of action (confirming H6), and a positive indirect association via efficacy with progressive action. As in Study 2, the indirect association between outgroup identification and collective action via outgroup injustice was only positive for reactionary action.

5.4.4 | Testing SIMCA using different content of outgroup identification and injustice

As in Study 2, we additionally ran a series of SEM models replacing generic outgroup identification and injustice with specific content explored in the study (identification with traditional vs non-traditional men and men's victimisation vs cost to masculinity, respectively). Results of these additional SIMCA models can be found in Figures S6–S9 and Tables S4–S7. Here we report on the key differences between the models. Results of a model with men's victimisation and perceived closeness to traditional men were fully consistent with the results of a model with generic outgroup injustice and outgroup identification, respectively (confirming H3 and H7). In a model with perceived cost to masculinity none of the indirect effects via outgroup injustice was significant (thus H4 was not supported). In a model with perceived closeness to non-traditional men, outgroup identification was positively associated with support for progressive action for men (confirming H8), but none of the indirect effects via outgroup injustice was significant.

5.4.5 | Testing SIMCA using ingroup-focused predictors

In a SIMCA model using ingroup-focused predictors (ingroup identification, injustice, and ingroup-focused efficacy), while controlling for outgroup predictors and demographic variables, we found a positive (although small) indirect effect via ingroup injustice for progressive action (confirming H2; Note however that the indirect effect via ingroup injustice was not significant in a model controlling for the cost to masculinity as a measure of outgroup injustice). None of the direct effects of ingroup identification and none of the remaining indirect effects were significant (see Figure S10 and Table S8).

Study 3 replicated most of the results related to the role of outgroup injustice in support of reactionary action for men and the role

of outgroup-focused efficacy (and ingroup injustice) in support of progressive action for men in a different national sample. Contrary to Study 2, we did not find significant associations between outgroup-focused efficacy and reactionary action, and between the cost to masculinity and progressive action, suggesting that these two indirect effects are less robust.

6 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

In three studies conducted on large online samples, we examined women's willingness to engage in collective action for men. Importantly, we showed that women's action for men can be both reactionary (i.e., reinforcing men's privilege) and progressive (i.e., helping men adopt more egalitarian gender roles). Overall, our studies confirm that the SIMCA model and the psychological processes related to group identity, injustice, and efficacy can be applied to study the collective action intentions of disadvantaged groups for the advantaged. However, it is crucial to consider outgroup- versus ingroup-focused aspects and the content of some of these predictors. Specifically, our studies revealed that reactionary action for men is associated with perceptions of outgroup injustice, confirming our prediction that at least some women see men as the disadvantaged group. This novel finding implies that women could reinforce men's privileged status *because* they see men as a disadvantaged group. As indicated by the results of Studies 2 and 3, this disadvantage is likely to be understood as men's victimisation by the feminist movement and reverse discrimination by gender equality policies. Conversely, in all three studies, support for progressive action for men was associated with perceptions of ingroup injustice, indicating that women could see progressive action for men as a means of improving women's disadvantaged status. The link between perceptions of outgroup injustice and support for progressive action was somewhat less consistent: we found a weak positive association between a generic measure of outgroup injustice and support for progressive action only in Study 2, and a positive association between men's injustice measured as cost to masculinity and support for progressive action for men in both Studies 2 and 3. However, the indirect association between outgroup identification and collective action via perceived cost to masculinity was only significant in Study 2. Taken together, these results imply that outgroup injustice considerations play a limited role in support for progressive action for men.

A more consistent pattern emerged for the role of outgroup-focused efficacy in support for progressive action (in both Study 2 and Study 3), pointing to the importance of the problem-focused route in progressive action. Interestingly, we did not find a significant indirect effect via ingroup-focused efficacy, which implies that women might see progressive action for men predominantly as a form of intergroup rather than ingroup help. We acknowledge however that, given that ingroup-focused efficacy was only measured in Study 3, we were not able to test whether this effect replicates across different samples. In contrast, efficacy played a relatively small role in support for reactionary action overall (the indirect effect of outgroup-focused efficacy was significant only in Study 2).

In relation to outgroup identification, we found that support for reactionary action for men is limited to perceived injustice to men who conform to traditional gender roles. Conversely, for progressive action, we found a direct association only with perceived closeness to men who contest traditional norms, such as feminist, feminine, or queer men. However, we also found an indirect positive association via outgroup-focused efficacy for perceived closeness to both non-traditional and traditional men. This indirect effect suggests that women might engage in progressive action for men hoping that they would benefit both non-traditional and traditional men. Indeed, this assumption was corroborated by the results of Study 2b, in which women perceived progressive action for men as comparably beneficial for both types of men.

6.1 | Implications for collective action models and research on gender inequality

Our research makes three major contributions to broadening our understanding of antecedents of social protest. We extend the collective action literature by (1) providing an example of action of a disadvantaged group willing to act for *the advantaged* group, (2) showing that this type of action for another group is not always reactionary but can sometimes aim at reducing group inequalities, (3) confirming the importance of outgroup-focused variables in collective action for other groups.

To our knowledge, action for the advantaged is an unexplored area of collective action research, which has almost solely focused on action for disadvantaged groups. We also extend the recent literature on, mostly ingroup-focused, conservative and reactionary collective action (e.g., Jost et al., 2017; Osborne et al., 2019; Thomas et al., 2020), by examining reactionary motives in collective action for other groups (see e.g., Estevan-Reina et al., 2021; Radke et al., 2018 for similar approaches). Our findings so far point to some similarities in predictors of action for the advantaged and for the disadvantaged. In our studies, perceptions of outgroup injustice, outgroup identification, and outgroup-focused efficacy were all positively associated with willingness to support men. However, the content of some of these variables had a key impact on the willingness to either support reactionary action reinforcing men's privileged status or progressive action supporting men in non-stereotypical gender roles.

Recently, Radke and colleagues (2020) proposed that collective action for the disadvantaged could be motivated by different considerations, which could be either outgroup- or ingroup-focused, personal, or moral. Our results indicate that support for both reactionary and progressive action for the advantaged could be driven by outgroup-focused motivations: identification with the outgroup and the willingness to address perceived outgroup injustice and to improve the outgroup's situation (as assessed by outgroup-focused efficacy). While several previous studies have assessed the role of outgroup-focused

variables in action for other groups (e.g., Klavina & van Zomeren, 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2011), this is a relatively unexplored area in collective action research.

Additionally, our findings suggest that support for progressive action for the advantaged could be driven by the ingroup-focused motivation to improve the status of the ingroup. However, the implications of this ingroup-focused motivation are markedly different than in the case of (advantaged allies') action for the disadvantaged. For advantaged groups, ingroup motives typically lead to paternalistic forms of action or action restoring the ingroup's moral image (but not necessarily addressing outgroup's disadvantage). In contrast, for disadvantaged groups, ingroup motives are likely to lead to action advancing social equality. Future studies could examine to what extent ingroup motives could play a role in reactionary action for the advantaged. For example, recent studies point to the role of the traditional content of ingroup identity and the perceived threat to traditional values in support for reactionary action (e.g., Mikołajczak et al., 2022).

Future studies could also explore the role of personal motives in both types of action for the advantaged. In the context of gender, these could be related to women's financial and psychological interdependence with important men in their lives (such as romantic partners, sons, close relatives, or friends). For example, women might be more likely to support (or at least less likely to oppose) reactionary action for men if they are concerned that their son or romantic partner could be falsely accused of sexual harassment. Conversely, women might support progressive action for men out of concern for the future psychological well-being of their sons, or as a strategic decision to be able to share the domestic and childcare workload more equally with their romantic partner.

Previous studies on the outgroup-focused action in the context of gender have examined men's action for women. Our research advances this area of research by exploring women's action for men and showing that they can be both progressive (advancing progressive gender roles for men) and reactionary (reinforcing the privileged status of men). The consistent high support for the progressive action found across our samples implies that the majority of women feel that gender equality has not progressed 'far enough', particularly when it comes to a limited set of social roles prescribed for men. However, a considerable proportion of women in our samples expressed some level of support for reactionary action: more than one in three respondents in Studies 1 and 2, and almost one in four respondents in Study 3 scored on average '5' or higher on our measure, which used a 1 (definitely unwilling)–7 (definitely willing) response scale. (Note that we did not detect any univariate outliers that could have 'inflated' the observed scores). This finding suggests that women's support for reactionary action for men might not be a fringe phenomenon and that a certain proportion of women might feel that the social progress in the realm of gender has gone 'too far', coming at the expense of men rather than benefitting women and men alike (see Lisnek et al., 2022 for a similar argument in relation to the conservative women's backlash against the #MeToo movement).

While we found no association between support for progressive and reactionary action for men in Study 1, in Studies 2 and 3 this association was weak but positive, indicating that the progressive and reactionary motives in collective action for men are not fully exclusive. This pattern of results suggests that some women might agree that the traditional male role needs to be redefined, but at the same time remain critical of particular postulates or actions of the feminist movement.

Taken together, our findings carry a couple of practical implications for gender equality advocates: (1) Similar to men, some women might see gender equality initiatives through the lens of a zero-sum game unfairly benefitting women at the cost of men. It is therefore important to communicate to women how the proposed gender equality programs or policies could benefit both women and men. (2) Women might oppose some feminist initiatives not necessarily because these initiatives contradict their broader traditional worldview, but because they see them as having negative consequences for men. In this case, advocacy should focus on the minimisation of those (anticipated or real) negative impacts rather than on convincing women of the benefits of gender equality itself.

6.2 | Limitations and future directions

We acknowledge several limitations of our studies. While we replicated most of our predictions using large online samples and robust estimation methods (structural equation models), future studies should confirm whether the observed patterns can be observed in other samples and using different collective action items. Similarly, we only explored the role of content of some SIMCA predictors (outgroup injustice and outgroup identification), but not the others (outgroup-focused efficacy). We also did not consider the role and content of moral concerns included in the extended SIMCA model (van Zomeren et al., 2011, 2018). Another limitation concerns the cross-sectional design of our studies. Although SIMCA predictions have been confirmed longitudinally for ingroup-focused action among both the disadvantaged and advantaged groups (Thomas et al., 2020), future studies should assess these relationships in the context of collective action for other groups. Finally, our initial exploration of the concept of collective action for the advantaged has been limited to the context of gender (and to two identities within the gender binary). Future studies could investigate other intergroup contexts in which this phenomenon is likely to occur, such as Latinx voters supporting (mainly) white Republican candidates in the US (e.g., Hickel et al., 2020).

7 | CONCLUSIONS

The present research is the first to establish that disadvantaged group members might be willing to protest for the rights of the advantaged groups and that this protest could have both reactionary and progressive goals and be motivated by outgroup-focused considerations. Using the context of gender, we show that women can protest for men's rights either to protect men's privileged status or to support men in adopting egalitarian gender roles and advancing gender equality. Our studies contribute to the broader understanding of the psychological

motivations behind collective efforts to either reinforce or subvert social inequalities.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

ETHICS APPROVAL

The study received ethical approval from the University of Melbourne Faculty of Arts Human Ethics Advisory Group (ethics ID: 1955752.1). All participants gave their informed consent prior to their inclusion in the study by ticking an appropriate box at the beginning of each survey.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Materials, data, analysis code and codebooks can be found at https://osf.io/sefzv/?view_only=30460d293e654452b4b1bd2c7644a5d5

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

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

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