

## Low Self-Control and High Group Identification: The Aftermath of Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot

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### ABSTRACT

The seed of “localism” was sown in Hongkonger’s mind since the Leftist Riot in 1967. In recent years, the demolition of Queens Pier, the refusal to implement universal suffrage for the selection of the Chief Executive, the crackdown on illegal street food hawkers and the parallel trading among mainland tourists kept encouraging the revival of “localism” and frequent collective actions. Mongkok Riot is the second largest protest ever happened since Umbrella Movement and is a collective action to denounce the seriousness of socio-political problems. This study aimed to explore the underlying psychological elements of collective action participation—emotional and rational decision-making processes. Pro-movement respondents ( $n = 1413$ ) aged between 19 and 67 were included and self-reported questionnaire was used as the main measure. Results revealed that there were distinct differences across self-control and group identification between rioters and protestors. In which, protestors showed high self-control and low group identification than rioters. Low level of self-control and high level of group identification were found to be an individual characteristic for repeated collective action participations. The findings also revealed that self-control, centrality to group and in-group affect are significant variables in predicting collective action participation. This study implied that the likelihood of collective action participation is determined by decision-making process which strongly influenced by self-control and group identification.

**Keywords:** Umbrella Movement, Mongkok Riot, self-control, group identification, localism.

### INTRODUCTION

Umbrella Movement—the largest collective action ever happened in Hong Kong—was coming to an end four years ago. Until today, it is still not able to measure the merits and demerits resulted from the movement. But there is one thing we ought to have learned, the movement once again escalated the revival of indigenusness in Hong Kong—localism (Chan, 2016; Chen & Szeto, 2015; Kaeding, 2017). The idea of localism was originally formed during the Leftist Riots in 1967 (Lam-Knott, 2017; Tang & Yuen, 2016), it seemed to be deep-seated in Hongkonger’s mind and have been bursting into collective actions to protest against the demolition of the Queen’s Pier in 2006 (Chen & Szeto, 2015; Kwong, 2016); the crackdown on illegal street food hawkers in 2016 (Schmidt, Fai, & de Kloet, 2017; Wong, 2017); and the parallel trading among mainland tourists repeatedly in recent years (So, 2017; Veg, 2017). The identity of localism gives rise to Hongkonger’s dignities and aims to reclaim the unique localization and colonization lifestyle (Kaeding, 2017). By comparing this with that, the protest of the crackdown on illegal street food hawkers in 2016—Mongkok Riot was the second largest protest ever happened since Umbrella Movement and thought to be a collective action which protected the unique local culture (Lincey & Lim, 2017). The incident was defined as a riot by the Hong Kong Government because of the serious outbreak of violence (Lim, 2017). These events were not happening coincidentally, Hongkongers keep alarming by the idea of localism once the society or political climate became unrest or when the collective memories, cultures

and the rights of Hongkongers was being trampled. Thus, the idea of localism has been consolidating and became a shot of tremendous power for the subsequent collective actions.

Historically, collective action has long been a social cohesion to challenge the status quo (Becker & Wright, 2011; Berkovitch & Moghadam, 1999; Kelly, 1993; Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). Some said that politicized identification is the main determinant of collective action participation (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008, 2012), but other said that self-control is an important individual cognitive mechanism to make rational deliberation before participating in collection action (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010; Lee, 2018). According to Tajfel (1981), group identity always links with group action, since the objective of group action aims to express dissatisfactions and rebalance an asymmetric power relation. Thus, group affiliation can be said as a psychological attachment to maintain positive social identity (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Meanwhile, Giguere and Lalonde (2010) suggested that rational decision making enables evaluating the expectancy-value outcome before making any final decisions of participation or non-participation in collective action. In addition, Lee (2018) evidenced that participation in Umbrella Movement was found to be a predisposition which weakened moral values and thus reduced self-control. In most situations, self-control works as executive capabilities to control behavior in any environments, self-control is a ringleader to transform mental thoughts into physical actions directly if antagonist intention dominates based on the situational concept (Wikstrom, 2016). Wikstrom (2016) claimed that role in the environment setting is strongly related to action causation whereas individual perception is the main determinant in choosing action depends on the contextual moral conflict. Under these circumstances, the assumption was made that Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot acted to be a blasting fuse which weakened self-control that lead to further collective actions. At the same time, these two collective events act as proximate cause which encourages an upsurge of group identification to localism that increases emotional affect and thus lead to frequent collective actions.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Collective identity and social threat

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), identification is an affiliation to a group which aims to maintain a positive sense of self. For disadvantaged group members, there are two possible strategies to cope with the disadvantaged identity. One that is social mobility, the disadvantaged member may leave away from or dissociate with the group in order to get rid of the stigma by seeing themselves dissimilar to the in-group. Other that is self-stereotyping, the disadvantaged member may accentuate the positive values of the in-group but diverge the negative values from out-groups.

Although the above strategies could be effective solutions to preserve positive self-esteem, they seem not applicable for identity which derives from biological or cultural roots (Cameron, Duck, Terry, & Lalonde, 2015). However, group identification has been found to be a factor to balance negative self-esteem (Dimofte, Goodstein, & Brunbaugh, 2015; Jetten et al., 2015; Spencer-Rodgers, Major, Forster, & Peng, 2016) and social threats (Dimofte, Goodstein, & Brunbaugh, 2015; Schmid & Muldoon, 2015) in previous studies. In which, high group identifiers tend to uphold their well-being by self-stereotyping, as a strategy to secure the group position. Likewise, for the low group identifiers, counter the implication is being the main strategy to keep positive group identity when the negative trait cannot be dismissed (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997).

### **Emotional participation**

In response to social injustice, the group identity of disadvantaged population always acts as a precursor for collective action (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). A large body of literatures supported that collective action participation is strongly related to group identification, particularly, the likelihood of participation would increase with the level of group identification accordingly (Becker, Tausch, Spears, & Christ, 2011; Mallet, Hustsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2012; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2016; Van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008). The affect individuals view group members as social support and group-based emotion such as anger and frustration as a force for collective action (Goldenberg, Halperin, Van Zomeren, & Gross, 2016), thus, collective identity turns such negative emotion into a strong motivation for collective action participation. Giguere and Lalonde (2010) established a direct link between group identification and collective action participation, in which, rational decision-making process is not involved. The results implied that the motivation to participate in collective action would be escalated regardless of the costs of action when group-based emotion dominated. To dig into details, in-group ties was found to be a significant predictor to perceive the values of action; centrality was strongly related to group identity; and in-group affect allow group members to believe that collective action could bring benefit rather than cost. Based on these evidences, group identification is an emotional determinant to collective action participation. In parallel to group identification, self-control is a cognitive mechanism which monitors sanctions and deterrence moral perception in a moral context. More importantly, the stability of executive capabilities inhibits temptation and provocations by allowing alternative choice. In the case of antagonist intention predominant, monitor and deterrence process are not going to happen. Consequently, motivation is directly affected by temptation and provocation without the balance of moral perception and moral context (Wikstrom, 2016). Up to this point, emotionally-directed participation in collective action is strongly based on the interaction of group identification and self-control.

### **Rational non-participation**

Impulsivity is a basic human instant, while self-control is an individual-level propensity to control behavior (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1993). The option between rational and irrational action is strongly depends on the stability of self-control. Wikstrom and Treiber (2007) suggested that crime happens when mental thinking turn into physical action directly, therefore, crime is free from advanced planning. Based on the situational concept, Wikstrom and Treiber (2016) claimed that motivation is the goal-directed attention initiates by the interaction between environment and people in the first place. Then cognitive system begins to consider all the action alternatives by the weighing process between moral perception and moral context—the principle of moral correspondence. Through these processes, people commit crime if they see crime as an action alternative, in contrast, people do not commit crime as they see crime is not an action alternative. At the final stage, self-control becomes a mechanism to choose between the option of “automated or deliberate process of choice” (Wikstrom, 2016, p. 81). In terms of stimulus-response link, people may easily act out their habit automatically in familiar settings. In other words, the action is an outcome of conditioned behavior in response to particular environment. Therefore, such action can be said as a rule-guided behavior. On the contrary, rational deliberation is processed when a person sees crime is not an action alternative or when previous experience is not available. In which, self-control keeps people in line with personal moral values even if there is a conflict between moral perception and moral context. Feather (1992) also claimed that the expected outcome (failure of success) is a necessity decision-making process prior to collective action participation. Even though there were literatures revealed that group identification is the main cause in determining collective action participation (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008, 2012), at the same time, there were also literatures evidenced that perceived instrumental value acts as

a mediator between group identification and collective action participation (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010; Louis, Taylor, & Douglas, 2005; Sturmer & Simon, 2004).

### THE PRESENT STUDY

Based on the above evidences, collective action participation is strongly related to group identification emotionally. But, self-control tends to keep people away from irrational behavior. In this sense, it is difficult to draw a conclusion about the relationship between group identification and self-control in collective action participation. However, it is believed that both group identification and self-control are related to collective action participation. According to the situational action theory (Wikstrom, 2016), the choice between to act out or not to act out an action is depending on individual characteristics—self-control, a self-regulation to keep people stay with their moral values despite the moral context. Under this circumstance, it is expected that self-control tends to be higher in the supporters than the actors in both Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot. Meanwhile, the level of identification would be a factor to increase the likelihood of group action participation (Tajfel, 1978). Therefore, it is expected that group identification tends to be higher in the actors than the supporters in both Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot.

Umbrella Movement was a collective action which strengthen the group identification of localism (Chan, 2016; Chen & Szeto, 2015; Kaeding, 2017), whereas the nature of Mongkok Riot was a collective action aimed to protect the local culture in Hong Kong (Schmidt, Fai, & de Kloet, 2017; Wong, 2017). Thus, we proposed that there would have an effect on group identification between the two collective actions; and an effect on self-control between the two collective actions.

The dual model of group identification and self-control was found to be significant factors of collective action participation. Simon and Klandermans (2001) offered an emotional explanation and claimed that group identification is a strong motivation in collective action participation once the group members have a shared grievance. In addition, Bandura (1986) suggested that people with high self-control tends to regulate their behavior in a rational fashion, in contrast, people with low self-control tends to respond to familiar setting following the stimulus-response link. These doctrines offer substantial evidence that emotion and regulation become the main conflict in making decision, however, it is not yet known the composition of these factors. In order to identify the underlying reason of collective action participation in the future, we tend to predict the likelihood of future collective action participation by group identification and self-control.

### METHODOLOGY

#### Participants

A total of 1413 valid questionnaires was received, there were 740 males and 673 females aged between 19 and 67 ( $M = 37.68$ ,  $SD = 10.76$ ) included in the current study. All respondents were the supporters of Umbrella Movement, they had spent 0 – 70 ( $M = 14.08$ ,  $SD = 17.48$ ) days in Umbrella Movement and 0 – 6.5 ( $M = 1.48$ ,  $SD = 2.18$ ) hours in Mongkok Riot. Most of them were reported as supporters in Umbrella Movement (68.4%) and opponents in Mongkok Riot (46.0%). The majority of respondent was attained secondary education level (32.6%) and was employed (80.6%).

**Table 1**  
**Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents (n = 1413)**

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	%
Age	37.68	10.76	1413	-
Gender				
Male	-	-	740	52.4
Female	-	-	673	47.6
Education level				
Secondary	-	-	461	32.6
Post-secondary	-	-	263	18.6
Bachelor	-	-	416	29.4
Postgraduate	-	-	273	19.3
Employment status				
Student	-	-	90	6.4
Employed	-	-	1139	80.6
To be employed	-	-	176	12.5
Retired	-	-	8	.6
Days of participation in Umbrella Movement	14.08	17.58	1413	-
Roles in Umbrella Movement				
Actors	-	-	446	31.6
Supporters	-	-	967	68.4
Hours of participation in Mongkok Riot	1.48	2.18	1413	-
Roles in Mongkok Riot				
Actors	-	-	482	34.1
Supporters	-	-	281	19.9
Opponents	-	-	650	46.0
Future collective action participation				
Yes	-	-	495	35.0
No	-	-	918	65.0

## Procedures

Respondents were recruited by using convenience sampling method which took place in public areas. Targeted respondents were invited to participate in the study, a brief introduction of the study nature was given and informed consent was signed before the administration of questionnaires. Questionnaire was filled by respondent individually, assistance was provided to respondents who have difficulties in understanding English and meaning comprehension. The questionnaire took about 15 minutes to complete. Collected data were analyzed by SPSS v.16.

## Instruments

The questionnaire consisted of four sections, including measuring scales of self-control, group identification, details of participation in Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot, and demographic characteristics. The questionnaire was available in English only.

**Self-control.** Brief Self-Control Scale (BSCS; Tangney, Boone, & Baumeister, 2004) contains 36 items which combine positive and negative statements to measure the extent of self-control, respondents rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*). Positive items are "I blurt out whatever is on my mind" and "I do certain things that are bad for me, if they are fun", while negative items including "I am able to work effectively towards long-term goals" and "I refuse things that are bad for me". The possible score ranges from 36 to 180, high

score refers to high self-control level. The self-control measures revealed a high internal reliability in the current sample,  $\alpha = .82$ .

**Group identification.** The three dimensional strength of group identification scale (Cameron, 2004) contains 24 items to study group identification by three subcomponents: group ties, centrality and in-group affect. The 24 items include positive and negative statements as the main measure, respondents rated on a 7-point scale (1 = *very negative* to 7 = *very positive*) for each item. The present study adapted the key words to fit the study nature, positive statements are “In the group of localism, I really feel that I belong” and “In general, being a localist is an important part of my self-image”, whereas negative statement including “I often regret that I am a localist” and “I find it difficult to form a bond with other members of localism”. The possible range is 24 to 168, a high score on the scales refers to high level of group identification. The scale revealed high reliability in the current study,  $\alpha = .81$ .

**Details of participation in Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot.** Details of participation such as roles, days or hours of participation and the likelihood of collective action participation in the future were also taken into account.

**Demographic characteristics.** Respondents’ characteristics such as age, gender, educational background and employment status were included in the demographic characteristics.

## RESULTS

### Differences in self-control and group identification between roles

At the first glance, the analysis attempted to examine the differences in self-control and group identification between actors and supporters in Umbrella Movement. As shown in Table 2, self-control had statistically significant difference between actors and supporters,  $t(711.092) = -20.54$ ,  $p < .01$ . While the subcomponents of group identification all had significant differences between actors and supporters (all  $p$ 's  $< .01$ ), centrality (Cohen's  $d = 1.26$ ) was found to be the most significant difference between actors and supporters, followed by group ties (Cohen's  $d = .71$ ) and in-group affect (Cohen's  $d = .52$ ). Overall, self-control and group identification had great differences between actors and supporters in Umbrella Movement.

**Table 2**  
Descriptive statistics, t statistics and effect sizes of self-control and group identification in Umbrella Movement (n = 1413)

	Actor M (SD)	Supporter M (SD)	t statistics	Effect Size Cohen's d
Self-control	97.32 (19.67)	119.03 (15.54)	-20.54**	-1.22
Group identification	88.86 (13.71)	71.14 (15.46)	19.22**	1.21
Group ties	28.46 (6.02)	23.74 (7.15)	12.88**	.71
Centrality	32.70 (8.07)	23.89 (5.69)	20.79**	1.26
In-group affect	25.70 (3.06)	23.51 (5.12)	10.00**	.52

**Note.** \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ , ns = non-significant

Meanwhile, the statistical results indicated that there were also highly significant differences in self-control and group identification among actors, supporters and opponents in Mongkok Riot (all  $p$ 's  $< .01$ ). ANOVA tests revealed that self-control had significant results between the three roles in Mongkok Riot,  $F(2, 1410) = 225.10$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .24$ . Tukey HSD tests confirmed that actors' self-control was much weaker than supporters (-15.06) and opponents (-21.79), and supporters' self-control was much weaker than opponents (-6.74), all  $p$ 's  $< .01$ . At the same time, another ANOVA tests indicated that all subcomponents in group identification were

statistically significant difference among the three roles (all  $p$ 's < .01). Group ties ( $\eta^2 = .59$ ) was found to be the most significant difference in the domain of group identification, followed by centrality ( $\eta^2 = .54$ ) and in-group affect ( $\eta^2 = .37$ ). As shown in Table 3, Tukey HSD tests revealed that actors' group identification was much greater than supporters and opponents in centrality and in-group affect. However, actors' group ties were weaker than supporters (-3.15).

**Table 3**  
**Descriptive statistics, ANOVA tests and post-hoc tests of self-control and group identification among roles in Mongkok Riot (n = 1413)**

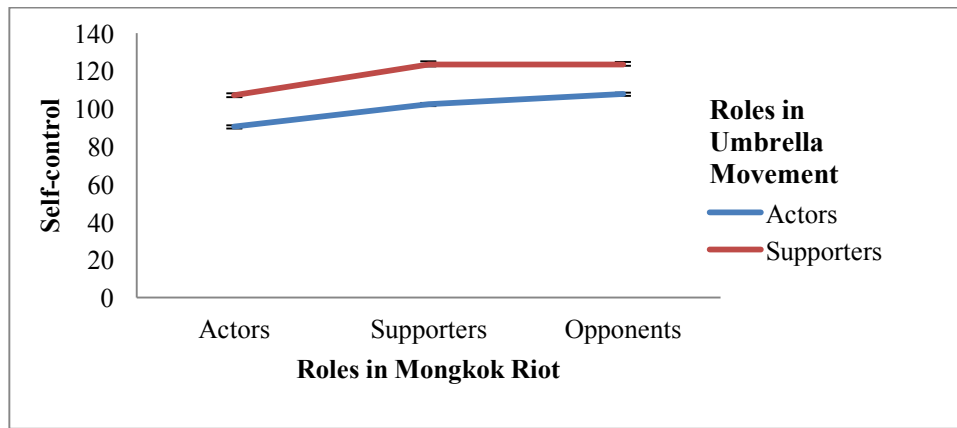
	Actor <i>M (SD)</i>	Supporter <i>M (SD)</i>	Opponent <i>M (SD)</i>	Overall <i>F test</i>	Effect size $\eta^2$	Tukey HSD mean difference
Self-control	99.16 (17.68)	114.21 (16.67)	120.95 (17.02)	225.10**	.24	1-2 -15.06** 1-3 -21.79** 2-3 -6.74**
Group identification	88.85 (8.80)	88.52 (11.02)	61.28 (9.15)	1485.58* *	.68	1-3 27.58** 2-3 27.24**
Group ties	29.02 (4.12)	32.17 (4.69)	19.42 (4.90)	999.13**	.59	1-2 -3.15** 1-3 9.59** 2-3 12.75**
Centrality	33.12 (6.77)	29.31 (5.06)	20.74 (3.90)	809.96**	.54	1-2 3.81** 1-3 12.38** 2-3 8.57**
In-group affect	26.72 (3.00)	27.04 (2.81)	21.11 (4.50)	417.17**	.37	1-3 5.60** 2-3 5.92**

**Note.** \*\* $p < .01$ , \* $p < .05$ , *ns* = non-significant. 1 = actors, 2 = supporters and 3 = opponents.

### The interaction effects on self-control and group identification between roles in two collective events.

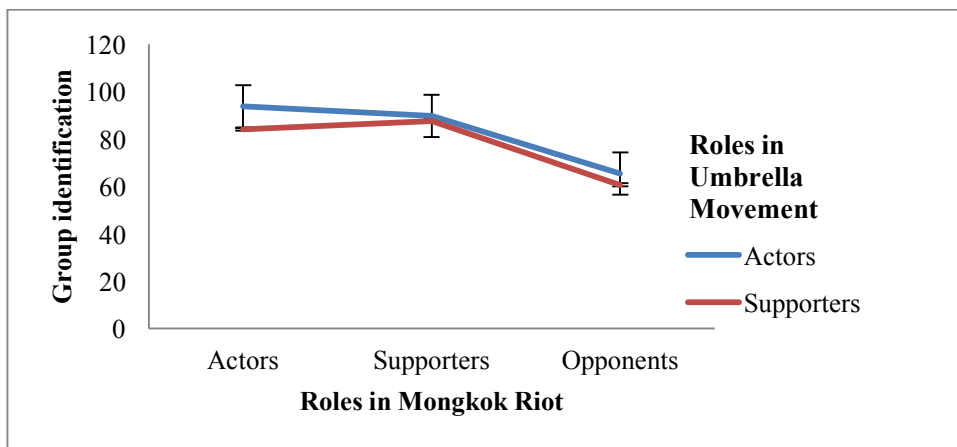
The second analysis aimed to investigate the interaction effect on self-control and group identification between roles in Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot.

A 2 (roles in Umbrella Movement) x 3 (roles in Mongkok Riot) factorial analysis was conducted on self-control. Either the factor of roles in Umbrella Movement,  $F(1,1407) = 337.77$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .19$ , or the factor of roles in Mongkok Riot,  $F(2, 1407) = 135.60$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .16$  had statistically significant impact on self-control. The interaction effect was also statistically significant,  $F(2, 1407) = 3.07$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta^2 = .004$ . A further post-hoc test, Tukey HSD confirmed that self-control is significantly higher in opponents ( $M = 80.63$ ,  $SD = 11.35$ ) than supporters ( $M = 76.14$ ,  $SD = 11.12$ ) and actors ( $M = 66.10$ ,  $SD = 11.79$ ) in Mongkok Riot, all  $p$ 's < .01.



**Fig 1. The interaction effect on self-control between roles in Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot.**

Another 2 (roles in Umbrella Movement) x 3 (roles in Mongkok Riot) factorial analysis was carried out to examine the interaction effect on group identification between roles in Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot. The main effect of group identification in Umbrella Movement yielded an  $F$  ratio of  $F(1, 1407) = 101.26, p < .01, \eta^2 = .07$ , indicating that the mean score on group identification was significantly greater for actors ( $M = 86.86, SD = 13.71$ ) than supporters ( $M = 71.14, SD = 15.46$ ). The main effect of group identification in Mongkok Riot yielded an  $F$  ratio of  $F(2, 1407) = 946.08, p < .01, \eta^2 = .57$ , the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score on group identification was significantly higher in actors ( $M = 88.85, SD = 8.80$ ) than supporters ( $M = 88.52, SD = 11.02$ ) and opponents ( $M = 61.28, SD = 9.15$ ) of Mongkok Riot (all  $p$ 's  $< .01$ ). In addition, the interaction effect was also statistically significant,  $F(2, 1407) = 17.14, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$ .



**Fig 2. The interaction effect on group identification between roles in Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot.**

**The psychological composition to identify the role in future participation**

This analysis aimed to utilize logistic regression to study how self-control and subcomponents of group identification (group ties, centrality and in-group affect) influence the future collective action participation. To evaluate the overall fit of the logistic regression model of future collective action participation, the Chi-Square goodness of fit test (Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients) showed that the likelihood of participation can be statistically predicted by the independent variables,  $\chi^2(4) = 978.249, p < .01$ . Also, the Hosmer and Lemeshow measure revealed a non-significant result,  $\chi^2(8) = 13.37, p > .05$ . The regression equation is able to detect 84.7% variation in the present study, with Cox & Snell  $R^2 = .500$  and Nagelkerke  $R^2 = .688$ . In addition, the classification accuracy was increased to 84.7% from the baseline model



of 65.0%. For self-control, the odds of non-participation would be 1.076 if there was a unit increase in the score. For the group identification, the odds of participation were .815 and .692 for per unit increases in score on centrality and in-group affect respectively, whereas the odds of participation was 1.063 for per unit decrease in score on group ties.

**Table 5**  
**Logistic regression analysis of future collective action participation based on self-control and group identification (n = 1413)**

	$\beta$	SE $\beta$	Wald's $\chi^2$	df	p	$e^\beta$
Self-control	.074	.006	146.104	1	.000	1.076
Group identification						
Group ties	.061	.022	8.020	1	.005	1.063
Centrality	-.204	.017	150.510	1	.000	.815
In-group affect	-.368	.043	71.686	1	.000	.692

## DISCUSSION

The main objective of the current study was to scrutinize the differences in self-control and group identification between roles in collective actions. Self-control was found to be a reliable variable to resist oneself from transgressive behavior, the current results offered substantial support for previous literatures on collective action (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010; Lee, 2018; Wikstrom, 2016). At the same time, our results had revealed an interaction effect on self-control between the roles in two collective events. Such findings expand the empirical extension for previous literatures on collective action. In any given situations, the option between to act out or not to act out is determined by self-control (Wikstrom & Treiber, 2009). Our findings revealed that self-control had significant differences between actors and supporters in Umbrella Movement, also, had significant differences among actors, supporters and opponents in Mongkok Riot. The results implied that the relationship between self-control and collective action became bi-directional. On the one hand, self-control can be weakened by the repeated collective action participation and repeated exposure to the collective action settings. Even though self-control acts as individual characteristics which can possibly influence the preference of collective action participation, the social setting can also act as a criminogenic environment (Wikstrom & Treiber, 2016). The ability of self-control varies from person to person, repeated exposure to criminogenic environment and criminogenic peers generates criminogenic potential. As a result, crime is listed as one of the alternative actions cognitively before making any choices (Wikstrom, Oberwittler, Treiber, & Hardie, 2017). Overriding conflict between moral perception and moral context is dependent on the stability of self-control, however, "depletion inhibits inhibition" (Maranges & Baumeister, 2016, p. 46). Although an instability self-control system does not impair intelligence activities, the later decision making and controlled cognition are being impaired consequentially. Therefore, a stable self-control system helps people keep away from intuitive heuristics, thus maintaining rational thinking and logical reasoning (Vohs, Baumeister, & Schmeichel, 2012). These doctrines provide solid evidences to answer the question of why self-control will be a consistent variable in predicting collective action in the future. On the other hand, high level of self-control allows considering the perceived benefits and costs of action, the instrumental value was found to be a factor to determine the likelihood of participation. As communication between group members tends to be in a strategic nature (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010), thus, instrumental value is a factor to facilitate or hamper the likelihood of participation (Louis, Taylor, & Douglas, 2005). Low level of self-control reflects an instable behavioral system—hot model (Metcalf & Mischel, 1999), negative emotion such as anger and frustration escalate the likelihood of participation. Although LeBon's (1896) crowd power was attacked by different

scholars (McPhail, 1991; Reicher, 1987; Reicher & Potter, 1985), his suggestion of self-control can be easily lost in the crowd seems applicable to the recent collective actions in Hong Kong.

Secondly, our study validated that group identification is a strong motivation in collective action participation which replicates consistent result with previous studies (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010; Sturmer & Simon, 2004; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Our findings showed that the level of group identification was significantly higher in actors than supporters and opponents, also an interaction effect was found on group identification between Umbrella Movement and Mongkok Riot. Based on our analysis, respondents who were actors in both collective actions had the highest group identification. We believed that the journey of Umbrella Movement offered an opportunity of grouping the pro-movement population together in the first place, hence those people found a meaningful psychological attachment and created a newly positive identity (Drury, 2005, 2008). According to the elaborated social identity model (ESIM; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Reicher, 1996, 2001; Scott & Reicher, 1998), collective action normally starts with the heterogeneous crowd which combines of radicals and moderates. However, the crowd is defined as homogeneous—"threat to public order" (Drury & Reicher, 2009, p. 713) by the authority. Consequently, the in-group and out-group members in the heterogeneous crowd unite together and the sense of opposition escalates. Through this dynamic process between the crowd and authority, the heterogeneous group can possibly find social support from the crowd members even after the event. Such social support turns heterogeneous groups into a homogeneous group and becomes a motivating force for the subsequent collective actions. Cameron (2004) classified group identification into three subcomponents: group ties, centrality and in-group affect. The current study revealed that an increase in centrality and in-group affect facilitates future collective action participation while a decrease in group ties discouraged participation. Group ties reflect the group solidarity which provides social support such as psychological bond and attachment to the group members. In Brewer and Gardner's (1996) terms, group solidarity refers to a strong connection between self and significant others. However, the present findings suggested that group ties were not a negative factor in determining the collective action participation in the future. The results had been replicated in previous studies (Giguere & Lalonde, 2010; Louis, Taylor, & Douglas, 2005), group ties were strongly related to instrumental value and thus linked to the rational deliberation process. A strong group ties allow group members to discuss and the motivation of collective action and to foresee the possible outcome, therefore, group members have adequate time to weight the perceived benefit and cost of action which is free of situational influences. Thus, the group members' choice is strongly based on rational deliberation rather than situational factor. Centrality to a group give rise to the sensitivity to social threats, especially for group identity originates from cultural or biological roots. Localists tend to strive against the disturbances of their cultural values and maintain their traditional way of living, which makes the in-group members sensitive to each and every in-group event (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In other words, in-group members categorize themselves by self-stereotyping which intends to maintain the positive sense of self by defending the perceived threat. In parallel to the case in Hong Kong, American African perceived high level of discrimination if they have high levels of centrality to the in-group (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). This result could give a hint to our discussion about group centrality, that is, cultural or biological roots contribute a great impact on self-stereotyping and thus group centrality. Finally, in-group affect refers to the individual reflection about the overall feelings to the group (Leach et al., 2008). The previous collective actions could possibly empower group members' confidence if they were able to overpower the authority. Every success in collective action gives rise to the legitimacy to the group action, as a result, the higher the level of positive feelings of the group the more likely the group members participate in subsequent collective actions.

In general, most Hongkongers are social functional and law-abiding citizens. In order to protect the original colonization lifestyle, they attempt to fight against the unfairness and dissatisfaction again and again. Subjective success is the most salient empowerment to encourage future collective action participation and to urge social change (Drury & Reicher, 2009). The prolonged collective psychological empowerment reinforces subsequent collective actions, however, activists are perceived as extreme radicals by police while the government is being perceived as totalitarian by the activists (Drury, Reicher, & Scott, 2003). Obviously, the social problem is not only created by the individual but also an unjust social environment generates a disposition for individuals to create social problems. In this sense, localism can be said as the output of Umbrella Movement and also as the input of subsequent collective actions. In sum, crowd power can never be underestimated. Actually, crowd is like a herd of sheep, individual can easily sway by situational, emotional and environment factors.

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