

An Investigation into the Relationship between Moral and Self-Control: The Aftermath of Umbrella Movement

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Abstract: Umbrella Movement, the largest protest ever happened in Hong Kong, the political movement has been repeatedly studying from political, historical and cultural perspectives. In a sense, the peripheral factors were well-defined. However, the real influences on individual psychological factors were not yet known. The present study investigated the relationship between moral and self-control through Umbrella Movement. Self-reported questionnaire was used as the main measure in the present study. Pro-movement respondents ($n = 628$) aged between 18 and 25 ($M = 22.23$, $SD = 2.03$) were included in the study, both supporters (did not participate in Umbrella Movement) and actors (participated in Umbrella Movement) completed the same measures of moral disengagement scale, brief self-control scale and daily behavior checklist. Results revealed that there were distinct differences across all measuring scales between actors and supporters. In which, actors showed higher levels of moral disengagement, lower levels of self-control and prone to display unruly behaviors. Simultaneously, self-control was weakened by the extent of moral disengagement accordingly. The findings also evidenced that low self-control is a key factor to cause unruly behavior such as verbal bullying, verbal conflict with family and verbal conflict with teacher or boss. The study implied that self-control was weakened by moral disengagement due to the participation in Umbrella Movement. Most importantly, the present study validated that the weakened self-control is a stumbling stone to progress successful educational attainment and occupational accomplishment.

Keywords: Umbrella Movement, collective action, moral disengagement, self-control.

1. INTRODUCTION

Grew up in the shadow of '89 Democracy Movement, the spirit of democracy has penetrated into the youth's awareness. For them, the narrowed political freedom means social unrest, collective action is the only way to fight for a better life (Miller, 2006). Development not only brings increased autonomy during adolescence, but the accumulated social experience also brings self-sanctions which appeal to social norms (Haan, 1985). It is easy to twig that the transition from a considerate person into a radical is not an overnight transformation. Dalgaard-Nielsen (2010) portrayed that radicalization process activates by an opposition to a social system and give rise to rejection and estrangement, then metamorphoses into revulsion and hostility towards the authorities. Although the judicial system draws a clear boundary between legitimate and illegitimate practices, there is just a fine line between moral and immoral. Thus, once the youth's courage had been put to the test, a "spontaneous and resilient occupation" (Cheng & Chan, 2017, p. 2) was finally broke out in 2014—Umbrella Movement.

Political unrest is a swirling vortex of emotion which sucks the youth toward its center. A large body of literature holds that pro-democratic citizens are mostly well-educated (Bonnin & Horko, 2009; Hillygus, 2005; Kam & Palmer, 2008) and are mostly in the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Blattman, 2009; Krampen, 2000; McFarland & Thomas, 2006). Neimi and Junn (1998) elucidated that university education equips students with abstract thinking and deliberate reasoning which leads to a strong resistant to social injustice. In addition, Erikson (1968) viewed that surrounding ideologies have a great impact on identity formation, "the experiences of role experimentation" (Cote & Levine, 1987, p. 278) is an essential mystery in psychosocial moratorium for the youths.

In Western countries, psychologists tend to decode the participation in collective action by Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA; Fishbein, 1967). The participation in collective action is the only solution for disadvantaged groups to strive for positive politicized identities based on the SIT (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). The non-participation in collective action is because of an optimistic outcome is unlikely to occur based on the attitude-intention-behavior link (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007). Although the inclinations of participation and non-participation in collective action are well-captured by social psychology theories, there is a role that has always been mislaid. Supporters are the ones who share the same vision with the actors in a collective action and are the ones who provide supports and assistances to the actors inasmuch as they are able, but they would not be taking part in the collective action. But why don't they join?

Moral control tends to hold the key to the mystery in the kindred topics, and is believed to be the inspector of conduct of balance irreconcilable conflict between social- and self-sanctions (Feinberg & Willer, 2015; Haste & Hogan, 2006; Schlosberg, 2003). Thus, people with high level of moral control are more likely to engage in behaviour which brings a sense of self-worth rather than self-condemnation (Bandura, 2006). In a parallel direction, self-control is thought to be an individual controlled process inhibits impulsive thoughts that arise from salient situational and contextual cues (Hofmann, Friese, & Strack, 2009). This deliberate system has been repeatedly studied in the domains of delinquency and crime (Courey & Pare, 2016; Fine, Steinberg, Frick, & Cauffman, 2016; Janssen, Eichelsheim, Dekovic, & Bruinsma, 2016). Up to this point, it is obvious that moral and self-control will be prominent variables in examining delinquency through Umbrella Movement. Whether these factors form a one-size-fits-all equation, or whether they become a combination to explain the causal relationships, the underlying psychological linkage of moral and self-control remains to be the key question in the present study.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Commons and Goodheart (2007) pointed out that people who have sophisticated cognitive construct are more likely to refrain from immoral behaviour, as an elaborated cognitive system allows considering all the gray areas before taking any actions. In contrary, people who have dissonant cognitive construct are more likely to tolerate transgressive acts (Bandura, 2004). No matter how the cognitive construct is, no one can carry out reprehensible behaviour in normal circumstances unless such behaviour is justified as socially worthy or morally right. In which, there should be a selective cognitive reconstruction to reinterpret an irreconcilable conflict between social- and self-sanctions into a new attitude (Bandura, 1999). According to McAlister, Bandura and Owen (2006), moral control occurs in four loci: behaviour, agency, outcome and agency. These loci can be operated selectively without any sequential processes. Ordinary people will not engage in detrimental conduct normally. Bandura (1983) noted that detrimental conduct would be put into practice once the behaviour locus became tenable. Transgressive act can be made honourable and justified as morally right in the name of social demands, in which hostility against authority is perceived as righteous and moral imperative. At the agency locus, personal agency is obscured. Personal responsibility is displaced and diffused into group responsibility (Bandura, 2004). Everyone follows the crowd and acts upon the echo. Due to the nature of anonymity, behaviour becomes even more destructive. At the outcome locus, people are fully convinced by the name of massive peaceful social movement, the displeasure arises from political incorrectness can be condensed into a powerful counterforce (McAlister, Bandura, & Owen, 2006). The harmful consequences of aggressive act are potentially tranquilized by cognitive distortion (Bandura, 2004). At the recipient locus, opponents are being labelled as an object rather than human nature (McAlister, Bandura, & Owen, 2006). Brutalizing an object with emotions and feelings is not easy, empathy and sympathy will be emerged once the object contained life-alike human qualities (Bandura, Underwood, & Fromson, 1975). Blaming antagonists always arises from the forcible social conditions, the counterattack to fight against the socially wrong is reinforced to an even greater maltreatment (Lerner & Miller, 1978).

In terms of the general theory of crime (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), self-control is an individual-level propensity to resist oneself from deviant behaviour. Impulse is a basic instant to all human, whether to seek immediate self interest or not is strongly depends on the stability of self-control (Vohs et al., 2008). Crime is free from advanced planning and is a behaviour which turns impulse into physical action (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 2008). Recent researches began to combine moral and self-control in studying crime – Situational Action Theory (SAT; Wikstrom, 2006), which integrates moral and self-control as the main determinants. Motivation (temptation and provocation) is found to be the genesis of crime and moral control acts as a filter at the perceptual level. Followed by the process of choice, situation cues trigger action if prior experience is available, whereas crime will be ceased by rational deliberation if no predetermined experience is

found. Thus, self-control is conditional upon moral control based on the situational action theory (Kroneberg & Schulz, 2018; Schepers & Reinecke, 2018; Zimmerman, Botchkovar, Antonaccio, & Hughes, 2015). The first failure of self-control paves the way for escalating the snowball effects of misregulation (Tangney, Boone, & Baumeister, 2004). Physiologically, reflex system inhibits or overrides impulses according to the cognitive system. However, the struggle between internal conflict and temptation ends with the winner-takes-all-system (Norman & Shallice, 1986). Since mental activities and physical actions work through different systems, the activation favours the dominant one (Hofmann, Friese, & Strack, 2009). Therefore, the next sin is ready to happen once the first violation began. In analyzing such snowball effect, Neal, Wood, and Drolet (2013) claimed that self-control depletion reduces top-down control, which leads to intuitive thinking and ineffective inhibition. Once this happened, depletion inhibits impulse inhibition (Gailliot, Gitter, Baker, & Baumeister, 2012), emotion regulation (Maranges, Schmeichel, & Baumeister, 2017) and consistent commitment to well-being (Salmon, Adriaanse, DeVet, Fennis, & DeRidder, 2014). As a result, the reduced cognitive control weakens resistance to risky or violent acts (DeLisi, Hochstetler, Higgins, Beaver, & Graeve, 2008).

Previous studies of collective action were mainly focused on three roles of bystanders, victims and perpetrators (Mandel, 2002), whereas the role of supporters has been largely neglected. To retrace the journey of Umbrella Movement, supporters devoted their time and vigour to the collective action. They are the ones who aligned with the actors, but again, why didn't they join? The first question tended to test the differences of moral disengagement and self-control between actors and supporters. McAlister, Bandura, and Owen (2006) noted that moral control operates selectively in four loci. To combine with situational action theory, moral filter serves as the primary barrier to resist cognitive-emotion interference and self-control is the ultimate determinant of crime (Kroneberg & Schulz, 2018). According to these doctrines, the second question targeted to investigate how the four loci of moral disengagement affect self-control. Finally, self-control is related to cognitive process, mental resources are required to override inappropriate impulse and emotion (Robinson, Schmeichel, & Inzlicht, 2010). Self-control depletion weakens the top-down process and strengthens the bottom-up process cognitively. Breakdown in self-control leads to impulse and emotion misregulation. In this sense, the third question aimed at exploring how the daily behaviour affected by self-control.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Participants:

A total of 628 respondents (388 males and 240 females) aged between 18 and 25 ($M = 22.23$, $SD = 2.03$) took part in the present study, the respondents spent 0 to 78 ($M = 26.35$, $SD = 23.18$) days in Umbrella Movement. The majority of the respondents reported as actor in Umbrella Movement (53.5%), was student (38.1%) and attained Bachelor's educational level (40.4%).

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents (n = 628)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	n	%
Age	22.23	2.03	628	-
Days of participation	26.35	23.18	628	-
Gender				
Male			388	61.8
Female			240	38.2
Education level				
Secondary level			107	17.0
Post-secondary level			167	26.6
Bachelor			254	40.4
Postgraduate			100	15.9
Employment status				
Student			239	38.1
Employed			210	33.4
To be employed			55	8.8
Studied and employed			124	19.7
Role				
Actor			335	53.3
Supporter			293	46.7

3.2 Procedures:

Ethical review was approved by the Human Subjects Ethics Committee of City University of Hong Kong. Respondents were recruited by using convenient sampling procedures. Targeted respondents were invited to participate in the study and a brief introduction of the study nature was given, informed consent was signed before the administration of questionnaires. Questionnaires were filled by respondents individually, assistance was provided to respondents who have difficulties in understanding English and meaning comprehension. The questionnaire took about 20 minutes to complete. Collected data were analyzed by SPSS v.16.

3.3 Instruments:

The questionnaire consisted of 5 sections, included measuring scales of moral disengagement, self-control and daily behaviour. Demographic characteristics and details of participation were also collected, details of participation included self-reported activities and days of participation in Umbrella Movement. The questionnaire was available in English only.

Moral disengagement. Moral Disengagement Scale (MDS; Bandura, Capara, Barbaranelli, & Pastorelli, 1996) contains 32 items, which was designed to measure the extent of detrimental conduct in different contexts. Since the original scale was targeted for children, the present study adapted the key words to fit the study nature (e.g., “The fights and misbehaviour at school are teacher’s fault” was change to “The fights and misbehaviour at a society are government’s fault” and “When a gang hurts someone, each child must answer for his guilt” was change to “When a gang hurts someone, each gang member must answer for his guilt”). The scale is divided into 8 subscales and then fitted into four loci to portray the underlying process of moral disengagement in the previous study of political action (McAlister, Bandura, & Owen, 2006). Respondents were told to reinstate themselves to the scene of Umbrella Movement and rated on a 5-point scale ranging from (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strong agree*). The possible range is 32 to 160, a high score on moral disengagement shows proneness to transgressive act. Reliability analyses confirmed that the scale had high internal consistency in the current sample. The total scale was accounted for $\alpha = .82$. The loci of behaviour, agency, outcome and recipient were accounted for $\alpha = .83$, $\alpha = .79$, $\alpha = .80$ and $\alpha = .81$ respectively.

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 score ranges from 36 to 180, high score refers to high self-control level. The self-control reveal a good internal reliability in the current study, $\alpha = .88$.

Daily behaviour. Daily behaviour in the past three months was also measured by Daily Behaviour Checklist which contains 33 items of diligent (12 items) and delinquent behaviours (21 items). This scale has been repeated adopted by previous study (e.g., Lo, Cheng, Rochelle, & Kwok, 2011; Wong & Cheng, 2000). The scale measures the frequency of diligent and delinquent behaviours by 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *always*) for each item. Within the scale, examples of diligent behaviour are “Read book and magazine”, “Volunteering work” and “Recreational activities and sports”, while the examples of delinquent behaviour are “Vandalism”, “Fighting” and “Drug taking”. High score on diligent and delinquent behaviour increases the likelihood of participating in self-discipline behaviour and unruly lifestyle respectively. In the current study, the diligent items demonstrated and internal consistency of $\alpha = .66$ whereas the delinquent items revealed a high reliability of $\alpha = .92$.

Details of participation in Umbrella Movement. Details of participation such as participated activities and days of participation were also taken into account. Respondents were required to write down the length of their participation and the activities they had participated and rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *never* to 5 = *always*) to indicate the extent of their participation. Eight activities were included, including (1) Boycott of classes, (2), Blockage of main roads, (3) Sit-in protest, (4) Build tents and barricades, (5) Material assistance, (6) Riot gear preparation, (7) Confrontation with police, (8) Verbal conflict with police, (9) Physical conflict with police, and (10) Non-violent walkabouts.

Demographic characteristics. Respondents’ characteristics such as age, gender, educational background and occupation accomplishment were included in the demographic characteristics. In addition, respondents were required to define their roles in Umbrella Movement between two options of actor and supporter.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Sample characteristics:

The first analysis examined the most frequent participated activities in Umbrella Movement, sit-in protest was found to be the highest reported activity ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 1.49$), followed by confrontation with police ($M = 2.49$, $SD = 1.57$) and riot gear preparation ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.53$) based on the current sample. By comparing the details of participation between actors and supporters, statistically significant differences were found in all participated activities by independent t-tests (all p 's $< .01$). For the supporters, material assistance ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.34$) and sit-in protests ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 1.15$) were found to be the most frequent reported activities; while for the actors, confrontation with police ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.12$) and riot gear preparation ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 1.29$) were the main participated activities in Umbrella Movement.

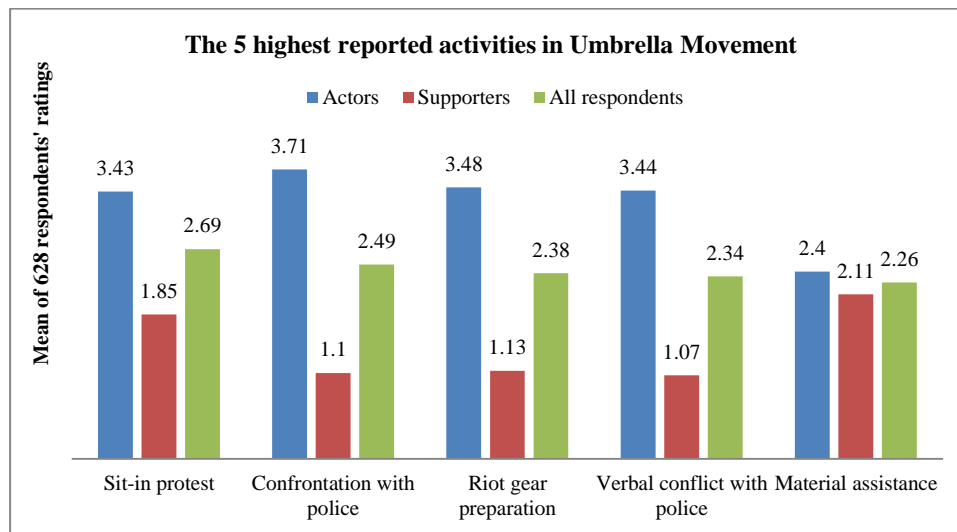


Fig 1: The 5 highest reported activities in Umbrella Movement.

An independent t-test confirmed that actors spent longer in Umbrella Movement than supporters, $t(433.607) = 32.34$, $p < .01$. Although there was a weak positive correlation between age and the length of participation, $r = .15$, $p < .01$, gender was not a factor in determining the length of participation ($p > .05$). But in fact, the length of participation seemed to be a negative factor influencing respondents' educational attainment and occupational accomplishment. By conducting one-way ANOVA, the results showed that the length of participation had a significant effect on educational attainment, $F(3, 624) = 15.88$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .07$. A further post hoc test, Tukey HSD test revealed that respondents who attained secondary educational level spent 10.30 days longer than respondents who attained Bachelor's educational level and 15.19 days longer than respondents who attained postgraduate educational level (p 's $< .01$). Likewise, respondents who attained post-secondary educational level took 10.78 days longer than respondents who attained Bachelor's educational level and 15.68 days longer than respondents who attained postgraduate level in the participation (p 's $< .01$). Again, the results of another one-way ANOVA indicated that the length of participation had a statistically significant effect on occupational accomplishment, $F(3, 624) = 18.07$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .08$. A Tukey HSD test confirmed that the employed respondents spent 24.29, 17.65 and 18.67 days longer than students, employed respondents and respondents who were both studied and employed respectively (p 's $< .01$).

4.2 Moral disengagement, self-control and daily behaviour were distinctly different between actors and supporters:

An independent t-test showed a statistically significant difference in moral disengagement between supporters and actors, $t(609.285) = 26.02$, $p < .01$, actors ($M = 105.34$, $SD = 19.86$) revealed a much higher level of moral disengagement than supporters ($M = 69.37$, $SD = 14.66$). Again, there were also statistically significant differences found in all loci of moral disengagement between actors and supporters by conducting independent t-tests. In each locus, the significant results indicated that the actors' moral control was much weaker than the supporters' (p 's $< .01$). At a deeper level, locus of recipient (Cohen's $d = 2.27$) and locus of outcome (Cohen's $d = 2.14$) were found to be the most significant, followed by the locus of behaviour (Cohen's $d = 1.20$) and locus of agency (Cohen's $d = .90$).

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics, t Statistics and Effect Sizes of Moral Disengagement, Self-Control and Daily Behaviour Checklist Based on Actors and Supporters

	Actor <i>M (SD)</i>	Supporter <i>M (SD)</i>	t-test	Effect Size Cohen's <i>d</i>
Moral disengagement scale	105.34 (19.86)	69.37 (14.66)	26.02**	2.06
Locus of behaviour	36.74 (8.90)	26.48 (8.18)	15.06**	1.20
Locus of agency	28.49 (6.25)	22.46 (7.10)	11.23**	0.90
Locus of outcome	12.64 (3.67)	6.36 (1.94)	27.23**	2.14
Locus of recipient	27.46 (7.45)	14.07 (3.76)	28.94**	2.27
Brief self-control scale	71.10 (13.17)	152.25 (9.03)	-88.78**	-7.19
Daily behaviour checklist				
Diligent behaviour	24.38 (5.34)	33.03 (5.43)	-20.10**	-1.61
Do homework and revision	1.49 (.86)	2.87 (1.52)	-13.79**	-1.12
Youth center activity	1.23 (.62)	2.57 (1.18)	-17.17**	-1.39
Religious activities	1.14 (.57)	2.44 (1.32)	-15.64**	-1.28
Delinquent behaviour	49.20 (12.38)	28.11 (6.34)	27.36**	2.14
Verbal bullying	3.13 (1.39)	1.19 (.56)	23.41**	1.83
Verbal conflict with teacher or boss	2.78 (1.23)	1.27 (.56)	20.23**	1.58
Verbal conflict with family	2.43 (1.10)	1.10 (.34)	21.14**	1.63

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

A highly significant difference was also found in self-control between the two groups, $t(626) = -88.78$, $p < .01$. The independent t-test indicated that actors' self-control ($M = 71.10$, $SD = 13.17$) was much weaker than supporters' ($M = 152.25$, $SD = 9.03$). Another interesting result came from the daily behaviour checklist. Actors were more likely to engage in delinquent behaviour than supporters, ($p < .01$) whereas supporters were more prone to involve in diligent behaviour ($p < .01$).

To dig into details, the results indicated that supporters were more likely to participate in diligent behaviour such as doing homework and revision ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 1.52$), youth center activities ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 1.18$) and religious activities ($M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.32$). Actors were more likely to engage in delinquent behaviours, including verbal bullying ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.39$), verbal conflict with teacher or boss ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 1.23$) and verbal conflict with family ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 1.10$).

4.3 Self-control was potentially weakened by the extent of moral disengagement:

In order to understand the relationship between moral disengagement and self-control, a multiple regression analysis was run to predict the impact of the loci of moral disengagement on self-control and a statistically significant result was found, $F(4, 623) = 311.07$, $p < .01$, adjusted $R^2 = .664$. The results indicated that self-control can be statistically significant regressed on locus of behaviour ($\beta = -.162$, $p < .01$), locus of outcome ($\beta = -.304$, $p < .01$) and locus of recipient ($\beta = -.454$, $p < .01$), but not on locus of agency since $p > .05$. The regression equation was able to explain about 66.4% of the variations in the observed data, it is noteworthy that there was no obvious change from the R^2 to the adjusted R^2 (.666 versus .664), thus indicating the model revealed only a little lose in predictive power.

4.4 Daily behaviour was affected by self-control:

The following analyses aimed to use linear regression analysis to investigate whether daily behaviour within the recent three months can be predicted by self-control. Based on the 628 respondents in the research sample, the results of the linear regression model were able to significantly predict daily delinquent behaviour by self-control, $F(1, 626) = 917.17$, $p < .01$ and the equation explained 59.4% of the variance (both R^2 and adjusted $R^2 = .594$). Thus, the regression analysis indicated that daily delinquent behaviour can be negatively predicted by self-control ($\beta = -.771$, $p < .01$), meaning that the weaker the self-control, the more delinquent behaviour was found in our sample. Again, another linear regression analysis revealed that diligent behaviour was positively predicted by self-control ($\beta = .650$, $p < .01$), $F(1, 626) = 458.80$, $p < .01$ and the regression equation can explain about 42.2% of the variation. Thus, indicating the higher the self-control, more likely to engage in diligent behaviour.

5. DISCUSSION

The objective of this study was to scrutinize the relationship between moral and self through Umbrella Movement. In any given situations, the conflict between socially right and morally wrong is a dilemma for most adults, even less the young people? For the youths, participation in Umbrella Movement could be a cynical way to widen their socio-political arena (Bandura, 2006). The moral standard is an invisible guideline for conduct (Wittgenstein, 1953) and self-control is a hidden system detaches physical behaviour from mental thinking (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 2008). In this study, these psychological elements were highly significant differences between actors and supporters. Although the supporters were to be in the same line with the actors, their actions were inconsistent. The supporters endorsed the collective action spiritually by offering material assistances and sitting-in the protest but kept their participation to a lesser degree; whereas the actors partook in the collective action physically by defending against and confronting with the suppressors in order to struggle against social injustice and went on the pro-democratic mission. The present results offered substantial support for this view; and the findings expand the empirical extension for previous literatures about Umbrella Movement.

Based on the demographic characteristics in our sample, age and gender did not have any obvious impact on participation. However, the findings showed that the length of participation made a negative impact on subsequent educational attainment and occupation accomplishment. The longer the respondents participated in Umbrella Movement, the more likely to suffer from early school leaving and unstable employment. In a classical approach, adolescent delinquency was found to be crucial for school dropouts, unemployment and thus negative life chances (Laub & Sampson, 1994). In a similar vein, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) also suggested that delinquent behaviour is the strongest predictor of poor educational outcome and poor working attitude. But, in reality, even if there were a small number of people who engaged in Umbrella Movement were being prosecuted, the majority is not being labelled as criminal by our society. Regrettably, our analysis did show that the length of participation placed an obstacle to positive individual development. Thus, the causal link of participation in Umbrella Movement and life course development seemed not able to be explained by sociological factors. Rather, our model substantiated several psychological factors entered into the discussion.

Our study firmly vindicated that a sophisticated cognitive system is necessary to guide moral behaviour in the first place, and self-control is conditional upon moral judgement (Wikstrom & Bouhana, 2016; Wikstrom & Treiber, 2009). According to our findings, self-control was significantly negatively predicted by three loci of moral disengagement. In other words, the larger the extent of moral disengagement, the lower the self-control is resulted. Among the four loci, recipient locus was the strongest variable to weaken self-control, followed by the outcome locus and behaviour locus. In our regression equation, the agency locus was a non-significant variable. McAlister, Bandura and Owen (2006) noticed that the agency locus is a built-in policy of military force, thus our sample provided exemptions from the obligation. At the very beginning of Umbrella Movement, people kept calling upon to join the protest, people's moral control seemed to have put into the test. At the behaviour locus, statements like "We took action to reclaim what belongs to the people" (Wong, 2015, p. 45) and "Class boycotting is a moral calling" (Wong & Chung, 2016, p. 871) are powerful sanitized language to justify the socially wrong into morally right. "We should pay a cost by capturing and determining our future" (Wong & Chung, 2016, p. 871) minimized and distorted the possible consequences at the outcome locus. At the recipient locus, thought such as "We had to do radical action because our leaders did nothing" (Beech & Rauhala, 2014, p. 18) was the actuation point that turned angers into inhumane action towards the innocent law enforcers. These situational factors were powerful cues initiate action, the choice of participation or non-participation was strongly depended on the tenacity of personal moral standard. Self-control is the secondary psychological element to break through the conflict between choices and lead to a final decision (Wikstrom & Treiber, 2009). A breakdown in self-control can potentially bring impulse and emotion misregulation in the long run (Heartherton & Baumeister, 1996). Our findings suggested that unruly behaviour was predicted by low self-control while diligent behaviour was predicted by high self-control. Coincidentally, the highest reported delinquent behaviours in our sample, verbal bullying with family and verbal conflicting with teachers or boss seemed to be the stumbling stone to progress successful educational attainment and occupational accomplishment. Overriding impulse and emotion is a fundamental human ability. However, "depletion inhibits inhibition" (Maranges & Baumeister, 2016, p. 46) and thus the first impulse misregulation reinforce more intensive emotional effect. Even though self-control depletion does not impair intelligence activities, the later controlled cognition and decision making process are being impaired consequentially (Vohs, Baumeister, & Schmeichel, 2012). An ample self-control system keeps people away from intuitive heuristics, thus maintaining logical reasoning and effortful controlled cognition (Vohs et al., 2008).

6. CONCLUSION

Umbrella Movement is the largest collective action ever happened in Hong Kong. The event illustrated that the powers of crowds can never be underestimated, collective action can happen once a broad consensus for perceived social injustice is held (Bartol & Bartol, 2014). Literally, the crowd is no different from a herd of sheep, individuals within a crowd are easily swayed by situational and contextual cues (LeBon, 1896), even educated people can become immoral and irrational (Diener, 1980). Thus, moral and self-control become the stable personal factors to resist the motivation in participating collective action apart from situational factors. Ultimately, there is a bi-directional relationship between society and individual. "Social problem are the products of individuals with psychological dispositions to act out,, imperfect social institutions also generate the dispositions in individual to act this way" (Smelser, 1989, p. 8).

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