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*'DEFENDING THE RIGHTS'. An integrated model of
collective action for "public water" in Italy.*

Presentata da: Davide Mazzoni

Coordinatore Dottorato

prof.ssa Monica Rubini

Relatore

prof.ssa Elvira Cicognani

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To my wife, Linda

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INTRODUCTION

In many communities, supplying water and sanitation for the people is a huge task and the fact that these essential services can be carried out by the private sector is a debated issue. Moreover, in the “developed world”, citizens often take their right to water for granted, so that only a minority decides to contribute to its defense. Through this dissertation we will focus our attention on the mechanisms through which a “perceived rights violation” - which represents a specific form of perceived injustice which derives from the violation of absolute moral principles – can promote collective action. With specific regard to the right to water, in the different chapters, this innovative concept (and measure) will interplay with ‘classical predictors’ of collective action, toward the final goal of explaining collective action in defense of human rights.

We must recognize that questions about what mobilizes people to participate in collective action, were raised from the foundation of social sciences and numerous explanations have been already offered (e.g., Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Klandermans, 1997, 2004; Marx & Wood, 1975; McPhail, 1971; Stürmer & Simon, 2004a; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). For example, instrumental-oriented approaches emphasized judgments of the costs and benefits of collective action (Klandermans, 1997; Simon *et al.*, 1998) as well as group members’ perceived efficacy to solve group-related problems such as collective disadvantage (Bandura, 1995, 1997; Mummendey *et al.*, 1999).

However, this conceptualization of the potential participant as someone who rationally weighs up costs and benefits has been rapidly challenged as atomistic (e.g. Friedman & McAdam, 1992) and this criticism has led to an increasing interest, among collective action scholars, in the social identity approach which emphasized the pivotal role of group identification in collective action (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987). According to Social Identity Theory, social identification represents a more inclusive form of self-interpretation in terms of a particular group membership (“we” or “us”) than does personal or individual identification (“I” or “me”). In regard to collective action, the Social Identity approach suggests that when members of a lower status group perceive the intergroup status differential to be illegitimate and unstable, they are more likely to identify with their group and engage in collective action to change the intergroup status differential (Ellemers, 1993; Tajfel, 1978; Turner & Brown, 1978). In this sense, the willingness of members of a disadvantaged group to engage in collective action increases with increasing group identification.

If Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) focused on the degree to which group members perceive their disadvantage as group based and unfair, the role played by injustices has been analyzed also by the group of “deprivation” theories. These approaches share the interest for a perceived disadvantage (e.g. Runciman, 1966) and according to them, people involved in various forms of collective action react to a perceived “subjective” disadvantage, rather than to an “objective” one (e.g. Postmes, Branscombe, Spears, & Young, 1999; Walker & Smith, 2002).

In contrast to the classic view on emotion in collective action (as individual or dysfunctional responses; e.g., Le Bon, 1895/1995; Oberschall, 1973), the contemporary view of group-based emotions – based on Social Identity and Relative Deprivation theories - assumes that they are functional responses to situations that are relevant to one’s group. More specific to collective action, when injustices are perceived, emotions like anger should motivate collective action because they invoke specific action tendencies to redress the unfair deprivation (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008).

Rather than seeing each approach to collective action as offering a competing explanation, we stress here the usefulness of viewing them as complementary. Moreover, our main suggestion is that the perceived violation of important moral principles, largely understudied in the literature, can profitably integrate previous approaches, in order to better explain collective action behaviors (e.g. Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & Van Dijk, 2009; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2011a). Each chapter of this dissertation represents an attempt in this direction, even considering the specific aims and methodologies adopted.

Chapter 1 provides the reader with a preliminary theoretical framework, anticipating some of the innovative contribution of this dissertation. Firstly, it describes the context of the following studies, starting from the main stages of the liberalization process of water supplies in Italy. The chapter focuses also on the recent mobilization and referendum for “public water”, describing role played by the Italian Water Movement. Moreover, through a literature review, Chapter 1 introduces the potential role that moral convictions can play in collective action processes. Finally, the issue of the “right to water” is presented, introducing the main theoretical questions answered by the following chapters.

Chapter 2 presents an exploratory study aimed to identify the range of motives for collective action shared by activists of the Italian Movement for ‘Public Water’. In-depth interviews were conducted with 28 activists and were qualitatively analyzed. Five main motivational categories are presented: defending the right to water, preserving community ties, opposing to the Government and “water sellers”, preserving the environment, money interests. Each motive is based on a

specific representation of the issue of water and privatization process. The chapter provides an embryonic discussion of some important concepts for the subsequent chapters, like the relationship between activists and the larger community, and – of course – the right to water.

Moving beyond existing literature, in Chapter 3 we propose that, among activists, the perceived violation of human rights (like the right to water) increases identification with the social movement that defend that right (e.g., the Water Movement), which influences subsequent activism. Moreover, we propose that individual efficacy beliefs and the integration with the larger community are distinct predictors of movement identification. Using a quantitative survey among 153 Italian activists, results partially confirm our hypotheses: structural equation modeling shows that right violation and individual (but not group) efficacy uniquely influence movement identification, which in turn predicts activism.

If findings from previous chapters demonstrate how the perceived rights violation can motivate to act as water activists, they do not explain which are the antecedents and emotional consequences of rights violation. In Chapter 4 we suggest that rights violation can derive both from personal values (i.e. universalism) and external factors (i.e. a mobilization campaign). Furthermore, we suggest that rights violation, together with a perceived personal disadvantage can enhance anger. Such emotion forms the basis for group formation enhancing the identification with the Water Movement. Results from an on-line survey largely support these innovative hypotheses.

Through Chapter 5 we move a step further, trying to verify if a mobilization campaign based on “rights violation messages”, can really enhance anger and identification. We suggest that anger can be elicited both by perceptions of moral and instrumental injustices, but that especially anger which derives from the violation of a human right (i.e. moral) more than from a personal disadvantage (i.e. instrumental), can predict identification with the Water Movement and activism. Even in this case, results from face-to-face interviews (after exposure to communication materials) confirm our hypothesis.

Chapter 6 will conclude the group of studies of this dissertation, extending our predictions also to intentions to vote at the referendum. In details this final study demonstrates that the intention to vote YES at the referendum was not only a matter of past activism and political orientation, but also that further instrumental and moral reasons were important. Indeed, the chapter shows that the perceived sacredness of the right to water, the disadvantages from the privatization process and group efficacy beliefs have a significant effect on vote intentions.

The final chapter tries to summarize and discuss the main findings, suggesting some innovative line of research.

CHAPTER 1

Morality, human rights and collective action for “public water”

We are here because we know water is not only a basic necessity, it is a human right.

Without water, there is no life.

Yet hundreds of millions of people do not have access to safe, clean water.

Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary-General, 22 September 2010

1.1. The liberalization of water supply in Italy

In Italy, the process of liberalization in water services management has gone through a series of laws which gradually allowed to transform the previous municipal corporations into companies also with the presence of private companies. A turning point was the Law 36/1994, better known as ‘Legge Galli’. Some aspects of this law represented important innovations (considered positive on many fronts), like the explicit reference to safeguarding water as a natural heritage for future generations. Anyway, this law introduced at least two innovative points, object of criticism. The first one was the transformation of the public water service, into service based on individuals’ demand, with the introduction of the “full cost recovery”, that means securing funding for all

investment and exercises costs, by water tariffs. The second one was the introduction of the “adequate return” on invested capital, among the costs to cover with the tariffs. According to the supporters of the public management, these two points in fact opened the doors to a gradual privatization process which took place in the following years (Bersani, 2011).

After a decade of laws on this topic (Law n. 492/92; Law n. 448/2001; Law n. 269/2003) in Italy different types of water services management coexisted (with public capital or mixed), conducted by joint-stock companies (for more details: Azzariti *et al.*, 2009; Bersani, 2011; Ronchi, 2011; Molinari & Jampaglia, 2010). The last legislative action was the so-called “Ronchi Decree” (art. 23bis of the Law n. 133/2208 and subsequent changes). With this law, the reliance on private entities or public-private entities, in water supplies management, was established in at least 40%.

1.2 The Water Movement in Italy

As reaction to this process of liberalization, several networks of local committees, civil society groups and citizens’ associations, joined together within the Italian Water Movement, one of the largest participative phenomena in the recent decades, in support of a public management of water resources. Its origins can be partially traced to the previous experience of the No-Global Movement, expressed during the G8 in Genoa in 2001 (Bersani, 2011). At that time, the issue of water supply in Italy was “embryonic”, topic of interest for some associations like the Italian Committee for the World Water Contract. However, at the international level the attention was already high, especially for the problematic situation in some countries (e.g. Bolivia).

In 2003, a first collaboration started between the association Attac Italia, Italian Committee for the World Water Contract, and some NGOs active in environmentalism and cooperation, which gave birth to the first Alternative World Water Forum. This international meeting provided support for the regional protests in Tuscany. At the same time, the mobilization extended to other Regions (Sicily, Abruzzo, Campania, Lombardy) so that in 2005 several associations and territorial committees (among others: Attac Italia, Italian Committee for the World Water Contract, FpCgil, Arci, Sincobas, Confederazione Cobas, Abruzzo Social Forum, Tuscanian Network for Water) promoted a call to organize the first Italian Forum of Water Movements, which took place in Rome the following year. In 2007, 70 networks and national organizations adhered to a signature collection which was organized for proposing a popular initiative law about water supplies. In 2008, a campaign to introduce in Municipalities’ statutes the definition of water as “commons and

universal human right” and the definition of water service as “without economic value” started. In the same year, the second Italian Forum of Water Movements took place. Finally, after several initiatives to obstruct its Parliamentary approval, in 2010 the “referendum machine” started with the main aim of abrogating the Ronchi Decree (see above).

From April 24th to July 10th 2010, one million four hundred thousand signatures were collected, through a large mobilization campaign in many local communities in the entire Country. About one year later, starting from March 2011, the second part of the referendum campaign took place, convincing more than 27 millions of people to go to vote on June 12nd and 13rd. According to estimates (Bersani, 2011), more than 4.000.000 Italian citizens participated in this campaign, and among them, 60 % were at their first experience.

1.3 Human Rights and Water Supply

Even if this dissertation does not focus on the liberalization process and its concrete consequences, it’s worth to spend a few words to contextualize the Italian phenomenon as part of a larger Wide World issue. Indeed, supplying water and sanitation for the people is everywhere a huge task and an expensive one. Whether these essential services are best carried out by governments or by the private sector is a much-debated question among policy makers, experts and citizens (UN, 2010a).

In several parts of the World, some highly visible instances of private sector participation have determined a vigorous debate, criticism and high scrutiny over the formal private sector, focusing more on water than sanitation. On the one side, some argue that water is a public good and a unique resource essential for life and health and thus should remain in the public domain. Critics often point to instances where private sector participation is perceived to have failed, arguing that the quality of services has decreased, since agreed coverage targets have not been met, processes have not been transparent and prices have increased substantially. Conversely, others argue that the private sector can contribute to the necessary investments in the sector, and thus extend coverage to currently underserved areas, as well as increase service quality and efficiency, contribute with skills and technologies, and provide services at low prices (de Albuquerque, 2010).

Human rights are neutral to economic models in general¹ and models of service provision more specifically. For example, the report of the High Commissioner already pointed out that “the approach of United Nations treaty bodies and special procedures has been to stress that the human rights framework does not dictate a particular form of service delivery and leaves it to States to determine the best ways to implement their human rights obligations” (A/HRC/6/3, par. 52). The various forms of delegating service provision are viable options that each State can consider, but obviously the importance attributed to human rights is still relevant. The delegation of water and sanitation service delivery (e.g. to companies) does not exempt the State from its human rights obligations. Traditionally, human rights are concerned with the relationship between the State and the individual. They impose obligations on States and endow individuals with rights. While the State is directly accountable for the provision of services in the case of direct management, when a third actor becomes involved, the lines of accountability become more complex. Indeed, when opting for this form of service delivery, the State should adopt specific measures which take account of the involvement of non-State actors to ensure that the rights to sanitation and water are not compromised. Indeed, the State cannot exempt itself from its human rights obligations by involving non-State actors in service provision (de Albuquerque, 2010).

Moreover, as we will demonstrate also through this dissertation, Human Rights, for their moral value, are important not only for the States, but also from the citizens’ and activists’ perspective. Human rights are often conceived as (cross-cultural) moral norms (e.g., Wellman, 2010) or ethic universal principles guiding human actions (Blau & Moncada, 2009) and intergroup relations (Doise, 2002). Put differently, human rights represent moral issues that ought to be universal not only in an “objective sense” but also in individuals’ minds (i.e., moral convictions). The right to water, for instance, has been regarded as a critical issue in problems of water resources, but authors typically discussed it from economical and political perspectives (CESCR, 2002; UN, 2010a) with rare exceptions (see Lam, 1999). In this sense, if we do not suggest that the right to water is a prerogative confined to activists for “public water” (since human rights are neutral to economic models), we emphasize that the perceived violation of the right to water represents a way through which moral convictions can promote identification and participation in the Water Movement.

¹ See: Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights –CESCR , general comment No. 3 (1990) on the nature of States parties obligations , para. 8.

2. Morality and collective action

Introduced by Piaget and Kohlberg, moral reasoning was originally conceived from a developmental perspective, starting from considering differences among individuals in understanding the kinds of considerations which represents “morality” (Kohlberg, 1984). With age and experience in moral reasoning, people develop a morality characterized by impersonal and generalizable rules. According to studies on moral development, “moral convictions” are often defined as evaluations based on perceptions of morality and immorality, of what is “right” or “wrong” (Reicher & Emler, 1984; Skitka, Bauman, & Sargis, 2005). The fact that issues that people see under a moral light can motivate them to act in defense of their rights, or to react against what they consider deeply unjust, showed from the beginning its potential in linking morality with a broad range of political and group behaviors (e.g. for a review: Skitka, 2010).

In details, collective action is sometimes defined as an action that people take as group members, with the specific aim of improving group’s conditions, more than individual’s (e.g. Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990; Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). Haan, Smith and Block (1968) were the first to demonstrate that the typology of moral development proposed by Kohlberg (1984; Kohlberg & Candee, 1984) was associated with ideology and activism. These authors investigated moral development in 500 university students, classifying them in 5 groups corresponding to different moral stages. The two groups with a more advanced moral development (“principled moral reasoners”) were members of a broader number of organizations and movements, and they were generally more active on socio-political issues even through several forms of protest (Haan *et al.*, 1968). Moving from the assumption that participation in several forms of collective action can sometimes be considered an example of coral action (Haan *et al.*, 1968; Gross, 1994; 1995), other authors studied collective action in relation with individuals’ cognitive and moral development (Merelman 1977; Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979; Nassi, Abramowitz, & Youmans, 1983; Gross, 1995; Muhlberger, 2000). However, if it is now clear that moral reasoning development is necessary in several forms of political activism, it cannot be considered a sufficient condition for collective action, since it neglects other important psychosocial processes (Gross, 1994).

In the last decades, researchers on protest and social movements tried to go beyond the concept of “moral development”, adopting alternative conceptualizations of moral convictions and trying to integrate them in more complex models of collective action (e.g. Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a). Some authors referred to this growing body of research as a “return” of moral convictions (e.g Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2011c),

even if, till now, the different approaches and their implications for the study of collective action have not been examined systematically. Through a brief literature review, next paragraphs describe three main approaches which investigated the role played by moral convictions in facilitating collective action, conceptualizing them as a selective incentive for participation, as part of a shared ideology, or as inviolable principles. After describing the theoretical framework, for each approach the specific operationalization of moral convictions and the related results are presented.

2.1. Morality as a selective incentive for participation

Starting from the influential work by Olson (1965), moral convictions have been often conceived as selective incentives which derive from taking part in collective action. According to rational choice theory, authors suggested that individuals are inclined to take decisions and actions in order to maximize personal gains and reduce losses (e.g. Opp, 1999). This conception influenced many sociological works and theories of collective action which emphasized individual rationality (Klandermans, 1984; McGarty & Zald, 1977; Simon *et al.*, 1998).

Some of these works focused on the “free-rider” problem, which takes place when people (conceived as rational individuals) decide whether or not to engage in collective action. The problem arises from the fact that all people can benefit from collective goods. According to this line of thought, individual rationality suggests that there is no gain, in terms of costs/benefits, in taking part in collective action because it is possible to benefit from the results, without wasting energies and personal resources. In other terms, “free riding” represents a good option. A possible solution to this problem is represented by selective incentives, which are benefits that participants can obtain only through their participation (Olson, 1965).

Selective incentives can be classified according to the way they influence decisions (Marwell & Oliver, 1993; Opp, Voss, & Gern, 1995), distinguishing, for example, between material, social and moral selective incentives (Olson, 1965; Gross, 1997; Van Stekelenburg, 2012). Material incentives can consist of tangible rewards (e.g. payments) for participating, or disincentives for non participating. Social incentives are benefits (or costs) related with participation (or non-participation) which derive from relationships with other people, for example in terms of honor or respect, or simply pleasure from doing things together. Moral incentives, relevant for this work, derive from the inner feeling of “doing the right thing” (Van Stekelenburg, 2012). For example, people who take part in collective action moved by moral motives, can gain benefits for self-

esteem, in terms of self-approval or admiration. On the other hand, people who decide not to behave according to their own moral convictions, could experience a “cost” due to violation of some interiorized moral norms (Opp, Voss & Gern, 1995).

First generation authors (e.g. Olson, 1965) were inclined to emphasize the importance of material incentives (defined “hard”), but going on researchers showed the limits of this approach, stressing the important role played also by “soft” moral and social incentives (Chong, 1991; Opp, 1986; Opp *et al.*, 1995; Gross, 1997). For example, in the context of the protests which took place in East-Germany in 1989, Opp *et al.* (1995) showed that especially social and moral incentives helped people in overcoming fear of repression and motivated them to engage in protest even without guarantees of success. This shift from a “narrow” theory of rational action to a “broader” one, has been described in the literature both from a theoretical and methodological point of view (Opp, 1999).

Indeed, if Olson (1965, p. 61) considered quite difficult to measure social and psychological incentives, other authors obtained interesting results (e.g. Gross, 1995; Finkel & Muller, 1998; Collom, 2011). A clear example of how moral incentives for collective action can be measured, is offered by Gross (1995), where the author asked participants to evaluate the relative importance of a series of incentives. Following the moral development theory, the investigators presented three typologies of moral incentives for participation: normative incentives of personal identity (e.g. being a good example or expiating a guilt), normative incentives of good citizenship (e.g. doing my duty as a good citizen or working for a political change), and normative incentives of universal or moral duty (e.g. protecting rights and dignity of other people). The first two types of moral incentives reflect the “need of being a good person” to their own eyes and to others (Kohlberg, 1984, p. 174) and to preserve self-image. This includes also the desire of doing his/her duty as a good citizen, of expiating a guilt or contributing to others’ well-being and represents a conventional moral perspective (Gross, 1995) On the other hand, incentives of “universal moral duty and social justice” describe incentives which promote political participation as commitment to the defense of post-conventional or post-material moral principles, clearly associated with a collective moral good. This includes the protection of others’ rights and of basic moral values. According to the work by Gross (1995) with activists pro- and anti-abortion (Illinois National Abortion Rights Action League e Pro-Life Action League) solidarity incentives showed the lowest scores, followed by material benefits, norms of personal identity, democratic participation and by the feeling of universal moral duty. Even if all three types of incentives (material/solidarity, normative of personal identity/citizenship, normative of universal moral duty) had a significant effect on activism,

material and solidarity incentives showed the stronger effect on “communal” participation (e.g. serving on a committee, helping in the office, or attending organizational events) and “militant” participation (e.g. recruiting new members, picketing). Effects of personal identity and universal moral norms are stronger on solitary participation (e.g. writing letters, signing petitions) and monetary (e.g. donations). Among normative incentives, norms of personal identity remained stronger than norms related with social justice and universal moral duty. Moreover, correlations between moral development and selective incentives confirmed that material, solidarity and personal identity incentives were associated with a pre-conventional morality and with lower moral competences, while norms of democratic participation and moral duty were related with a post-conventional morality.

2.2 Morality as a component of ideology

Following Klandermans (2004), the partial unsatisfaction for previous approaches, considered too rationalist and structural (Johnston & Klandermans, 1995; for a review: Snow & Benford, 2005) lead to a renewed attention for ideology in social movements. According to Klandermans (2004), individuals’ moral convictions can be described as part of a model which posits that individuals are not motivated only by instrumental/rational reasons. Summarizing most of sociological and psychosocial research on the topic, the author proposed three main processes sustaining collective action in social movements: instrumentality, identity and ideology. Instrumentality refers to an attempt of influencing the social and political environment. Identity refers to participation as a manifestation of identification with the group. Finally, ideology refers to social movement participation as a search for meaning and self-expression of convictions, included moral ones (Boekkooi, 2011; Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & Van Dijk, 2009; 2011).

Klandermans’ (2004) model takes into account both demand and supply sides of participation in social movements. In this sense, on one hand ideology represents participants’ point of view, while on the other hand social movements are vehicles of cognitive and emotional components of ideology which influence participants. In the work by Klandermans (2004) the concept of ideology is linked with approaches focused not only on moral reasoning, but also on culture, meanings, narratives and emotions (e.g. Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta, 2001). In the broad concept of ideology, also the “expressive” function of protest finds a place, which in the past was distinguished from the instrumental one (Gusfield, 1963). In this sense, “moral protest” (Jasper, 1997) is conceived as a

kind of symbolic action in order to protect and affirm some cultural values, more than to defend a group's status. A classical example is provided by the work by Clarke (1987), in which collective action against abortion is described in terms of expression and defense of cultural values, and not just in terms of individual's or group's interests.

Since morality represents just one aspect of ideology, according to this approach quantitative studies inspired to the model by Klandermans (2004), in fact, measured participants' moral convictions together with other components, like the feeling of personal responsibility and feelings of injustice (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; 2011). An example comes from the study by Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk (2011), which was conducted in the context of a protest against the Government's measure on anticipated retirement. Results showed that ideology was the most important predictor on the intention to join the protest, followed by identity and instrumentality. Moreover, the effect of ideology remained significant also after adding anger to the model (that is a partial mediator of ideology on participation) (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2011). A further study demonstrated that the motivational dynamics of individual protesters (ideology and instrumentality) are moderated by the social movement context (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009). In details, in a context characterized by a "value-oriented" protest (i.e. in a demonstration of the anti-neo-liberist "Turn the tide alliance") the intention of joining the protest was strongly influenced by ideology.

2.3 Moral principles as absolute beliefs

Even evaluating feelings of injustice, the model of collective action recently developed by some social psychologists (e.g. Van Zomeren, *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b; 2011c) attributes to moral convictions an independent and main role compared with other components of ideology. Among the different kinds of injustice which can promote collective action (Klandermans, 1997; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a) these authors focused on the specific injustice derived by the violation of important moral principles. In continuity with Folger (1986; 1987), Van Zomeren and colleagues studied moral convictions in relation with collective action, defining them as "strong and absolute belief that something is right or wrong, moral or immoral" (e.g., Skitka & Bauman, 2008, p. 31; Skitka & Mullen, 2002; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a). These convictions are personally perceived as absolute and are defended from any violations. The authors explicitly refer to the literature on "sacred values" (Tetlock, 2003). According to this line of thought, some values (e.g. human rights, the environment,

human life, etc.) are absolute, not-negotiable and inviolable, so that individuals will react with strength to every moral outrage which derives from a possible violation (Baron & Spranca, 1997; Tanner & Medin, 2004; Tetlock, Kristel, Elson, Green & Lerner, 2000; Lodewijkx, Kersten, & Van Zomeren, 2008).

Starting from the contribution by Skitka, Bauman and Sargis (2005), the authors developed brief scales (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011c) to measure moral convictions and their perceived absolute and universal nature. Results suggest that moral conviction can fruitfully integrate the previous Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). In details, SIMCA proposed that, on the basis of a relevant social identity, collective action was predicted by individuals' (politicized) identification, their group based anger, and their group efficacy beliefs. Van Zomeren *et al.* (2011a) integrated moral convictions in SIMCA as an important energizers of collective action and of the psychological processes that lead to it (i.e., politicized identification, group-based anger, group efficacy). For example, the authors demonstrated, through two studies, that moral convictions can facilitate identification with a relevant social group which, in turn, can facilitate signing a petition.

2.4 New lines of research

We can conclude that the study of moral convictions sustaining collective action represents a promising line of investigation from an interdisciplinary perspective. In this section, we discuss previous approaches in the light of some further research questions that the following chapters seek to answer.

Indeed, some studies stressed that, even if many people apparently sustain human rights, only a minority decides to act in order to defend them (e.g. Ellis, 2004). Going beyond the third approach (par. 2.3), the next chapters will emphasize - together with the explicit importance attributed to the moral principle – also the importance of the perceived violation of the rights (Lodewijkx *et al.*, 2008). In other words, like in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter, by Ban Ki-moon, people decide to defend a human right (the right to water), not only because it is an important principle (“without water, there is no life”), but also because this principle is violated (there are hundreds of millions of people who do not have access to safe, clean water). Going beyond the studies on human rights and participation, we suggest that it is not enough that people agree with human rights “in principles” or that they consider them as universal, but it is also necessary that

people perceive a possible violation. The importance attributed to this principle and its possible violation together promote identification with the movement and collective action. Studies with water activists test this hypothesis (see Chapters 3 - 5).

A second aspect to consider has to do with the relationship between moral convictions and other “classical” predictors of collective action, like efficacy and identification (e.g. Klandermans, 1997). In Chapter 2, the defense of the right to water spontaneously emerges among a collection of motives for being activists. In Chapter 3 we hypothesize that, when people take part in collective action motivated by moral reasons, group efficacy beliefs (e.g. obtain a collective success) become less important. This idea is in line with the ideology path to collective action (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009) and with the study by Zaal and colleagues (Zaal, Van Laar, Stahl, Ellemers & Derks, 2011), in which authors argue that when individuals perceive a sense of responsibility for reaching the shared goal (also for moral motivations), they are motivated because ‘if they do not do it, no one else will do it’, and they value more individual efficacy rather than group efficacy beliefs. Moreover, we suggest that the perceived ‘rights violation’ can enhance the identification with the movement.

A third question has to do with determinants of moral convictions which promote collective action. As we anticipated, moral development and rational choice theories stressed the role played by individuals’ moral convictions (Kohlberg, 1984; Olson, 1965) as determinants of collective action. On the other side, social movement research emphasized determinants of ideology offered by the social movement through socialization and identification with the social movement itself (e.g. Klandermans, 2004). Integrating both lines of thought, we suggest that the role played by moral convictions can be influenced by both internal and external factors. In details, in Chapter 4 we will test the hypothesis that the importance of a human right can be influenced by personal values (e.g. universalism), while the perception of its violation depends more on external factors (e.g. exposure to a mobilization campaign).

A further question has to do with emotions which can derive from the violation of a moral principle, and which can mediate collective action. In details, scholars already focused their attention on the role played by anger as affective component of perceived injustice (for a review: Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). In Chapter 4 we will test the hypothesis that perceived rights violation can predict anger. Anyway, research on anger and collective action usually did not distinguish between anger which derives from a moral injustice and feelings of anger which derive from a personal disadvantage (Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004; Goodwin *et al.*, 2004; Iyer *et*

al., 2007). In Chapter 5, we suggest that this distinction can help in collective action research, since the two kinds of anger can show a differential effect on identification with the social movement.

A final question has to do with the potential role of moral convictions in predicting other political behaviors (like voting at the referendum) which cannot be completely reduced to collective action models (e.g. Hobolt, 2009). In study 6 we suggest that, if political orientation is not enough to completely explain vote intentions, we suggest that the perceived sacredness of the right to water, together with other more instrumental factors, can provide an additional contribution.

CHAPTER 2

Water as a commons. A qualitative study on the motives for collective action among Italian Water Movement activists

*First they ignore you,
then they laugh at you,
then they fight you,
then you win.*
(Mahatma Gandhi)²

Introduction. The Italian Water Movement

Water is a commons, a natural resource, and has been recognized as a universal human right, even if hundreds of millions of people do not have access to safe, clean water (WHO & UNICEF, 2010). However, only a few people, all around the World are interested in how water service management contributes to or undermines the guarantee of an adequate water supply, and only a

² Cited in the webpage of the Italian Forum of Water Movements.

minority in the developed countries decide to voluntarily engage in some form of collective action toward the defence/implementation of the right to water (de Albuquerque, 2010; Bakker, 2007).

Supplying water and sanitation for the people is everywhere a huge task and whether these essential services are best carried out by governments or the private sector is a much-debated question. Starting from the early nineties, Italy has seen a process of liberalization in water services management through a series of norms which gradually transformed the former municipal corporations into companies with the presence of privates³. In the last decade several laws on water management have been approved, leading to a situation of coexistence between different types of water supplies management at regional and local levels, with an increasing presence of the private sector. A parallel development has been the constitution of several networks of local committees, civil society groups and citizens' associations, which more recently joined together within the Italian Water Movement, one of the largest participative phenomena in the recent decades, in support of a public management of water resources. After the approval of the "Ronchi Decree" (Law 166/2009) by the Italian Parliament, representing a step forward in the process of liberalization already started with other public water services (Azzariti *et al.*, 2009), the Water Movement launched a campaign titled "Water is not for sale". Its main objective was to ask for a legislative referendum in order to cancel three law articles, thus nullifying the effects of the Ronchi's Decree. In particular, the Water Movement explicitly opposed to the definition of water as a "service with economic value" (article 15 of Law Decree 135/09), strongly affirming the principle of water as a "commons", belonging to the citizens and the community.

From April 2010, the Water Movement launched a petition with the aim to collect the compulsory 500.000 signatures needed for the referendum realization. The initiative was successful, collecting over twice the number of needed signatures. As a consequence, the referendum took place in June 2011 and – thanks to an effective communication campaign based on a series of local initiatives – it was successful in reaching the quorum of 50% + 1 of eligible voters, and in obtaining population support for the abrogation of the law articles.

³ A turning point has been the Law 36/1994, better known as 'Legge Galli', which introduced important innovations (considered positive on many fronts), like the explicit reference to safeguarding water as a natural heritage for future generations. However, this law introduced at least two points which have been object of criticism. The first one is the transformation of the public water service, into service based on individuals' demand, with the introduction of the "full cost recovery", that means securing funding for all investment and exercises costs, by water tariffs. The second one is the introduction of the "adequate return" on invested capital, among the costs to cover with the tariffs. According to the supporters of the public management, these two points in fact opened the doors to a gradual privatization process which took place in the following years (Bersani, 2011).

This study is the first to focus on the analysis of this particular movement, and will present an explorative study involving a group of water activists and supporters, with the aim to identify the motives for their participation in collective action. Results are discussed in the light of psychosocial literature on collective action and community psychology perspectives on participatory processes.

Motives for collective action

The literature on the motives for taking part in several kinds of collective action is large and heterogeneous and covers different disciplines, including political science, sociology, social psychology, community and liberation psychology (e.g., Singleton & Taylor, 1992; Klandermans, 1997; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a; Mannarini & Fedi, 2009). In the psychosocial domain, collective action is defined as a specific form of participation where individuals undertake actions as group members, with the aim to improve the group's conditions (e.g., Wright *et al.*, 1990). Different behaviors can be classified as collective action, ranging from participation in protest demonstrations and strikes to seemingly individualistic acts such as signing a petition (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

In the last decades, perspectives on collective action demonstrated the role of different factors influencing individuals' involvement (Gamson, 1992; Klandermans, 1997; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). For example, instrumental explanations of collective action emphasize self-interests and individual calculation of costs and benefits (e.g., Klandermans, 1984). Instrumentality implies also an effective movement, that is able to enforce some wanted changes or at least to mobilize substantial support (Klandermans, 2004). In line with this orientation, efficacy is also one of the key instrumental explanations of collective action: people engage in collective action if they believe this will make it more likely that relevant goals are achieved. Consistently with this, Mummendey *et al.* (1999) proposed that group efficacy, defined as the shared belief that one's group can resolve its grievances through unified effort, is a proximal predictor of collective action (see Bandura, 1995).

Other approaches like relative deprivation theory (e.g., Runcinam, 1966; Stouffer, Suchman, De Vinney, Start, & Williams, 1949; Walker & Smith, 2002) and social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Ellemers, 2002) focused on the role of injustice and identity variables in collective action. Several authors (e.g. Runciman, 1966; Smith & Ortiz, 2002) agree with the idea that collective action is likely when people experience fraternal, or group-based, deprivation, more than individual. Indeed, there is a conceptual "coherence" between the intergroup comparisons on

which group-based deprivation is based and the group interests which can orient collective action (Postmes, Branscombe, Spears, & Young, 1999).

If Klandermans (1997) distinguished a specific form of injustice described as the “violation of a principle” which can promote collective action, more recently other authors (Lodewijkx *et al.*, 2008; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b) strengthened the idea that moral convictions can play an important normative role in predicting collective action. This approach has been sometimes linked with the renewed interest in the study of “ideology” (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009) and with the studies on environmentalism (e.g. Stern *et al.*, 1999). Indeed, it is now clear that social movements play a significant role in the diffusion of shared representations and values, even if not all ideas have the same potential to motivate collective action (e.g. Klandermans, 2004).

For a long time, these various perspectives on collective action coexisted side-by-side, as if they were mutually independent (Van Zomeren, *et al.*, 2008). More recently, several attempts have been done to incorporate these groups of variables in complex models (Klandermans, 1997; 2004; Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). Among them, Van Zomeren and Spears (2009) proposed a classification which summarizes the previous research on activists’ motivations, based on the three Tetlock’s (2002) metaphors of social functionalism. In particular, the authors distinguished three types of activists based on their motivations. For people described as “intuitive economists” both individual cost-benefit calculations (e.g., Klandermans, 1984; Stürmer & Simon, 2004a) and group efficacy beliefs (e.g., Mummendey *et al.*, 1999; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004) represent motivations for collective action. “Intuitive economists” defend their individual self-interests and are interested in maximizing subjective utility (see Olson, 1968). Group-based “intuitive politicians” have group interests at the heart; the key of this metaphor is the motivation to achieve social change despite intergroup differences in power (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). Finally, individuals described as “theologians” can be motivated also by a perceived threat to “sacred” norms and values (Tetlock, 2002). The authors suggested that the three types of motivations are associated with a different degree of commitment and identification with the activists’ group. While individual-based motivations (intuitive economists) reflect low identifiers’ motivation for collective action, the group-based motivations (intuitive politicians and theologians) reflect high identifiers’ motivations for collective action.

Activism and sense of community

From another perspective, also Community Psychology scholars investigated different forms of citizen participation and activism, adopting other constructs to explain motivation to participate. Community can also be described as a dynamic social group that shares problems and interests in a specific space and time (Montero, 1984) and the concept of 'sense of community' fundamentally refers to an individual's experience of community life (Hyde & Chavis, 2007; Mannarini & Fedi, 2009). Even if in the literature there is no agreement about the relation between the different components of sense of community, McMillan and Chavis (1986) distinguished four dimensions: Membership, Influence, Shared Emotional Connection, Integration and Fulfillment of Needs. Membership specifically refers to the feeling of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness. Influence is the opportunity of individuals to participate to community life, giving their own contribution in a reciprocal relationship. Shared Emotional Connection is based on a sense of shared history, and the bonds developed over time through positive relationships with other community members. Integration and Fulfillment of Needs refers to the benefits that people derive from their membership to a community. More recently, other authors emphasized the importance of "integration", a similar construct which has been described (within the notion of social well-being) as the evaluation of the quality of one's relationship to society and community. Integration is therefore the extent to which people feel they have something in common with others who constitute their social reality (e.g., their neighborhood), as well as the degree to which they feel that they belong to their communities and society (Keyes, 1998).

For its motivating power, a positive sense of community is considered as a catalyst for social involvement and participation in the community (e.g., Chavis & Wandersman 1990; Davidson & Cotter 1986; Perkins *et al.*, 1990) and evidence of the connection between sense of community and participation has been generally consistent across cultures and social groups (e.g., Brodsky *et al.*, 1999; Liu & Besser 2003; Perkins, Brown, & Taylor, 1996; Prezza *et al.*, 2001; Albanesi, Cicognani, & Zani, 2007; Cicognani *et al.*, 2008).

The current research

Given the lack of empirical research on the psychosocial factors sustaining the Water Movement, in the first study of this dissertation we present a qualitative and exploratory study,

involving members of the Local Committee of the Water Movement in C., a large city in the North-East part of Italy. The Committee was formally established in December 2009, and from April to July 2010 it contributed to the collection with about 4.000 signatures. The situation of water services management in C. was particularly interesting since it was characterized by a state of transition, in which water services were no more completely public, but not yet completely private. The main aim of this study was to identify, starting from the activists' point of view, the motives underlying the recent collective mobilization for "public water".

Participants

We collected the data in July 2010, at the final stage of signature collection. The sample included 28 activists: 8 women and 20 men. The mean age was 42 years (min. 26, max. 67 years old). At the moment of the interview all the participants were living in the same province of C., but 5 of them were born in a different Italian region.

All participants were activists and had signed the referendum petition, but they differed by the level of commitment and responsibilities. Among them, 5 males and 3 females were highly committed in the Water Movement activities: they took part in most of the committee activities, participating to almost all the organizing meetings and producing communication materials (slides, videos, internet website). They can be considered the leaders, even if they describe themselves as "spoken persons" and "coordinators". Other participants (12 males and 2 females) helped in the realization of the stands or contributed in narrower ways to the campaign success. They presented specific agendas to public institutions to which they belonged, or organized some informative events in their workplace. They usually described themselves simply as "water activists" and "committee members". Finally, 3 males and 3 females referred a lower participation in the movement activities: they adhered to the campaign signing the petition and getting informed on the topic by personal readings or by participating to public conferences. They described themselves as "movement supporters" and were included in the sample because they exemplified a significant form of active involvement for the Movement's purposes.

As regards participants' involvement in political and civic organizations, seven activists were also active supporters of opposition political parties, while 16 were members of NGOs interested in environmental issues, social promotion, degrowth and human rights. Five participants were citizens not active in NGOs or political parties.

Procedure

In-depth interviews were carried out, focusing on participants' point of view on factors and motives which led them to the involvement in the Italian Water Movement. The core interview question was "Can you tell me what motives you have for taking part in Water Movement actions?". During the interview, participants had also the opportunity to express freely their views and feelings about the issues of water and privatization and on other related topics they considered important.

All interviews were conducted by the author and the duration ranged from a minimum of about twenty five to a maximum of fifty minutes. Interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim. The interview was accompanied by a brief questionnaire including personal information (sex, age, region of birth, political parties and associations membership) and a list of potential activities the participants took part.

Data analysis

On the data collected, qualitative analysis was conducted, in order to better capture the complexity by which activists make meaning of their behaviors (Maracek, Fine, & Kidder, 1997; Borshuk, 2004). Using the comparative method, we tried to identify and describe the conceptual categories emerging from the data and their reciprocal relationships (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The analysis begun identifying the most basic concepts, through a process of line-by-line coding, comparing short paragraphs against others for similarities and differences. This process was then followed by categorization. For example, the category "good quality of water" resulted from the concepts like "good pipe materials", "no pollutants" and "adequate controls", and was characterized by the property of "universalism" (i.e. it should be respected for everyone and everywhere). Then, conceptual constructs were refined, examining the relationships emerging between the categories to identify recurrent patterns. For example during the analysis process, the property of "universalism" emerged associated with the same representation of water as a "human right" and with the representation of the privatization process as a "violation". By exploring further this association in the data, we found that this property (universalism) characterized every sub-category of the motive "defending the right to water": good quality of water, a minimum quantity, affordability, and information/participation in decisions.

As the motivational categories emerged, it appeared clear that there were associations with participants' level of commitment and responsibilities in the Water Movement; so this aspect was

tested more systematically in the data. Even if distinct, we realized that the final motivational categories seemed to be placed on a continuum of collective-individual motives, and on a continuum of high-low commitment in the Water Movement.

Results

In this section the final results of the analytic process are presented. We describe the content of the five motivational categories emerged, and their specific sub-themes in a discursive way. As shown in Table 1, each motivational category is based on a peculiar point of view about the issues of water and of the current privatization process; moreover, specific motivational categories appear to be typical of different types of activists.

Table 1. The motivational categories in relation with the degree of commitment.

<i>Underlying representation of the issue of “water privatization”</i>	<i>Motivational categories</i>	<i>Identification and commitment with the Movement</i>
Water as a <i>Human Right</i> (like health) and privatization as its <i>violation</i>	Defending the right to water	Low - medium – high
Water as a <i>commons</i> (like public spaces) and privatization as its <i>delegation</i>	Preserving community ties	Medium – high
Water as a <i>natural resource</i> (like air, soil, petrol) and privatization as <i>environmental damage</i>	Preserving the environment	Low - medium –high
Water supply as a <i>public service</i> (like waste management) and privatization as <i>liberalistic Government Action</i>	Opposing to the Government and “water sellers”	Low - medium –high
Water as a <i>bill to pay</i> (like electricity supply) and privatization as <i>increasing rates</i>	Money interest	Low

Defending the right to water

Many activists, independently from their degree of commitment and role in the movement, considered water as an essential element in people's lives, since it is not possible to live without water. The human body itself is made for a good portion of water molecules. The access to safe water has to do with the ability to live in dignity. For all these reasons, the right to water is considered a fundamental human right that must be provided to as many people as possible.

The motivation is the preservation of a higher principle which is the right to a basic good such as water⁴. (Male, 65).

However, the respondents emphasized different facets of the right to water and the ways by which it would be violated in case of privatization. Some of them stressed that the right to water means having access to a minimum quantity of water daily, usually estimated at about 40-50 liters. From this point of view, in Italy the water right is basically respected in most cases, as "everyone can drink and can take a shower", while the areas in which the availability of water is considered as a problem are generally Latin America and Africa (e.g., Burkina Faso). The right to water so conceived is in line with the law proposed in the past by the popular initiative (promoted by the Water Movement), which would guaranteed 50 liters of water per day for personal use. On the contrary, in case of privatization of water services, according to the respondents, the water supply would not be guaranteed at all. For example, in case of payment delay, the administrator might decide to cut off the service, simply "closing the tap". Furthermore, in not-convenient geographical areas (e.g., for hostile topography or few users) all the investments might be stopped, without considering the needs and the rights of the citizens.

Some respondents added that the right to water should concern the quality of water as well. As reported by them, also in the geographic area of the study, the citizens are facing problems related to the possible pollution of water along the aqueduct (e.g., because of the pipe materials and other pollutants). The participants agree that private corporations are not willing to invest in maintenance and are even less interested in monitoring water quality.

⁴ All the interviews were originally conducted in Italian. For the purpose of this chapter, selected quotations were translated into English.

Other respondents believe it is important that all people can have a low cost access to quality water. According to that, selling bottled water would be contrary to this principle. If forcing people to stock up on bottled water represents a considerable income for the sellers, at the same time it produces heavy quantities of waste and, in a certain way, encourages a sort of "discrimination", since not all brands are equally accessible. Besides that, the sale of bottled water becomes a sort of paradox because someone is profiting from the sale of an article which should be shared by everyone.

Moreover, according to most respondents, the right to water necessarily involves citizen's participation in the control of the water property. This means that they themselves, or their elected representatives, should be responsible in making any decisions that affect such a precious good. In the case of a public administration, citizens can influence the choices of their own representatives, while this is not possible in the case of a privately owned service. Moreover, if the privatization process started, it would be very difficult to return to public management. According to some respondents, the private management also hinders the ability of citizens to protest and be heard if they were not satisfied with the management. The use of call-center operators and the lack of a direct relationship with the public, will obstacle the possibility to protest.

The concept of water as a human right seems to have an important implication for the meaning of personal engagement in the committee as it implies that the commitment should be conceived not only at the local level, but also at a national, international and global level, sustaining all the situations in which this right is far to be realized.

Preserving community ties

The purpose of regaining a "sense of community" and a sense of "people living together" came up especially among activists and coordinators with a high degree of commitment. This motivational category contains two different aspects which have to do with the relationship between activists (members of political parties and NGOs) and with citizens.

This is actually the reason, sense of community, and the fact of being able to handle things in common and dealing with them together. (Female, 43).

According to the respondents, water management is a difficult issue to face on their own, and this is the reason why individuals and associations decided to get together creating a network. Thanks to this, some participants speak of the "aggregating power" of water, which makes possible the coexistence and diversity of individuals within the committee.

That is the good point of this campaign: it exceeds the fences of political affiliation, party, association and movement, and we just give birth to an initiative where everyone can bring his/her content. (Female, 50).

Regarding the relationship with citizens, "making community" implies a need of getting back to kind of "friendly relationship". This is how activists, explain the massive and unannounced population involvement. In the call-center and computer era, "being in the street among the people" and "getting closer to them" allowed everybody (even the elders) to forget their loneliness and stand up for the common rights.

I remember standing behind the stands, in the city centre. Usually old people spent their time around, occasionally having a look at the stand, signing and asking also for help to read and understand the water bill. (Female, 50).

According to the concept of "water as a commons" (which sometimes can be better translated with "water as common good") the right to water necessarily involves citizens participation over the control of this property. Moreover, some interviewees believe that the concept of "community" leads to the core idea of the referendum campaign, which is the attempt to achieve the public management of the water service, which means "under the community control". Water is conceived as something hold by the community living in the territory and owning the right to use it, because it is necessary for community life. Other interviewees even mentioned the fundamental role that sources and wells played during the birth of Municipalities, arguing that:

Municipality is such, because it manages the commons and the common good. Therefore the fact that certain things - that should be serving the citizenship - are becoming private, reduces what is supposed to be the proper function of the Municipality, and all what is based on the idea of the City. (Male, 33).

According to the activists, the term "public water" adopted also by the Government, is a mere slogan. The privatization process would transfer the "real ownership" to the private companies, leaving only the formal pseudo-property to the public.

Our leader themselves say that water is public and it will remain public. Water is public and there is no doubt about it. The main problem is that they want to privatize the service. (Male, 57).

On the other hand, the sense of a community spirit and the involvement in the committee's initiatives produce a nice feeling, like "just staying with other people". The activists talked about a "recovering of vital energy" thanks to the support and encouragement received from some signers ("yes, well done!") Some others found this experience also quite funny.

I think that one motive more, which is tightly linked to this particular campaign is not just to try to get back the civic sense but also to join a sense of collectivity, which sometime may also mean you have some laughs! (Female, 43).

Preserving the environment

Some members of NGOs and political parties particularly sensitive to environmental issues, but with different degrees of commitment in the Water Movement, underline that water is a right but also a duty. According to them, opposing to water waste and pollution is necessary, on the grounds that water has a value, and it is a limited natural resource. Moreover, over-exploitation of aquifers can contribute to the effects of subsidence ("lowering of the soil"), already widespread in the region where the study took place.

From this point of view, water privatization would create a mechanism whereby the consumption of large quantities of water, would be rewarded with discounted rates, just like any other commodity on the market. On the other hand, the participants propose that, while ensuring everyone a minimum water supply, the prices should increase with higher water consumption. According to the activists, decisions on water supply management should be taken preserving as much water as possible and minimizing any waste.

Finally, the interest in environmental issues prior to the recent committee experience, leads respondents to frame their efforts in a dimension that goes from local to global. Three different

respondents, who define themselves as environmentalists, cited the famous slogan "thinking globally and acting locally".

Opposing to the Government and "water sellers"

Some activists with different degrees of participation in the Movement activities, explained the mobilization as a form of opposition against the privatizing Government action and against the "water sellers". Having left wing political opinions is often linked, by the activists, with their engagement in the committee. For example, some members of political parties and NGOs, described their engagement in the committee as "natural". In the same way, the reported negative attitude towards the Government is sometimes accompanied by the description of the entire referendum campaign as an action "to thwart the Government's action". This motivation is also consistent with the political membership and composition of our sample. Anyway, as some activists point out, the left-right dimension and the attitude against the current Government are not sufficient to explain members' engagement. In fact, the referendum questions also concern decrees approved by the previous (left wing) Government, so the actual mobilization also implies a strong criticism of some leftist parties.

Many respondents identified a small number of individuals who would economically benefit from the privatization, also referred to as "they", "who are doing business" by managing (or "selling") water. These people are defined by participants using different terms, such as speculators, entrepreneurs, investors and shareholders of corporations. Occasionally, policy makers at the local and national level, who could reap the indirect benefits deriving from "collusion" (in a sort of "exchange of favors") are also mentioned. Even companies that consume large quantities of water could, at least partly, gain advantage under the new criteria adopted pricing. The perception of money profits on water, comes together with feelings of anger, sometimes very strong.

What I really hate is the idea of somebody getting richer with water. Personally, thinking that somebody else takes advantages from this situation makes me really angry. (Male, 57).

The activists don't like the rate criteria imposed by the private market for two different reasons. Firstly, it is believed that part of the money spent by the citizens would make profit for the

company, rather than being reinvested in the system's maintenance costs. Secondly, the new rating criteria imposed by the private sector would favor only the big consumers, such as industries.

For instance, if you had a shop and I wanted to buy you lots of goods I would probably get a discount. And that's exactly what happens for industries as well. (Female, 41).

Money-interests

The majority of the activists, independently from the degree of commitment, agreed that privatizing water services will eventually lead to an increase in the prices. In fact, they suggest that this already happened in some places in Italy (such as the cities of Latina and Arezzo), in other parts of Europe (e.g., Paris) and in continents (e.g., Latin America) where prices rose considerably.. According to the respondents, citizens are always forced to pay even if they have to reduce other expenses because they cannot live without water. The bill rise represents the real reason why the poorest families would be underprivileged.

This “economic motive”, is often reported by (and sometimes attributed to) some of the less engaged movement supporters who simply don't want to lose money. As we suggested above, defending the right to water also means that all the people can have a low cost access to water, but the motive based on money interests is substantially individualistic and does not share the same universalistic and absolute character. Activists reported, however, that the money topic has shown a strong power in persuading a great number of citizens, even the more hesitant, to sign up the petition. The more involved activists believe that the price rise by itself should not be the main reason to participate. According to them, a private water system would be unwanted even if it reduced prices, whereas they would even pay a higher bill, just to guarantee the service's publicity.

Discussion

In many communities all over the World, supplying water and sanitation for all the people represents an essential human right and a huge task. For this reason, the fact that water services can be carried out by the private sector is a debated issue. Presenting the content of the motivations for participating in a group of activists, we explored a largely understudied social movement against the

privatization process. We now discuss the results in the light of the psychosocial literature on collective action and citizen participation in community psychology.

The importance of the *defense of a specific human right* (the right to water), in sustaining and motivating activists, emerged explicitly from our data. Human rights can be considered ethic universal principles guiding human actions (Blau & Moncada, 2009) and since they are shared, they can promote an individual or group commitment even more when these rights are threatened. Human rights and their representations have become a special object of interest in social psychology (e.g., Spini & Doise, 1998). Water right has already been regarded as a critical issue in problems of water resources, but with rare exceptions (Lam, 1999) authors have discussed it mainly from economical and political perspectives. With regard to our findings, they confirm the importance that moral convictions can have in predicting collective action, because of their normative value, consistently with recent perspectives (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a).

As we will show in more detail in the next chapter, the human right to water entitles everyone to sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic uses. An adequate amount of safe water is necessary to prevent death from dehydration, reduce the risk of water-related disease and provide for consumption, cooking, personal and domestic hygienic requirements (CESCR, 2002; UN, 2010a). From our results, we can conclude that participants agree with this definition of the right to water, composed by the dimensions of availability, quality and accessibility (CESCR, 2002). Moreover, the activists emphasized the right to adequate information and participation. From their point of view, the right of individuals and groups to participate in decision-making processes that may affect their exercise of the right to water must be an integral part of any policy, programme or strategy concerning water. The lack of adequate information and participation seems to be one of the main issues of disappointment against the private control of water supplies. In other words, these dimensions emphasize the fairness of the allocation procedures, more than the outcome and the importance of procedural justice more than distributive (e.g., Cook & Hegtvedt, 1983). From a community psychology perspective, these dimensions of the right to water recall a desire for “empowered communities”, which include opportunities for citizen participation in community decision making (Zimmerman, 1990) (see also the motive “preservation of community ties”).

The values and beliefs related with *environmental preservation* clearly emerged from our interviews and have been already explored in the literature as predictors of environmental movements (e.g., Stern *et al.*, 1999). Indeed, according to this literature the base for general

movement support lies in a conjunction of values, beliefs, and personal norms that impel individuals to act in ways that support movement goals. For environmentalist movements, the value-belief-norm theory postulates that the consequences that matter in activating personal norms are adverse consequences to whatever the individual values (Stern, 2000). In this sense, we could hypothesize that, for some of our participants, previous values and beliefs related with the environment (e.g., that some human actions have the potential for adversely affecting the biophysical environment) can well explain their recent commitment in the Water Movement.

The emergence of motives sustaining the participation in the Water Movement strictly related with moral beliefs (like the defense of a human right or the preservation of the environment), extends previous findings which suggested that moral motives convictions are particularly relevant for ‘outgroup activism’ (eg. Borshuk, 2004). Moreover, if we compare our results with Van Zomeren and Spears’ model (2009), we must note that while the authors hypothesized moral conviction important mostly for high identifiers with the social movement, our respondents present themselves as moved by high moral principles independently from the degree of identification and commitment. In other words, even considering that sometimes individuals could overemphasize moral justification for their actions, the importance of the preservation of the environment and a perceived right violation emerge as motives for activists with different degrees of commitment in the Water Movement.

The focus of the motive based on the *opposition to the Government and to the “water sellers”* seems to be the intergroup conflicts between the water activists vs. the Government/companies. In our sample, this motive has been reported not only by highly-committed activists, but also by low-committed activists (committee members and supporters). If, according with collective action literature (e.g. Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009), this motive should be particularly salient among the high-identifiers, our suggestion is that people with a lower commitment in the Water Movement can nevertheless maintain multiple memberships which could well justify the expression of this motive. In other words, a high-identifier with an opposition political party, even if he/she is just a supporter of the Water Movement, can describe the recent mobilization as an opposition to the Government. We can add that taking into account multiple politicized collective identities, will provide a challenge for future research on collective action (see also: Simon & Klanderemans, 2001; Simon & Grabow, 2010).

With regard to the *money-interests* motive, it suggests that rational actors will not contribute to the production of a collective good unless “selective incentives” persuade them to do so (see also Olson, 1968). Even if this motive emphasizes the importance of the instrumental path to

participation (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009), the final aim of the Water Movement can be generally described as the opposition to the labeling of water as “goods with economic value” (explicitly expressed in the law article they are opposing to). According to this, most involved activists, which better identified themselves with the Movement ideology, refused to consider water as a “bill” since for them water cannot be considered an issue in term of money costs.

Finally, *preservation of community ties*, meaning the creation/maintenance of a positive relation with the larger community, emerged as a strong motive. This motivation as been largely understudied by collective action scholars. Indeed, in the collective action literature, the relationship with the larger community is usually restricted to the development of politicized collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), which can be considered as a sequence of politicizing events that gradually transform the group’s relationship with its social environment. This sequence is characterized by a “triangulation” in which the group tries to enlist a third part (e.g., the larger community) stressing the importance of the “common” interest. The relationship with the larger community could represent part of the new politicized identity and have a strategic function in strengthening activists’ position.

From a Community Psychology perspective, the content of the motive labeled “*preservation of community ties*” seems to be clearly related with the presence of a strong ‘sense of community’. As stated in the introduction, this concept has been largely studied in relation with different forms of social and political participation (e.g., Prezza *et al.*, 2001; Obst, Smith, & Zinkiewicz, 2002; Albanesi *et al.*, 2007; Cicognani *et al.*, 2008). Indeed, sense of community can have a catalytic effect on participation in several ways, by affecting the perception of the environment, social relations, and one’s perceived control and empowerment (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). As suggested also by our participants, historically, residents within the same place are likely to share resources (like water) because they are nested within the same physically bounded environment. The commons refers to the creation of a pooled community resource, owned by no one, used by all (Putnam, 1993; Onyx & Bullen, 2000). This idea resonates also with the literature about the “tragedy of the commons” (Hardin, 1968): with specific regard to water, the work by Van Vugt (2001) showed that water conservation depends also on the extent to which people identified with their community.

Finally, we should add that references to collective efficacy (e.g. “together, we will reach our goal”) do not emerge from our interviews, while it represents an important motive emphasized by the literature (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009; Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009). We suggest that this could happen for two coexisting reasons. It is

possible that the movement success specifically depends on external political efficacy (e.g., Pollock, 1983), that means on perceived external factors, out of activists' control: as suggested by one of the interviewed activists "It is almost like the battle of Davide against Goliath". Complementary to this explanation, recent results (Zaal *et al.*, 2011) showed that for individuals under "prevention focus" (e.g., moved by individual responsibility and moral convictions) the motivation to engage in collective action was unaffected by the likelihood of social change (i.e., efficacy beliefs). In our study, activists motivated by the defense of the right to water could be unaffected by the collective efficacy beliefs.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of the interviews, it has been possible to represent the complex framework of motives which sustain activism for "public water" in Italy. The simple contraposition public/private does not seem to gain the complexity of the psychosocial processes involved in collective action development. The adoption of qualitative methods and the attention paid to the representations of the issue of water and privatization fruitful contributed to this task.

Considering the different motives expressed by activists in relation with their commitment with the Movement, our results explicitly suggest that a positive relation with the community could represent a useful integration for classical model of collective action (e.g., Klandermans, 1997). Even if our study does not allow to identify which dimensions of "sense of community" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) can have the stronger effect on participation, its implications for further research include reconsidering the role played by positive emotions derived by sense of community. Indeed, if negative emotions (e.g., anger) have been deeply investigated by collective action scholars as a response to injustice (Grant & Brown, 1995), positive emotions are rarely considered for the support they can give to activists' over time commitment (see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). Moreover, alternative designs and larger samples are needed, in order to clarify in what extent the relation with the larger community and the perceived injustice based on human-rights can effectively integrate the individual and group factors fostering politicized social identity and collective action.

CHAPTER 3

Explaining activism through identification with the Water Movement: The importance of right violations and individual efficacy among activists

“The human right to water entitles everyone to sufficient, safe, acceptable, physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic uses. An adequate amount of safe water is necessary to prevent death from dehydration, reduce the risk of water-related disease and provide for consumption, cooking, personal and domestic hygienic requirements”.

General Comment No. 15, CESCR, 2002

Introduction

Individuals become aware of their fundamental rights especially when these are threatened. In this sense, individuals in relatively wealthy countries might not often be aware that they have a fundamental right to water. Nevertheless, water is a commons, a natural resource, and indeed an important human right according to the United Nations (CESCR, 2002). Yet, despite its status as a fundamental human right, hundreds of millions of people do not have access to safe, clean water

(WHO & UNICEF, 2010) and hence are denied this right. Perhaps because most people take their right to water too much for granted, few people seem interested in how water service management contributes to or undermines the guarantee of an adequate water supply. In fact, only a minority in the developed countries decide to voluntarily engage in some form of action to defend or implement the right to water (de Albuquerque, 2010). Also for this reason, there is no research that we know of that has focused on individuals' unalienable right to water and activism to defend it.

This is unfortunate because there is an increasing interest for the right to water from political and economical perspectives (e.g. WHO & UNICEF, 2010; UN, 2010a). The right to water, therefore, is politically and societally relevant. Indeed, one of the Millennium Development Goals is to halve the proportion of the population without sustainable access to drinking water by 2015. Nevertheless, we believe that humans also have the agency to defend their right to water collectively. We therefore draw on the psychological collective action literature to suggest that individuals have different motivations to participate in collective action to achieve social change (e.g., Klandermans, 1997). Understanding these motivations will better inform us about how common people, rather than macro-level politics, can contribute to implement the unalienable right to water.

In this chapter, we test two novel hypotheses in this field of research (for reviews see Klandermans, 1997; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008). First, we predict that, for activists, the violation of the right to water reflects a moral motivation to act collectively (for a more general argument see Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a). Showing support for this hypothesis extends the literature because previous work has not yet showed that moral motivations feed into *activists'* identification with the movement --- a key predictor of activism (cf. Simon *et al.*, 1998; for a meta-analysis, see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). Second, we predict that, although *group efficacy* beliefs are generally important in predicting collective action (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a), activists are also more likely to value their *individual* efficacy beliefs (i.e., the efficacy of their own individual contribution to the group effort). As with right violation, we believe that this type of efficacy feeds into a sense of activists' identification with the movement, which predicts individuals' activism. Drawing also on the results of the study presented in Chapter 2, we now test these hypotheses with quantitative data.

Different motivations for activism

As mentioned in the previous chapter, an often-used definition of collective action refers to it as any action that individuals undertake as group members, with the aim to improve the group's conditions (Wright *et al.*, 1990; Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). This psychological definition implies that a wide range of behaviors can be classified as collective action, ranging from participation in strikes, protest demonstrations, and the signing of on-line and/or off-line petitions (e.g., Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). Activism is more specific to the extent that it refers to participation in collective action organized by social movements (Klandermans, 1997). In the large and heterogeneous literature on collective action and activism, three psychological variables have been identified as key predictors: group identification, perceived group-based injustice, and perceived group efficacy.

Among activists, there is indeed evidence that movement identification is a strong predictor of individuals' social movement participation (e.g., Simon *et al.*, 1998; for a meta-analysis see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). For example, Stürmer and Simon (2004b) found clear support for the role of identification with the gay movement in promoting participation in actions organized by that movement. Similarly, Cameron and Nickerson (2009) found further support for the predictive role of such group identification in the context of anti-globalization protests. We therefore predict that identification with the movement predicts activism (*Hypothesis 1*).

However, issues of legitimacy and injustice also play a major role in motivating individuals to undertake collective action (as for instance argued in relative deprivation theory; Runciman, 1966; Walker & Smith, 2002). Individuals protest the unfairness of large social arrangements (e.g., systemic discrimination), the unfairness of their collective or individual outcomes (e.g., financial cuts or employment opportunities), and of their unrealized ideals (e.g., the environment). Although much research has been done on these types of injustice, research on collective action in response to *violated principles* is still scarce (e.g. Klandermans, 1997). More recently researchers have explored more thoroughly this type of injustice, paying attention to *moral motivations* for collective action and activism (Lodewijkx *et al.*, 2008; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b; 2011c). This work shows that moral convictions, defined as strong and absolute attitudes on moralized issues, can play an important motivational role in predicting collective action because they do not tolerate any violations of the principle (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). For example, Van Zomeren *et al.* (2011a) proposed and found, across two studies, that moral convictions increased identification with a relevant social movement, which in turn predicted

signing a movement petition. However, these studies did not focus on activists, and hence it remains unclear whether moral motivations to act apply to activists. On the basis of previous work, therefore, we propose that the violation of human rights like the right to water does represent a key psychological pathway to increased movement identification and activism.

Moreover, previous work has not focused on human rights such as the right to water. Human rights are often conceived as (cross-cultural) moral norms (e.g., Wellman, 2010) or ethic universal principles guiding human actions (Blau & Moncada, 2009) and intergroup relations (Doise, 2002). Unlike other subjective universalist stances, however, human rights are also formalized in declarations and thus play a major role in the political realm outside of individuals' subjective reality (e.g., a country can be economically punished for violating human rights). In other words, human rights represent moral issues that ought to be universal not only in individuals' minds (i.e., moral convictions), but also in an *objective* sense. The right to water, for instance, has been regarded as a critical issue in problems of water resources from economical and political perspectives, but only few exceptions discussed it from a psychological point of view (e.g. Lam, 1999). Objective definitions of the right to water include an adequate amount of safe water (which is necessary to prevent death from dehydration), while seeking to reduce the risk of water-related disease and provide for consumption, cooking, personal and domestic hygienic requirements (CESCR, 2002; UN, 2010a). Table 1 summarizes the content of the right to water as derived from resolutions and publications of the last decade by international organizations (e.g. WHO, 2003; UN 2010a; CESCR, 2002).

Human rights and their representations are becoming a special and unique object of interest in social psychology as well (e.g., Spini & Doise, 1998; Cohrs, Maes, Moschner, & Kielman, 2007). For example, the more knowledge people have of human rights and the more important they find them, the more they report behavioral intentions and behaviors aimed at the promotion of human rights (Cohrs *et al.*, 2007; Stellmacher, Sommer, & Brähler, 2005). We propose that human rights such as the right to water can be viewed as moral convictions or “sacred values” that individuals seek to defend when threatened (e.g., Tetlock, 2003). Such sacred values are seen as absolute, non-negotiable and inviolable, leading individuals to respond strongly to any violation of them (Baron & Spranca, 1997; Tanner & Medin, 2004; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000). According to Van Zomeren *et al.* (2011), violated convictions increase identification with movements that defend such moral principles and thus form an important basis for collective action. We therefore predict that a stronger sense of right violation increases identification with the movement and therefore increases activism (*Hypothesis 2*).

Finally, we examine whether activists also have motivations to undertake collective action that emphasize judgments of their perceived efficacy to solve group-related problems (e.g., Mummendey *et al.*, 1999). The most clear-cut evidence of this comes from studies that demonstrate that individuals' group efficacy beliefs predict collective action (Van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2010). Indeed, higher levels of efficacy generally increase the probability of undertaking social and/or political action (Hornsey *et al.*, 2006; Niemi, Craig, & Mattei, 1991; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004). People typically rely on their group efficacy beliefs to assure themselves that collective action itself will be effective, and hence their efforts will be rewarded (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004). Put differently, individuals become more strongly motivated to become activists the more they believe in the efficacy of the group to achieve group goals such as social change (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004).

We suggest, however, that this line of thought may be true in experiments with non-activists, but not necessarily with activists in real contexts. Indeed, research shows that group efficacy beliefs are particularly salient for low-identifiers with a group (Van Zomeren, Spears & Leach, 2008; for a review see Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). By contrast, activists sometimes even take part in actions that they know will *not* have any objective success (Drury & Reicher, 2009). This may suggest that their group efficacy beliefs might not be the most relevant type of efficacy that reflects activists' efficacy-based motivation to act. In fact, according to the literature on political self-efficacy (e.g., Caprara, Vecchione, Capanna, & Mebane, 2009) we propose that their *individual efficacy* beliefs (i.e., the perceived effectiveness of their own contribution to the group) might well explain their motivations for activism. Even if interdependencies between individuals' and collective agencies are also plausible, we thus predict that, among activists, individual efficacy predicts identification with a social movement and thus activism (*Hypothesis 3*). Moreover, because this explanation of activism is very different from the explanation about right violation, we expect both predictors to have unique effects and thus form distinct psychological pathways to movement identification and activism.

Table 1. Objective dimensions of the right to water

<i>Quantity</i>	The water supply for each person must be sufficient and continuous for personal and domestic uses. The quantity of water available for each person should correspond to World Health Organization guidelines (WHO 2003).
<i>Quality</i>	The water required for each personal or domestic use must be safe, therefore free from micro-organisms, chemical substances and radiological <i>hazards</i> that constitute a threat to a person's health.
<i>Physical accessibility</i>	Sufficient, safe and acceptable water must be available within, or in the immediate vicinity, of each household, educational institution and workplace. Even physical security should not be threatened during access to water facilities and services
<i>Affordability</i>	Water, and water facilities and services, must be affordable for all. The direct and indirect costs and charges associated with securing water must be affordable, and must not compromise or threaten the realization of other Covenant rights
<i>Non-discrimination</i>	Water and water facilities and services must be accessible to all, including the most vulnerable or marginalized sections of the population, in law and in fact, without discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds. Special attention should be given give to those individuals and groups who have traditionally faced difficulties in exercising the right to water (CESCR, 2002).
<i>Information</i>	Access to information includes the right to seek, receive and impart information concerning water issues CESCR (2002).The process of decision-making and implementation, any instruments that delegate service provision including contracts, and instruments that outline roles and responsibilities must be transparent, which requires the disclosure of adequate and sufficient information and actual access to information (UN 2010a).
<i>Participation</i>	Often considered together with information dimension (e.g. CESCR, 2002), this dimension includes also the right of individuals and groups to participate in decision-making processes that may affect their exercise of the right to water. All instruments for delegation, including contracts, must be in line with human rights standards (UN 2010a).
<i>Environmental respect</i>	The right to water is consistent with the right to a healthy and balanced environment, as it assumes that environment law is respected and benefits from the implementation of integrated water resource management (Smets, 2006). It implies protecting the resource and, in particular, wet zones and groundwater that play a large role in the drinking water supply.

The Present Research

The main aim of the present research was to show support for the right violation and individual efficacy pathways to movement identification and activism in the context of the Italian Water Movement. If in Chapter 2 we interviewed a small number of water activists to describe which motives were spontaneously mentioned, in the present study we surveyed a larger number of water activists to test our predictions. Together, these studies allow for an externally valid research strategy that combines insights from qualitative and quantitative data.

We took advantage of the political situation in Italy. In 2009, the Italian Water Movement decided to promote the campaign titled "Water is not for sale" whose main objective is to support the legislative referendum in order to abrogate, totally or partially, three law articles. In detail, the point explicitly opposed by the Movement is the definition of water as a "service with economic value" (Law Decree 135/09, art. 15). This fits nicely, with our conceptualization of human rights as formalized sacred values because research shows that individuals are strongly opposed to putting price on such values (i.e., so-called taboo trade-offs). Moreover, the Italian Water Movement represents a large-scale participative phenomenon, but unlike other Italian social movements (e.g., Della Porta & Piazza, 2008; Fedi & Mannarini, 2008; Gelli & Mannarini, 2007) it remains largely understudied. The current studies were aimed to fill this gap by testing two novel hypotheses about psychological pathways to movement identification and activism .

From Chapter 2

In Chapter 2 we adopted a qualitative method in order to describe the point of view expressed by activists about their motivations for the recent collective mobilization about the issue of "public water". But in what extent the activists spontaneously mentioned motivations such as right violation, individual efficacy beliefs, and identification with the movement? To what extent the emerging motivational categories lend support for our hypotheses (or they suggest further important predictors we did not expect)? As we shall see through this paragraph, the results seem to support Hypotheses 1 and 2 (about movement identification and right violation), but only partially Hypothesis 3 (about individual efficacy).

Support for H 1: Being water activists

Supporting Hypothesis 1, many activists presented their motivations using the first person plural ("we"). Indeed, many of them valued the important meanings that joining the local Water Committee, and on a larger scale, the Water Movement, represented for them. According to the respondents, the water services management was a difficult issue to face alone, and this was the reason why individuals and associations decided to get together creating a network at the local level. This process was in fact similar to what happened also on a broader level: at the beginning of its life, the local Water Committee "discovered" a common problem at the National level, and decided to "join the battle". Accordingly, some participants spoke of the "aggregating power" of water, which makes possible the coexistence and diversity within the local Committee and the broader National Movement.

Support for H 2: Defending the right to water

In line with Hypothesis 2, the right to water was considered by many activists as a fundamental human right that must be provided to as many people as possible. Many activists, independently from their degree of commitment and role in the movement, considered water as an essential element in people's lives, since it is not possible to live without water. The access to safe water has to do with the ability to live in dignity. Thus, although participants identified many different outcomes of right violation, they agreed that right violation was an important motivation for them.

Unclear Support for Hypothesis 3: Fighting a hard battle

The importance of group efficacy did not emerge clearly among the motivations freely expressed by the activists. The fact that the individuals and associations decided to get together creating a network to face the issue of the management (as described in the paragraph *being water activists*) might be indicative of group efficacy to the extent that the problem is collective and hence efficacious collective action is needed to address it (see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2010). However, most activists agreed with the idea that "It is almost like the battle of David against Goliath", where the Water Movement is David and the Government and the corporations are Goliath. Nevertheless, the participants decided to mobilize themselves independently from the perceived chances of success, providing their "small contribution". This could be viewed as a partial support for the idea that individual efficacy beliefs are important to activists' motivation.

Additional Motivation: Preserving community ties

Although not predicted in advance, the interviews presented in Chapter 2 showed strong indications among activists of the purpose of regaining a "sense of community" and a sense of "people living together". This motivational category stresses the perceived importance not only of the relationship between activists, but also with common citizens. For the activists, this reason seems to be a possible explanation of the massive and unannounced population involvement. Water is something hold by the community living in the territory and owning the right to use it, because it is necessary for community life. In this sense, the activists appeared to describe water as an important issue for the wider population (i.e., the community) it belongs to. Because this sense of integration with the community (and not only with the Water Movement) clearly emerged as important to activists' motivation, we decided to include a measure of this motivation in the present study.

Aims

Our qualitative data from Chapter 2, partially support Hypothesis 1 and 2, but not completely Hypothesis 3, by relying on activists' spontaneous mention of their motivations to be involved in water activism. The present study aimed to complement Chapter 2 in at least two ways. First, it is possible that some of the motivations spontaneously mentioned by the activists in Study 1 reflect a strategic self-presentation. For instance, the activists might have emphasized the strong moral justifications for their involvement in the Water Movement, rather than offer their "real" motivations. We therefore wanted to complement the qualitative method used in Chapter 2 with a quantitative method in the present study (i.e., a survey study among activists). In this survey, we first tapped into activists' motivations and then asked them about their future time investment in the Water Movement.

Second, we added a measure tapping into the "community factor" that emerged in Chapter 2. The concept of "community" is characterized in the literature by shared ownership over resources known as the commons. The commons refers to the creation of a pooled community resource, owned by no one, used by all (Putnam, 1993; Onyx & Bullen, 2000). The relationship with the community has been largely studied in relation with different forms of social participation (e.g., Sense of Community; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990) and it has been seldom considered as a predictor of activism (e.g., Mannarini *et al.* 2009). In the present study, we therefore decided to add a measure of perceived integration within the community..

The aim of the present chapter was to test our predictions through the use of quantitative data. We specifically predicted that identification with the movement would be the most proximal predictor of activism, but that movement identification itself would be predicted by right violation and individual efficacy beliefs.

Method

153 Italian activists, 91 men and 64 women, participated voluntarily by completing an e-mail questionnaire delivered through the official Italian Water Movement mailing list, with a response rate of 24%. Their mean age was 44.55 years ($SD = 12.43$). Activists were invited to take part in a research about the topic of water services management and mobilization.

We first measured *identification with the Water Movement* with four items adapted from Van Stekelenburg (2006) and Mannarini *et al.* (2009). Items employed four-point response scales (ranging from 1 = “not at all” to 4 = “very much”) ($M = 3.20$; $SD = .57$; $\alpha = .69$). Examples of items were: “To what extent do you define yourself as a “public water activist?” and “How many things do you have in common with other people in the Italian Water Movement?”.

Second, we measured *rights violation* by a multiplicative index based on its two components of “value of the right to water” and “perceived threat of right violation”. Each component was composed by eight items, corresponding to the eight dimensions of quantity, quality, physical accessibility (access), affordability (price), non-discrimination, information, participation, and environmental respect (see Table 1). The first component referred to the perceived importance of the right to water. We measured this component by asking how much it would be serious if, in times of crisis, each of the eight components of the right to water was implicitly not respected. An example item for the dimension of quantity was: “How serious do you think it would be if the water for personal and domestic use would be reduced or discontinuous?”. Answers ranged from 1 (“not serious at all”) to 7 (“extremely serious”). The second component referred to the perceived threat of violations of the right to water, in its 8 dimensions. Example of item, for the dimension of quantity, was “According to the current Italian law, what do you think will happen in the future with respect to the quantity of water for personal and domestic use?” Answers ranged from 1 (“improvement”) to 7 (“worsening”). Being a multiplicative index, the right-to-water violation increases when each couple of items on the eight dimensions, increases simultaneously. The final eight values ranged from 1 to 49 ($M = 38.43$; $SD = 9.56$; $\alpha = .93$). A principal axis factoring analysis extracted one

factor that predicted 64.27% of the variance, with factor loadings ranging from .55 to .90. Thus, this measure appeared to have adequate construct validity.

Furthermore, we measured group efficacy beliefs with four items adapted from Van Stekelenburg (2006) and Mannarini *et al.* (2009). This measure employed 7-point response scales (ranging from 1 = “not at all” to 7 = “completely”) ($M = 5.42$; $SD = .88$; $\alpha = .72$). Examples were: “To what extent do you think that the Water Movement will be able to realize a large referendum campaign?” By contrast, we measured *individual* efficacy beliefs by focusing on the perceived ability to contribute personally to the movement efforts. Four items were created following guidelines for constructing self-efficacy scales (Bandura, 2006). This measure employed 7-point response scales (ranging from 1 = “not at all” to 7 = “completely”) ($M = 5.16$; $SD = 1.07$; $\alpha = .86$). Examples were: “How much do you feel capable of actively contributing to the Water Movement success?”, or “How much do you feel capable of convincing people to vote for the referendum promoted by the Water Movement?”. Factor analysis confirmed the existence of two corresponding factors explaining, respectively, 30.82% (individual) and 21.34% (group) percentage of variance, with all items loading on their corresponding factor. All factor loadings were $>.56$ (only one item, “To what extent do you think that the Water Movement will be able to obtain more votes ‘Yes than ‘No’ at the Referendum?” showed a loading of .37, but we decided to retain it as it did not reduce the reliability of the scale).

Moreover, we measured *social integration*, which is the evaluation of the quality of one's relationship to society and community. Integration is therefore the extent to which people feel they have something in common with others who constitute their social reality (e.g., their neighborhood), as well as the degree to which they feel that they belong to their communities and society (Keyes, 1998). Social integration was assessed with the Italian version of the Social Integration sub-scale of the Social Well-Being measure (Keyes, 1998; Cicognani, Albanesi, & Berti, 2001). It comprises 7 items (e.g., “I feel close to other people in my community”), ranging from 1 = “complete disagreement” to 7 = “complete agreement” ($M = 4.77$; $SD = 1.20$; $\alpha = .87$).

Finally, we measured *activism* by asking participants to indicate the future time investment (in hours per week) they were willing to spend for the movement in the next year ($M = 6.48$; $SD = 8.6$). Table 2 provides the correlations between the key measures.

Table 2. Correlations between measures, Study 2

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Community social integration	.01	.40***	.25**	.29***	.25**
2. Right violation		.17*	.25**	.27**	.06
3. Individual efficacy			.56***	.47***	.29***
4. Group efficacy				.38***	.18*
5. Identification with WM					.33***
6. Activism					

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Results

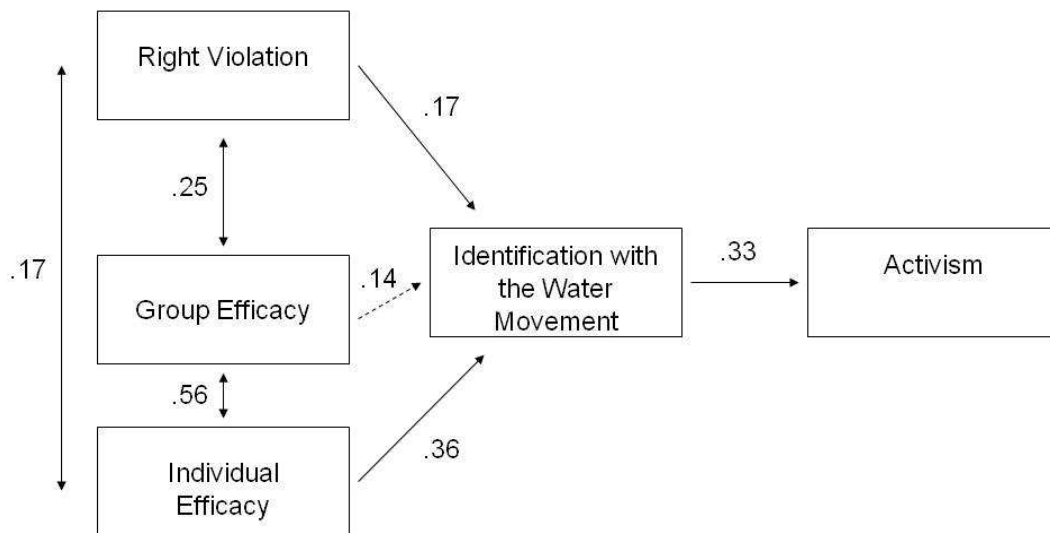
We first tested our predictions with a series of multiple regression analyses. We regressed the four predictors (right violation, group efficacy, individual efficacy, and social integration) on identification with the Water Movement. Results showed, as expected, that right violation ($\beta = .18$, $p < .05$) and individual efficacy ($\beta = .31$, $p < .001$) were unique predictors of identification with the movement. By contrast, integration with the community ($\beta = .13$, $p = .09$) and group efficacy ($\beta = .13$, $p = .13$) did not predict movement identification. In a second step, we tested whether right violation, group and individual efficacy, community integration, and identification with the movement predicted activism. As expected, results showed that only identification with the Water Movement demonstrated a strong predictive effect ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$) on activism - while right violation ($\beta = -.02$, $p = .77$), social integration ($\beta = .13$; $p = .13$), group efficacy ($\beta = -.02$, $p = .83$) and individual efficacy ($\beta = .14$, $p = .15$) did not. Thus, results supported our predictions.

However, multiple regression analysis does not have the benefit of simultaneous parameter estimation and does not provide an assessment of the fit of the model as a whole. We therefore subsequently tested our predictive model through structural equation modeling (using EQS 6.1). Our model assumes that movement identification predicts activism, and is predicted by right violation and individual efficacy beliefs. Moreover, our model assumes that individual efficacy beliefs are a better predictor than group efficacy beliefs. Finally, the model assumes correlations between right violation and both types of efficacy. This model (see Figure 1 for the standardized parameter estimates) fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 4.47$, $df = 3$, $p = .22$, which indicates that the hypothesized covariance matrix did not differ from the actual covariance matrix). Other fit indices

corroborated this evaluation of the model: $CFI = .99$, $GFI = .99$, $SRMR = .04$, $RMSEA = .06$ (see Kline, 1998). As can be seen in Figure 1, parameter estimates supported our hypotheses. Movement identification predicted activism, and movement identification was predicted by right violation and more strongly by individual than group efficacy beliefs. These results corroborate the regression results and also establish that the model as a whole fits the data well.

Would adding social integration to the model reveal additional insights? We thus tested a model in which we added this variable to the model and also allowed it correlate with right violation and both types of efficacy. This model also fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 6.83$, $df = 4$, $p = .15$). Other fit indices corroborated this evaluation of the model: $CFI = .98$, $GFI = .99$, $SRMR = .05$, $RMSEA = .07$. However, inspection of the predictive effect of social integration on movement identification revealed that, in line with the regression results, it was only marginally significant (standardized parameter estimate = $.13$, $p < .10$). Thus, although adding social integration to the model did not worsen model fit, social integration did not have a significant effect on movement identification.

Figure 1. Predictive model.



Discussion

Using an activist population this study demonstrates different motivational pathways to movement identification and activism on the basis of quantitative data. These pathways consist of the perceived violation of the right to water, and individual efficacy beliefs. The results have a number of important implications for theory and research on activism.

In line with Chapter 2, also the present study stresses the importance of the perceived violation of a principle (i.e., the right to water) as a moral motivation to identify with the Water Movement and act on its behalf. In this sense, the studies confirm the relationship between violated moral convictions and increased movement identification (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a), but importantly extend these ideas to the political realm of (water) activists. Thus, our results suggest that movement identification might have a considerable moral basis, and more specifically has to do with the moral motivation derived from the violation of moral convictions (or violated principles in terms of Klandermans, 1997).

Second, although individual and group efficacy beliefs did not emerge spontaneously as an important motivation of activists in Chapter 2, the present study confirmed the predicted stronger effect of activists' individual than group efficacy beliefs on identification with the Water Movement. In fact, this study showed that although activists' group efficacy beliefs were correlated to movement identification and activism, individual efficacy beliefs were a stronger predictor. Our results thus suggest that a more individual component of efficacy might be more proximal to movement identification and activism. In fact, both studies thus stress the importance of the beliefs that, even through a "small contribution", the individual's participation will have a potential effect on collective action. These results offer an important pointer to future research on which type of efficacy is more reflective of activists' and non-activists' efficacy-based motivation to act collectively.

One could wonder whether our data suggest that right violation and individual efficacy beliefs can be viewed important facets of a *politicized* identity (which is often operationalized as movement identification). Simon and Klandermans (2001) proposed that the development of politicized collective identity has to do with the relationship with the larger community. This sequence of politicizing events that gradually transform the group's relationship with its social environment, are indeed characterized by a "triangulation" in which the group tries to enlist a third part (e.g., the larger community) stressing the importance of the "common" interest. In other words, and according to the second chapter, politicized collective identity involves not only identification with

the activists' ingroup (e.g., water activists) but also the integration in a more inclusive entity (e.g., the larger community; see also Simon & Grabow, 2010). Unfortunately, social integration within the community did not significantly predict identification with the movement in the present study. This is somehow similar to the findings of Mannarini *et al.* (2009), which suggested that place attachment was an important factor facilitating activists' involvement in protest. However, when considered together with other predictors (like identity and efficacy variables) its predictive role disappeared. Future research should therefore examine further how activists' relationship to the community might relate to movement identification and activism.

At a more practical level, our results suggest that the acknowledgement that “water should be treated as a social and cultural good, and not primarily as an economic good” (CESCR, 2002, p. 5), could have strong political but also strong psychological consequences. We believe this is because human rights have a *dual capability* to be implemented or realized --- through political processes, and through individuals' activism. One important insight from the current studies is that the motivation to engage in activism can be distinctly moral (in the sense that individuals respond to principle violations; Klandermans, 1997). Recently, Van Zomeren *et al.* (2011b) suggested that such moral motivations are not only powerful motivators of collective action, but in fact can unite disadvantaged and advantaged group members to fight for a joint cause. Our results, therefore, suggest that movement campaigns should emphasize the violation of the right to water if they want to attract as many people as possible (cross-cutting different group memberships). In addition, at least among activists, movement campaigns should focus on the important contribution that every individual can make.

Limitations and directions for further research

The study presented in this chapter (as the one in chapter 2) is not an experiment and hence these data cannot pinpoint the locus of causality. At the same time, the collective action literature has the strong benefit of including both experimental and field work which can be systematically compared (for a meta-analysis see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). It is important to point out that the literature offers support for the causal arrows we assume in our predictive model. For instance, the strongest explanatory power with regard to collective action across many studies was movement identification (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). Moreover, individual differences in moral convictions predict such identification (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c), and efficacy beliefs can be

manipulated to affect group identification (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2010). We therefore believe that our assumptions about causality have a strong grounding in previous theory and research.

A weak point of our study is that we did not focus on self-reported emotions and hence we could not establish their role in predicting activists' movement identification and activism. Future research will clarify the role of emotions in how right violation predicts identification with the social movement and activism. Recent developments in collective action research demonstrate a renewed interest for emotions and collective action (Jaspers, 1998; Iyer *et al.*, 2007; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004), with a particular interest in anger (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a). Further studies can clarify to what extent right violation could specifically foster "moral emotions" such as anger, contempt, and disgust (Haidt, 2003), and what their power is in predicting movement identification and activism. Our expectation is that anger follows right violation and may therefore explain either movement identification, activism, or both.

Finally, it is important to reiterate that even the sample of this study (like Chapter 2) was composed by activists. This means that the first two studies of this dissertation can be placed at least in the third step of the mobilization process described by Klandermans and Oegema (1987). Indeed, the authors suggest that in the first two steps toward actual participation in a social movement, people become part of the mobilization potential and targets of mobilization attempts by the social movement. Only in the third and fourth steps they are motivated to participate in specific activities overcoming concrete barriers to actual participation. Future research can clarify to what extent models that focus on the last steps (e.g., Simon *et al.*, 1998; Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009) are comparable to models that are more general and thus more likely focus on the first two steps toward mobilization (e.g., Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004). Our results show the importance of right violation in predicting collective action among activists, which resonates with the findings by Van Zomeren and colleagues among non-activists (2011a, 2011b, 2011c). As noted, however, the type of efficacy might be an important difference between activists' and non-activists' motivation, suggesting for example that collective efficacy could be more important for non-activists⁵ than for activists. We therefore believe that future theory and research should more systematically compare activists and non-activists (using Klandermans and Oegema's framework) to discover motivational similarities and differences between them.

⁵ See Chapter 6 for an explicit verify of this hypothesis.

CHAPTER 4

Antecedents and emotional consequences of right violations

If you tremble with indignation at every injustice, then you are a comrade of mine.

Che Guevara⁶

Introduction

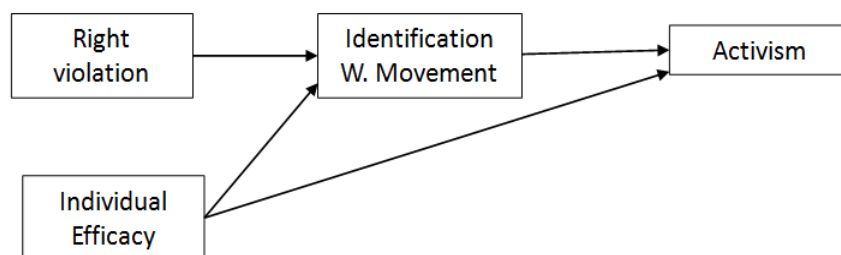
Findings in Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrated how the perceived rights violation can motivate individuals to act as water activists. We described the *perceived rights violation* as a specific form of perceived injustice which derives from the perceived violation of absolute moral principles. Anyway, in the first two studies we did not consider the potential predictor of this perception and this is a limitation, if we consider the effect that the perceived right violation showed on identification with the Water Movement. It is just the consequence of internal moral convictions and values, or can it be influenced also by external factors?

⁶ As quoted in *The Quotable Rebel : Political Quotations for Dangerous Times* (2005) by Teishan Latner, p. 112.

Moreover, we did not focus on self-reported emotions and hence we could not establish their role in predicting activists' movement identification and activism. This is a weak point of our studies, if we consider that recent developments in collective action research show a renewed interest for emotions (Jaspers, 1998; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004; Iyer *et al.*, 2007; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a, 2009b), with a particular interest in anger (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a). This chapter will contribute in filling these gaps through two novel hypotheses. Our idea is that the perceived rights violations can derive both from personal values (i.e. universalism) and external factors (i.e. a mobilization campaign). Furthermore, we suggest that rights violation, together with a perceived personal disadvantage can enhance anger.

We start presenting a “simple” model of collective action, similar to the one tested in Chapter 3. Here, we describe it briefly, but for a more detailed theoretical introduction about identification with Water Movement, individual efficacy, and right violations the reader can consult also Chapters 2 and 3. This simple model is based on the following hypotheses. The first one is that activists' identification with the movement is a key predictor of activism (cf. Simon *et al.*, 1998; for a meta-analysis, see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). The second is that right violation feeds into a sense of activists' identification with the movement, which predicts activism (Chapter 3). Finally, efficacy beliefs are important in predicting collective action (Mummendey *et al.*, 1999; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a) and they can promote a higher identification with the movement (i.e., the efficacy of their own individual contribution to the group). Figure 1 graphically presents this model. Next paragraphs introduce theoretically two new groups of predictions we are going to test through this Chapter.

Figure 1. The “simple” model of collective action: right violation, individual efficacy and identification.



Internal and external antecedents of perceived rights violation

Values, according to Schwartz (1992, p. 4) pertain to desirable end states or behaviors, transcend specific situations, guide selection or evaluations of behavior and events, and are ordered by relative importance. Among them, universalism is often considered a moral value which applies to all of humankind and to the natural environment (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995; Schwartz, 2007). Universalism can be considered as one of the major psychological anchors for human rights, which implies the understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (Spini & Doise, 1998).

When values are violated they become topic of arguments and protests, (Rokeach, 1973, p. 13; see also Feather & Newton, 1982; Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009). Hence, according to this description, a perceived violation of values facilitates the expression of one's view, also through protest participation (see also Chapter 3). However, research on collective action in response to violated principles is still quite scarce (Klandermans, 1997). In fact, only recently researchers (Lodewijkx *et al.*, 2008; Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a; 2011b; 2011c) showed, for instance, that moral convictions, defined as strong and absolute beliefs that something is right or wrong, moral or immoral (e.g., Sitka, 2008), can play a fundamental role in predicting collective action (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). Moreover, some authors found that even if a lot of people show explicit support for universal values (e.g. human rights), in practice just a minority acts to defend them (Ellis, 2004). Moving beyond this literature, in Chapter 3 we demonstrated, through a concrete example, the usefulness of considering together at least two components of violated rights: the importance attributed to the right (conceptually linked to moral values) and the possible threat of violation in the specific context. Through this study, we will explicitly test the new hypothesis that perceived *right violations* depends both on personal values (i.e. universalism) and on the exposure to communications about threats of violation (i.e. exposure to a mobilization campaign).

Instrumental and moral motives for being “angry”

Summarizing previous literature, the article by Van Zomeren and Spears (2009) recently proposed a classification of a variety of motivations for collective action along the lines of the general metaphors of social functionalism (Tetlock, 2002). The authors proposed that the subjective

motives for collective action map nicely onto the group-based and individual-based metaphors of protest. For example, individuals represented by the “theologians” can be motivated by a perceived threat to “sacred” norms and values (see above paragraph). This collective motive can be traced to the kind of injustice described as the violation of important moral principles (Klandermans, 1997). On the opposite side of the model, for people described as “intuitive economists” individual cost-benefit calculations (Klandermans, 1984; Stürmer & Simon, 2004a) represent key-motivations for activists. “Intuitive economists” defend their individual self-interests and are interested in maximizing subjective utility (e.g. Olson, 1968). According to this metaphor, people can be motivated by possible personal advantages (or to avoid a possible disadvantage). This distinction resonates also with instrumental and ideology paths to collective action (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; see also Chapter 1).

Costs and benefits calculation is an extremely rational process (e.g. Klandermans, 1984). However, we suggest that a “instrumental injustice” (based on personal disadvantages) can enhance feelings of anger as much as a “moral injustice” (based on violation of moral principles). Indeed, anger is one of the most relevant emotions with respect to collective action because it is an approach emotion (Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009) that seeks to redress injustices (Lazarus, 1991; see also Frijda, 1986). According to this, anger is often included among measures of the affective experience of injustice (see Van Zomeren, Postemes & Spears, 2008). We thus expect that both a perceived personal disadvantage and rights violations should enhance feelings of anger.

Anger and identification

In contrast to the classic view on emotions in collective action (as individual and dysfunctional responses; e.g., Le Bon, 1895/1995; Oberschall, 1973), several authors agree with the current view of emotions as sometimes functional responses. More specific to collective action, when people perceive injustice, group-based emotions like anger can invoke (more or less directly) action tendencies in order to redress unfairness (Frijda, 1986; for a review see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). Anyway, the existing literature on group emotion and social identity suggests that the causal relationships between the two are still unclear (Kessler & Hollbach, 2005; Smith & Mackie, 2006; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a).

Sometimes, group emotion has been theoretically understood as stemming from the straightforward appraisal process elaborated in intergroup emotion theory, where appraisal based on

a group (social) self leads to group emotion, which leads to group action (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Smith, 1993). In a similar way, in the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a), a salient social identity is placed before the experience of emotional reactions to injustice (group emotion).

From a different point of view, other authors recently explored the ways that emotions can equally give rise to social group memberships and/or inform group norms (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009b). Indeed, some evidence suggests that social identities can be actively created by group members based on shared cognition (i.e. shared knowledge structures; Swaab, Postmes, van Beest, & Spears, 2007). Moreover, Peters and Kashima (2007) described the ways that the social sharing of emotion can create links among people and foster a shared understanding of the world. This shared understanding can be used to coordinate social interaction within a group but also action between groups (Leach & Tiedens, 2004; Peters & Kashima, 2007; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007). In other words, emotion can form the basis for an effective social category, which then motivates social action (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009b). This statement is well contained in the famous initial quotation by Che Guevara: in other words, when people feel angry and “indignated” for injustice, then the feeling of being “comrades” is more likely.

According to Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor (2009b) we thus suggest that emotion is initially experienced at an individual level, but the recognition that others share the emotion forms the basis for group formation (see Peters & Kashima, 2007). According to these authors, it is then plausible to hypothesize that feelings of anger can enhance identification with the Water Movement.

Context of the study

The Water Movement can be considered, in Italy, an important and understudied participative phenomenon. After the approval of the “Ronchi Decree” by the Italian Parliament (2009), the Italian Water Movement decided to promote the campaign titled "Water is not for sale" whose main objective is to support the legislative referendum in order to abrogate, totally or partially, three law articles related with the liberalization process. In detail, the point explicitly opposed by the Movement is the definition of water as a service with “economic value” (Law Decree 135/09, art. 15; see also Chapter 1).

According to data shown in Chapters 2 and 3, we can affirm that for some people, water (and the right to water) has a “sacred value” (e.g. Tetlock, 2003). Indeed, as suggested by the literature,

certain values, like nature or human rights, are seen as absolute and inviolable - in effect sacred – and people respond with moral outrage to taboo trade-offs. This means that moral principles are seen as non-negotiable and thus are protected from trade-offs with other values (Baron & Spranca, 1997; Tanner & Medin, 2004; Tanner, Ryf, & Hanselmann, 2007; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000).

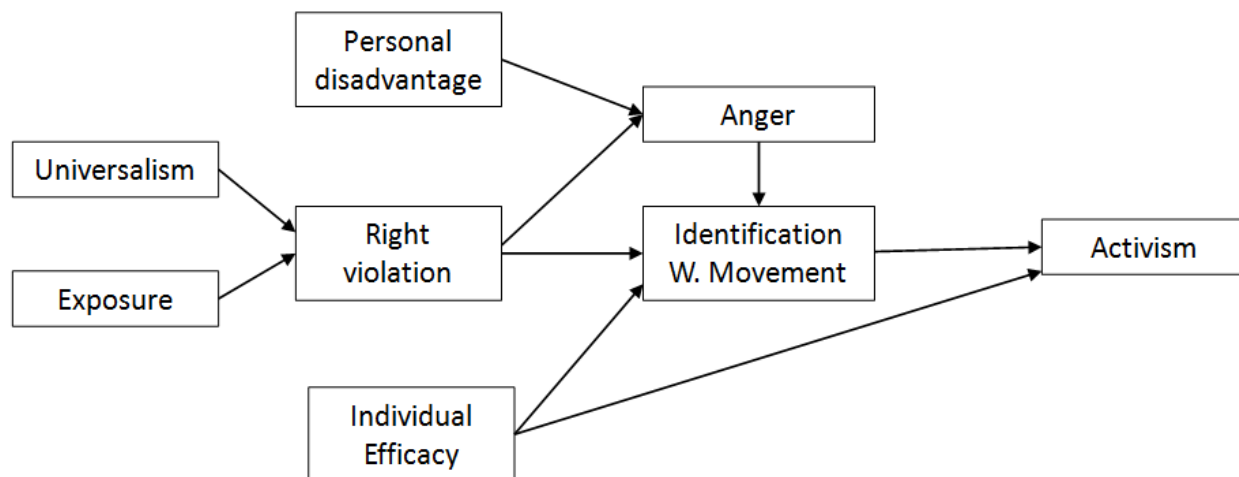
Aims and hypotheses

First of all, through this study, we wanted to test a similar model to the one we presented in Chapter 2. According to Chapters 1 and 2, our hypotheses were that *identification* with Water Movement should be the more proximal predictor of activism. Moreover, *rights violation* and *individual efficacy* should predict *identification* with the Water Movement (Figure 1).

Second, we wanted to consider also the predictors of the perceived *rights violation*. Considering that double nature of our central construct, as made by the two components of “importance of the right” and “perceived threat” of the same right, our hypotheses were that the perceived rights violations should be influenced by both internal and external factors. In details we hypothesized that universalism and exposure to the campaign should influence the perceived rights violation.

Third, we wanted to go on with the study of the role played by anger. Our idea was that both a perceived personal disadvantage and the perceived violation of an important human right can enhance anger. Moreover, *anger* should have an effect on identification with water movement. Figure 2 graphically shows all our predictions.

Figure 2. The “complex” model of collective action: right violation, individual efficacy, identification, exposure to the campaign, universalism and anger.



Method

During the month before the referendum (May 1st – June 1st, 2011) a convenience sample of 133 participants completed an on-line questionnaire. The link to the questionnaire was published on the web-page of a thematic group about “water” in Facebook. One € 50 prize (voucher), which was awarded randomly, was offered as an incentive to participate. Males were 36.10 % of the sample, while females were 63.9%. The mean age was 28.07 y.o. ($SD = 9.06$). The questionnaire covered the following areas.

Universalism

We measured the value universalism with the six items from the Portrait Values Questionnaire (Schwartz *et al.*, 2001) in its Italian validation (Capanna, Vecchione, & Schwartz, 2005). Possible answers ranged from 1 (‘not like me at all’) to 6 (‘very much like me’) ($M = 5.20$; $SD = .65$; $\alpha = .82$).

Exposure to the referendum campaign

We asked people to indicate the number of times they received communications about the issue of water and privatization during the previous 6 months ($M = 12.17$; $SD = 10.60$).

Personal disadvantage

We measured personal disadvantage through a single item “How much would you be personally advantaged from the liberalization of water services?”(item reversed). Possible answers ranged from 1 (“very advantaged”) to 6 (“very disadvantaged”) ($M = 3.43$; $SD = 1.17$).

Rights violation

According to the study presented in Chapter 3, we measured *rights violation* by a multiplicative index based on its two components of “value of the right to water” and “perceived threat of right violation”. Each component was composed by seven items, corresponding to the dimensions of quantity, quality, physical accessibility (access), affordability (price), information, participation, and environmental respect (see Table 1 at p. 39). The first component referred to the perceived *importance of the right to water* ($\alpha = .74$). We measured this component by asking how much it would be serious if, in times of crisis, each of the eight dimensions of the right to water was implicitly not respected. The ‘non-discrimination’ aspect has been included in each item, specifying that every statement should be valid for everyone. An example item for the dimension of quantity was: “Even in a period of economic crisis, how much it would be necessary that everyone will have access to a minimum quantity of water for personal and domestic uses?”. Answers ranged from 1 (“strictly necessary”) to 7 (“not necessary”). The second component referred to the *perceived threat of violations* of the right to water, in its 7 dimensions (“Without substantial law changes, how it is probable that we will face the following violations of the right to water?”) ($\alpha = .89$). Example of item, for the dimension of quantity, was “Someone will have no access to a minimum quantity of water for personal and domestic uses”. Answers ranged from 1 (“very unlikely”) to 7 (“very likely”). Being a multiplicative index, the right-to-water violation increases when each couple of items on the seven dimensions, increases simultaneously. A principal axis factoring analysis extracted one factor that predicted 53.56 % of the variance, with factor loadings ranging from .58 to .80. Thus, this measure confirmed its adequate construct validity and the quadratic mean of the seven couple of items was adopted as in the analyses (range 1 - 7, $M = 5.67$; $SD = .96$; $\alpha = .88$).

Anger

We measured this variable by asking participants to indicate how they felt about the issue of water and privatization using four emotion adjectives (angry, irritated, furious, outraged), similarly to previous studies (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004; Iyer *et al.*, 2007; Stürmer & Simon, 2009). Participants rated each item on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (do not agree) to 7 (totally agree). For

each participant we calculated a composite score for this variable by averaging over the four items ($M = 4.53$; $SD = 1.88$; $\alpha = .95$).

Individual efficacy

We measured individual efficacy beliefs by focusing on the perceived ability to contribute personally to the movement success, similarly to Chapter 3. This measure employed four items with 7-point response scales (ranging from 1 = “not at all” to 7 = “completely”) ($M = 4.88$; $SD = 1.30$; $\alpha = .87$). Examples were: “How much do you feel capable of actively contributing to the Referendum success?”, or “How much do you feel capable of convincing people to vote for the Referendum?”. Factor analysis confirmed the existence of one corresponding factor explaining 64.47 % of variance, with all factor loadings $>.62$.

Identification with the Water Movement.

We measured *identification with the Water Movement* with three items adapted from studies in Chapters 2 and 3 (see also Van Stekelenburg, 2006; Mannarini *et al.*, 2009). Items employed seven-point response scales (ranging from 1 = “not at all” to 7 = “very much”) ($M = 5.04$; $SD = 1.25$; $\alpha = .86$). The three items were: “To what extent do you define yourself as a “public water activist?”, “How many things do you have in common with other people in the Italian Water Movement?”, and “How many things do you have in common with other people in the Water Movement worldwide?”.

Future activism.

Similarly to Chapter 3, we measured *activism* by asking participants to indicate the future time investment (in hours per week) they were willing to spend for the referendum campaign (promoted by the Movement) in the subsequent month ($M = 2.32$; $SD = 3.63$). We measured and we run analyses also considering an alternative measure of activism - the number of different activities they were willing to take part in - without significant changes in the results (data not shown).

Results

Table 1 provides the correlations between the key measures.

Table 1. Correlations between measures.

	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Universalism	.14	.24**	.13	.24**	.26**	.45***	.22**
2. Exposures to W campaign		.20*	.11	.02	.22*	.31***	.17*
3. Rights violation			.07	.22*	.06	.35***	.20*
4. Personal disadvantage				.53***	-.05	.13	.16
5. Anger					.14	.29**	.21**
6. Individual efficacy						.45***	.36***
7. Identification with WM							.37***
8. Activism							

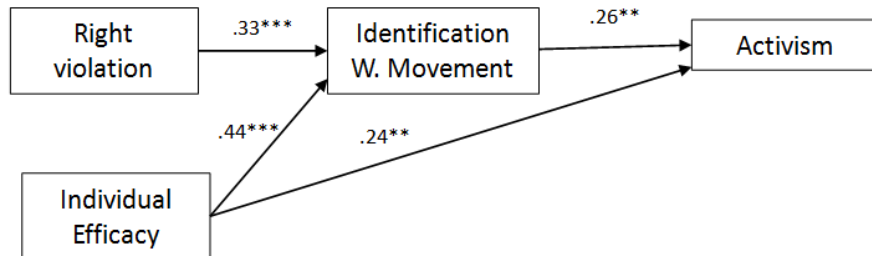
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

According to the first aim, we wanted to test the model based on right violation, individual efficacy and identification. We first tested our predictions with a series of multiple regression analyses. We regressed the predictors (right violation and individual efficacy) on identification with the Water Movement. Results showed, as expected, that right violation ($\beta = .32, p < .001$) and individual efficacy ($\beta = .44, p < .001$) were predictors of identification with the movement. In a second step, we tested whether right violation, individual efficacy, and identification with the movement predicted activism. As expected, results showed that identification with the Water Movement demonstrated a strong predictive effect ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) on activism. Also individual efficacy demonstrated a significant predictive effect ($\beta = .25, p < .01$) - while right violation ($\beta = .11, p = .20$) did not. Thus, results supported our first group of predictions.

However, multiple regression analysis does not provide an assessment of the fit of the model as a whole and does not have the benefit of simultaneous parameter estimation. We therefore subsequently tested our predictive model through structural equation modeling (using Amos 5). Our model assumes that movement identification predicts activism, and is predicted by right violation and individual efficacy beliefs. This model (see Figure 3 for the standardized parameter estimates) fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 2.24, df = 2, p = .33$, which indicates that the hypothesized covariance matrix did not differ from the actual covariance matrix). Other fit indices corroborated this evaluation of the model: CFI = .99, NFI = .97, SRMR = .04, RMSEA = .03 (see Kline, 1998). As can be seen in Figure 3, parameter estimates supported our hypotheses. Movement identification and individual efficacy predicted activism, and movement identification was predicted by right violation and by

individual efficacy. These results corroborate the regression results and also establish that the model as a whole fits the data well.

Figure 3. The “simple” model of collective action with standardized regression weights.



* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

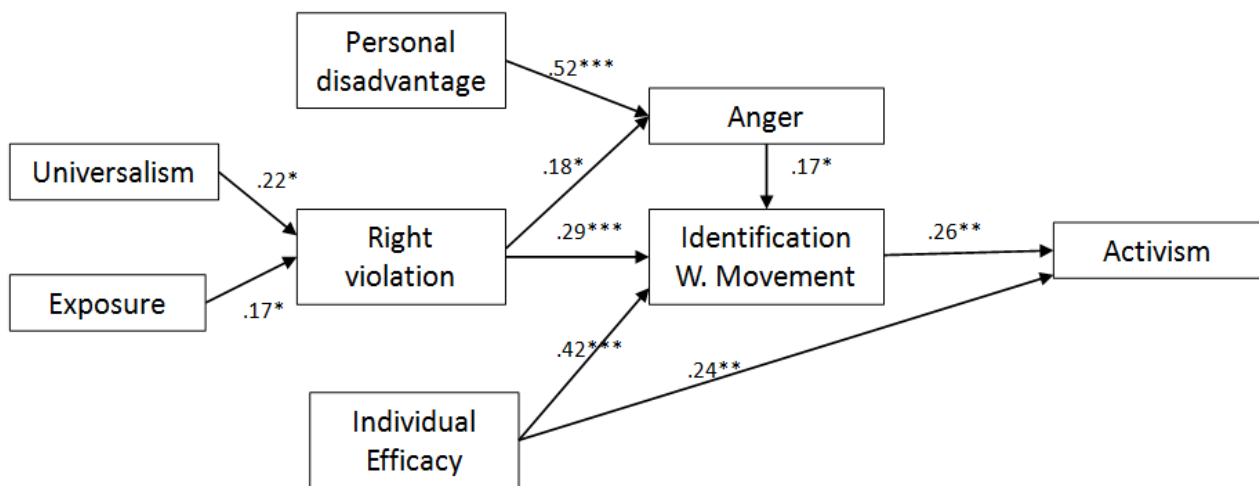
According to the second aim of the study, we wanted to consider also the predictors of the perceived *rights violation*. To test the second group of predictions, we thus regressed universalism and exposure to the campaign on rights violation. Results confirmed our hypotheses about universalism ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) and exposure to the campaign ($\beta = .17, p = .05$). We can also add that considering separately the two components of *right violations* – i.e. the importance and the threat of violation - results showed that the importance of the right to water is significantly predicted by universalism ($\beta = .26, p < .01$) but not by exposure to the campaign ($\beta = .04, p = .68$). On the contrary, the threat of violation is significantly predicted by the exposure to the campaign ($\beta = .21, p < .05$) but not by universalism ($\beta = .13, p = .12$).

According to the third group of hypotheses, our idea was that both a perceived personal disadvantage and the perceived violation of an important human right can enhance anger. Moreover, *anger* should have an effect on identification with the water movement. To test whether rights violation and personal disadvantage predicted anger, we regressed right violations, personal disadvantage, universalism and exposure to the campaign, on anger. Results showed, as expected, that rights violations ($\beta = .17, p < .05$) and personal disadvantage ($\beta = .51, p < .001$) were unique predictors of anger, while exposure to referendum campaign ($\beta = -.09, p = .23$) was not and universalism showed a marginal effect ($\beta = .15, p = .05$). To test whether anger predicted identification, we regressed right violation, individual efficacy and anger on identification with the Water Movement. Results showed, as expected, that anger was a significant predictor of identification with Water Movement ($\beta = .16, p < .05$) Also rights violation ($\beta = .29, p < .001$), and

individual efficacy ($\beta = .41, p < .001$) remained significant predictors of identification with the movement. The second and the third groups of predictions was thus confirmed by regressions.

As we did with the first “simple” model, we decided to test our final predictive model also through structural equation modeling (using Amos 5). As can be seen in Figure 4, parameter estimates supported our hypotheses. Universalism and exposure to the campaign predicted right violation. Anger was predicted by personal disadvantage and by right violation. Movement identification was predicted by right violation, by anger, and by individual efficacy. Movement identification and individual efficacy predicted activism. These results corroborate the regression results; however, the model fit was worse than the previous one. Possible explanations include the too small sample to test the entire model⁷. This final model (see Figure 4 for the standardized parameter estimates) did not fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 54.79, df = 19, p < .001$). Other fit indices corroborated this evaluation of the model: CFI = .79, NFI = .72, SRMR = .12, RMSEA = .11.

Figure 4. The “complex” model of collective action with standardized regression weights.



* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Discussion

Firstly, through this chapter we presented a study which provides further support for the evidence presented in Chapter 3. Indeed, our results suggest that movement identification might have a considerable moral basis, and more specifically it has to do with the moral motivation

⁷ Even if the sample size has received a considerable amount of attention in the literature, there is no agreement as to what can be considered a “large sample”. A simplified attempt at a rule of thumb might suggest that sample size would desirably be more than 10 times the number of free model parameter (Bentler, 1995; Hu, Bentler, & Kano, 1992).

derived from the violation of moral principles (in terms of Klandermans, 1997). Moreover, the present study confirmed the predicted stronger effect of individual efficacy beliefs on identification with the Water Movement. According to Chapter 3, this study also suggests that a more individual component of efficacy might be more proximal to movement identification and activism. In fact, both studies (Chapters 3 and 4) stressed the importance of the beliefs that the individual's participation will have a potential effect on collective action (i.e. "make a difference"). This additional effect that individual efficacy demonstrated on activism – absent in Chapter 3 – suggests that for this sample - with lower degrees of identification and activism than participants of the first two studies - instrumental motives, like efficacy, can predict activism even in the absence of identification with Water Movement (see also Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009).

Second, this study provides support for the usefulness of the "perceived rights violation" in explaining collective action processes. In details, our findings suggest that rights violation depends both on internal and external factors. Moral values, like universalism, can enhance the importance attributed to some human rights (like the right to water). In this sense, these findings further support the moral foundation of the concept of "rights violation". Moreover, the exposure to the mobilization campaign can enhance perceived injustice, in terms of violation of rights (like water). In other words: "like a real compass, values help us to [...] reveal discrepancies between actual and ideal situations. The larger these discrepancies or the more they stem from a violation of central values, the more strongly people will be motivated to express their view" (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009, p. 818). This idea emphasizes the importance of both components of the perceived violation of moral principles. Indeed, according to our regressions' results, the *importance of the right* depends more on internal (and stable) values, while the *perceived threat of violations* of the right depends more on external factors, like the exposure to a (contingent) mobilization campaign.

Third, the perceived violation of the right to water and a personal disadvantage can both enhance anger. In this sense, our results suggest that anger derives from a perceived injustice which depends on moral and an instrumental paths (see also Chapter 1; Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009). Anyway, a limitation of this study is that it does not allow us to distinguish between anger which derives from instrumental reasons (e.g. a personal disadvantage) and the anger which derives directly from right violation. A further limitation is the small number of cases to test the entire model.

Concluding, the results presented in this chapter have strong practical implications for activists and mobilization campaigns development, since it seems possible to enhance the feeling of anger (and the following identification with the Movement and activism) through a mobilization

campaign which stresses right violations. Anyway, even demonstrating a general association, the present study did not allow us to observe if anger can be effectively elicited by the exposure to the communication campaign. We can anticipate that next chapter will overcome some of this limits, testing which kind of anger actually predicts identification with the water movement and activism.

CHAPTER 5

Can a mobilization campaign based on rights violation, enhance anger and identification?

Rome. Largo Argentina. The autobus stops and Mrs. Camilla gets off. She starts walking in the rain, slowly but firmly. She does not take my flyer, but she already knows what to do. She comes to the stand and she subscribes the questions for water, in the first day of signatures collection. Then, she turns around and she comes back to the bus stop saying «Now, I can go home».
Mrs. Camilla is 90 years old.

[Bersani, 2011, p. 17]

Introduction

Data from Italian referenda show that, despite in the last 15 years citizens were called to vote seven times, just in the last one they reached the necessary quorum to be considered valid. If, according to some authors, the previous trend can be traced to a general decline in voter turnout in Italy like in other countries (e.g. Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002), the reason for the last success appears less clear. According to many activists of the Italian Water Movement this success partially

derives from the large mobilization campaign they realized in several parts of Italy which was able to create a wide support for the referendum issues and campaign (Bersani, 2011). However, it is well known that efficacy beliefs (e.g. “our effort for the campaign matters”) are important for activists (e.g. Mummendey *et al.*, 1999; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004; see also Chapters 2 and 3) even in the absence of evidence about the psychosocial processes through which the campaign works.

Through this chapter we make an attempt to answer the original question in the title (i.e., “Can a mobilization campaign based on rights violation, enhance anger and identification?”) - taking advantage of the political situation in Italy, and the recent mobilization campaign for “public water”. Our idea is that anger can be elicited by the perception of both moral and instrumental injustices, but that especially anger which derives from a moral injustice (e.g. the violation of a human right) more than from a personal disadvantage, can predict identification with the Water Movement and activism. Before describing the present study, we introduce the role that different messages – based on moral and instrumental motives - can have in enhancing anger and identification with social movements. For a more detailed theoretical introduction to our hypotheses the reader can consult also Chapter 4.

Moral and instrumental paths for being angry

Chapter 4 already shed some more light on the predictors and the consequences of perceived rights violation. In details, findings suggested that the perceived violation of the Right to Water depends not only on internal factors (like values) but also on external factors. Indeed, we demonstrated that also the exposure to the mobilization campaign can enhance perceived injustice, in term of rights violation. Integrating the previous literature (e.g. Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a), our results showed also that both the perceived violation of the right to water and a personal disadvantage can enhance anger.

Anyway, the research design adopted in Chapter 4, even if it demonstrated a general association, did not allow us to observe if anger can be elicited by the exposure to the communication campaign. On the contrary, in the present study we adopt a different approach, based on specific communication materials emphasizing an imminent right violation or, alternatively, a personal disadvantage. According to Chapter 4, our first hypothesis is that both messages – based on right violations and personal disadvantage – could elicit anger.

Anger and identification

In Chapter 4, we already suggested, according to Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor (2009b), that emotion is initially experienced at an individual level, but the recognition that others share the emotion forms the basis for group formation (see Peters & Kashima, 2007). We thus hypothesized and found that feelings of anger can enhance identification with the Water Movement. Through the present study, we make a step further in understanding which specific kind of anger can facilitate identification and activism. Distinguishing between anger derived from moral (i.e. right violations) and instrumental (i.e. personal disadvantage) reasons, our hypothesis is that only anger for moral reasons would have a positive effect on identification with Water Movement. This idea is in line with the fact that moral injustice can be conceived as part of the same shared ideology – which is strictly linked with group identification (see Chapter 1) - while personal disadvantage represents a mainly individualistic reason for being angry. In this sense, if anger follows the perceived injustice (moral and instrumental), our hypothesis is that only anger for rights violation enhances identification with the movement and subsequent activism.

Finally, like in Chapters 3 and 4, we hypothesize that identification with the movement is a key predictor of activism (cf. Simon *et al.*, 1998; for a meta-analysis, see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a).

Context of the study

As we already wrote in previous Chapters, after the approval of the “Ronchi Decree” by the Italian Parliament (2009), the Italian Water Movement decided to promote the campaign titled “Water is not for sale” whose main objective was to support the legislative referendum in order to abrogate three law articles related with the liberalization process of water services (Azzariti *et al.*, 2011). This campaign was based on communications through flyers and face to face contacts in local communities, but it was almost absent from national mass media. In the communication materials we can identify two core messages, which well exemplify motives of intuitive economists and intuitive *theologians* (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009). These two messages coexisted, in a way that till now it was impossible to determine which message has been more effective in convincing people to mobilize.

The first core message has to do with the idea of water as a human right to defend, since it would be threatened by the privatization process. This position can be articulated in the different dimensions of the right to water (quantity, quality, etc.) but the core moral idea is that water is a commons, and it has to be provided to all, without any personal advantages or discriminations. This message represents a common argumentation among the activists (see Chapter 2), it is reflected in the official documents of the Movement (e.g. Azzariti *et al.*, 2011), and it is also well represented in many communication materials. Our suggestion is that the message presents a more “sacred” motive for mobilization. Indeed, certain values, like nature or human rights can be seen as absolute and inviolable - in effect sacred - and people respond with moral outrage and anger to taboo trade-offs. In this sense, moral principles are seen as absolute and non-negotiable and thus are protected from trade-offs with other values (e.g. Baron & Spranca, 1997; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000). According to Chapters 3 and 4, we can affirm that for some people, water (and the right to water to) is a “sacred value” to protect (e.g. Tetlock, 2003).

The second message has to do with the possible increasing rates consequent to the privatization process. This is a common argumentation among the activists (see Chapter 2), it is often remarked in the official documents (e.g. Azzariti *et al.*, 2011), and it is also communicated through the dissemination of flyers. Our suggestion is that this message well represents an “economic” motive, since the implicit message is that sustaining the mobilization campaign and voting at the referendum is important “if you do not want to pay higher rates” for the water supply. In the qualitative study presented in Chapter 2, the interviewed activists stressed the usefulness of this message (possible increase of rates) in convincing large number of people.

Method

During the month before the referendum (May 1st – June 1st, 2011), 119 Italian citizens accepted to be interviewed about the topic of “water supply management” in the main square of R., a city in the North-East of Italy. Males were 40.30 % of the sample, while females were 59.70 %. The mean age was 40.16 y.o. ($SD = 17.70$).

Exposure to “right violation” and “personal disadvantage” messages

To test our hypotheses we preliminarily created two flyers stressing different motives to mobilize. The first flyer (A) was created in order to communicate a possible violation of the right to

water. The first part of the flyer A stressed the importance of the right to water: “Water is a universal human right. According to several International Organizations, the right to water represents an important human right. Water and water services should be equally accessible to everyone, including the most vulnerable and emarginated”. The second part of the flyer suggested an imminent violation of the right to water in Italy: “Two Italian law articles threat this right, because according to these, in the next years some people will not have access to the same quantity of clean water”. The final part suggested to help the referendum campaign organized by the Water Movement with the aim to cancel these law articles.

The second flyer (B) concerned the issue of water and privatization stressing a more instrumental motive to act. The first part of the flyer emphasized the economic value of water, while the second part suggested an imminent price increase that the participant will pay. The final part was identical to flyer A. In this way, we had the opportunity to measure anger originating from the exposure to messages emphasizing a possible right violation and a personal disadvantage. The two flyers (A and B) were shown to each participant together and at the same time.

Anger

For each flyer, participants indicated how they felt using three emotion adjectives (angry, outraged, and deprived). Participants rated each item on the same 7-point scale of Study 1, so we obtained an anger score for flyer A ($M = 5.30$; $SD = 1.60$; $\alpha = .82$) and for flyer B ($M = 5.26$; $SD = 1.68$; $\alpha = .86$).

Identification with Water Movement

We measured identification with the Water Movement with the three items adopted in Chapter 4. Items employed seven-point response scales (ranging from 1 = “not at all” to 7 = “very much”) ($M = 4.41$; $SD = 1.62$; $\alpha = .75$). The three items were: “To what extent do you define yourself as a “public water activist?”, “How many things do you have in common with other people in the Italian Water Movement?”, and “How many things do you have in common with other people in the Water Movement worldwide?”.

Activism

We measured activism, asking participants if they were going to take part in a list of six activities in support of the referendum campaign. The list of activities included: giving money to support the campaign, distributing communication materials, suggesting relatives to go to vote,

suggesting friends to go to vote, wearing referendum symbols, and taking part to other activities in support of the referendum. The number of activities ranged from 0 to 6 ($M = 1.86$; $SD = 1.22$).

Table 1. Correlations between measures.

	2.	3.	4.
1. Anger - Fl. A	.81***	.60***	.30***
2. Anger - Fl. B		.47***	.25**
3. Identification with WM			.50***
4. Activism			

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Results

We tested our predictions firstly with a series of multiple regression analyses. We regressed the two predictors measuring anger (anger fl. A, anger fl. B) on identification with the Water Movement⁸. Results showed, in line with our hypothesis, that anger derived from exposure to Flyer A (rights violation) was the unique predictor of identification with the movement ($\beta = .65$, $p < .001$), while the anger for Flyer B (personal disadvantage) was not ($\beta = -.06$, $p < .62$). In a second step, we tested whether right violation, anger fl. A, anger fl. B, and identification with the movement predicted activism. As predicted, results showed that only identification with the Water Movement demonstrated a strong predictive effect ($\beta = .49$, $p < .001$) on activism - while anger fl. A ($\beta = -.01$, $p = .97$), and anger fl. B ($\beta = .13$; $p = .88$), did not.

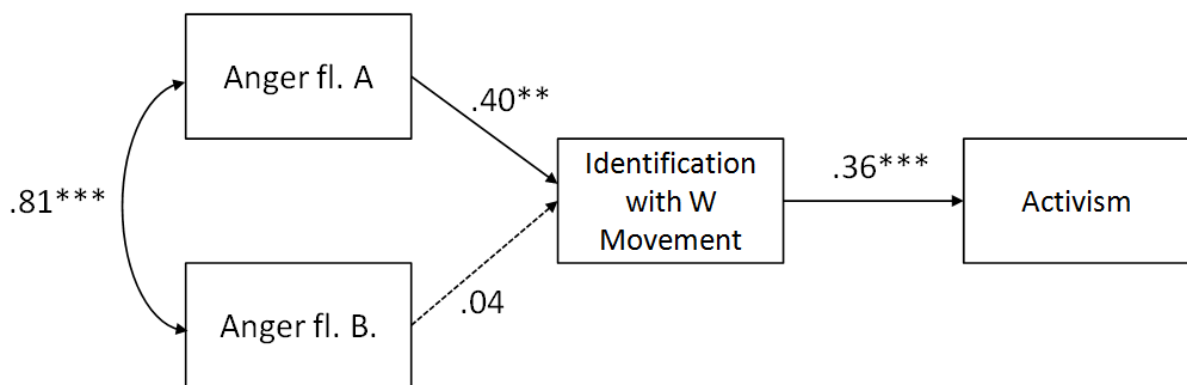
Considering that multiple regression analysis does not provide an assessment of the fit of the model as a whole and it does not have the benefit of simultaneous parameter estimation, we

⁸ Considering the high correlation between the two measures of anger (see Table 1), we could face some problems of multicollinearity. However, the tolerance statistic is .34, that means just higher than .20 - below which Menard (1995) suggests that values are worthy of concern.

therefore tested our predictive model also through structural equation modeling (using Amos 5). Our model assumes that movement identification predicts activism, and is predicted by anger fl. A and anger fl. B. In this model we had also the opportunity to consider the correlation between the two kinds of anger.

This model (see Figure 1 for the standardized parameter estimates) fit the data well ($\chi^2 = 3.79$, $df = 2$, $p = .15$, which indicates that the hypothesized covariance matrix did not differ from the actual covariance matrix). Other fit indices corroborated this evaluation of the model: CFI = .99, NFI = .98, SRMR = .06, RMSEA = .09 (Kline, 1998). As can be seen in Figure 1, parameter estimates supported our hypotheses. Movement identification predicted activism, and movement identification was predicted by anger fl. A, but not by anger fl. B. These results corroborate the regression results and also establish that the model as a whole fits the data well.

Figure 1. The model with standardized parameter estimates.



Discussion

Firstly, this chapter sheds some more light on the relationship between rights violation and identification with social movement. In Chapter 3 right violations showed a direct effect on identification with the Water Movement. In Chapter 4, even considering the role played by anger, right violations maintained also a direct effect on identification with Water Movement, whereas personal disadvantage did not. Finally, in the present Chapter, only anger derived from rights violation represented a key-predictor of identification, while anger based on personal disadvantage did not. Taken together, these results partially go beyond the conclusion of the second approach presented in Chapter 1: moral convictions and moral injustice can be considered as part of ideology

(Klandermans, 2004; Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; 2011) and in this sense, they are strictly linked with identification with the movement. Even agreeing with the idea that identification creates the awareness of similarity and solidarity, our results suggest also that group identification can be considered the more proximal predictor of activism, more than an “integrative mechanism” (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2011), and that this feeling of “us” can be enhanced especially by group-anger which derives from the shared perception of rights violation.

Results presented in this chapter give more strength to the practical implications of the results from previous Chapters. Indeed it seems possible, for activists and mobilization campaigns organizers, to enhance the feeling of anger (and the subsequent identification with the Movement and activism) through a mobilization campaign which stresses right violations. In details, the present chapter emphasizes that if the aim is to create a general discontent and feelings of anger, both messages based on personal disadvantages and on right violations can be useful. However if the aim is to promote a deeper identification with the movement, in order to have a higher time investment in the future, communicating a rights violation is the only effective strategy.

CHAPTER 6

Explaining vote intention at the referendum

Introduction

In the first three chapters of this dissertation, we already demonstrated how the perceived violation of the Right to Water can facilitate the identification with Water Movement, followed by intention of being active in the same movement. Moreover in Chapters 4 and 5 we suggested that violation of the right to water represents a moral path to activism which can coexist with a more instrumental one. In details, we demonstrated that even if anger can be elicited by perceived rights violations and by instrumental motives (i.e. personal disadvantages) only anger which derives from the formers had an effect on identification and the following activism. However, a limitation of previous chapters is that they focused mainly on activists, and they usually adopted a measure of future activism as dependent variable. But what do we know about the vote behavior at the referendum? Can the inviolable right to water motivate common citizens to vote YES? Are there other more relevant predictors?

This chapter answers these questions starting with the potential role played by past activism and by political orientation. Moreover, adapting the previous models of collective action, this study takes into account also moral and instrumental reasons for voting YES at the referendum.

Past activism, political orientation and vote intentions

For many water activists the referendum realization (and success) was a key goal of the entire Water Movement (see Chapter 2). In this sense it is possible to consider the vote at the referendum like other ways of acting collectively and protesting against the current law. We thus suggest that past activism clearly represents an important predictor to be considered in our model. However it is also clear that activists' votes were not enough to reach the quorum by themselves and that referendum needed a larger consensus.

We already explained that from April 2010, the Italian Water Movement launched a petition with the aim to collect the compulsory 500.000 signatures needed for the referendum realization. The initiative was successful, collecting over twice the number of needed signatures. As a consequence, despite the opposition by the Government in charge, the referendum took place in June 2011. Considering the failure of every Italian referendum in the previous 10 years, it was quite surprising to realize that the referendum about water had success, obtaining the abrogation of two law articles. This final result was possible thanks to a large citizens' participation: on June 12nd and 13rd 2011, more than 54 % of the Italian eligible voters, voted at the referendum about water, and among them almost all (more than 95 %) voted "YES".

During the month before the referendum, also political parties aligned themselves to a more defined position. The leaders of left-wing (opposition) parties explicitly suggested to their supporters to go to vote (e.g. Franceschini *et al.*, 2010) largely sustaining the referendum cause. Only recently the psychosocial literature started to discuss referenda in a systematic manner (e.g. Hobolt, 2009). Referenda differ from other vote behaviors in the sense that no political parties or candidate names appear on the ballot and voters must choose amongst alternatives that are sometimes unfamiliar. However, if voters know little about the specific ballot proposal, it is mainly the various information available to them that provide the basis for their opinion on the ballot question. Indeed, heuristic cues usually facilitate vote decision making according with preexisting set of values and political preferences (e.g. Wells, Reedy, Gastil, & Lee, 2009). In this sense, we suggest not only that past activism should be related with political left orientation (e.g. see Chapter

2), but also that previous political orientation (especially left) should be very important in predicting vote intentions.

Anyway, we should also add that, even if the political leaders of important government (centre-right) parties suggested to their supporters to NOT go to vote, 26 % of ‘Popolo della Libertà’ and 42 % of ‘Lega Nord’ supporters went to vote anyway (Bersani, 2011). Episodes like this are quite rare in referenda, and – we suggest - particularly interesting. Indeed, this result suggest that other mechanisms played an important role in predicting vote intentions.

Moral and instrumental paths to vote

If past activism and political orientation are not enough to completely explain vote intentions, we suggest that some insight can be derived from the models of collective action adopted in previous chapters. As already stressed, the article by Van Zomeren and Spears (2009) recently proposed a classification of a variety of motivations for collective action along the lines of the general metaphors of social functionalism (Tetlock, 2002) (see also Chapter 4). The authors proposed that the subjective motives for collective action map nicely onto the group-based and individual-based metaphors of protest. For example, individuals represented by the “theologians” can be motivated by a perceived threat to “sacred” norms and values (see below paragraph). On the opposite side of the model, for people described as “intuitive economists”, instrumental reasons represent key-motivations. In the following two paragraphs we briefly decline these two main motives into the context of the referendum for “Public Water”, introducing some novel hypotheses.

The sacredness of water

We already introduced Tetlock’s work on sacred values and taboo trade-offs (Tetlock, 2003; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000) as a theoretical contribution in support of the moral nature of Rights Violations. In details, we proposed that human rights, such as the right to water, can be viewed as moral convictions or “sacred values” that activists seek to defend when threatened (e.g., Tetlock, 2003). Such sacred values are seen as absolute, non-negotiable and inviolable. In this sense, individuals respond strongly to any violation of them (Baron & Spranca, 1997; Tanner & Medin, 2004; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000).

From a different perspective, some scholars proposed that there are some innate psychological “foundations” upon which cultures construct widely divergent moral systems (Harm/care, Fairness/reciprocity, Ingroup/loyalty, Authority/respect, and Purity/sanctity) (Haidt & Joseph, 2004). Following this line of thought, the “Sacredness Scale” was originally developed to measure the degree to which a person’s morality is built atop each of the foundations (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009). The authors adapted Tetlock’s work on sacred values and taboo trade-offs (Tetlock, 2003; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000) to make moral judgments more personal and visceral. Through this instrument, participants confronted with choices that involved trading off a sacred value (such as human life) for a profane value (such as money saved by a hospital) showed resistance to the task and feelings of pollution afterwards, as if it were impure even to contemplate the trade-off. The authors generated potential taboo violations for each moral foundation⁹.

Graham, Haidt and Nosek (2009) suggested that everyone’s morality relies heavily on the individualizing foundations and that neither liberals nor conservatives would be happy to “prostitute” their values by accepting money in exchange for violating them. In this chapter we move beyond the result about the perceived violation of the right to water (see Chapter 4), verifying in what extent the perceived “sacred value of the right to water” can predict vote intentions independently from other predictors, like past activism and political orientation. According to its moral nature, we hypothesized that the sacred value of the right to water (i.e. inviolable, taboo trade-off) – measured through a “Sacredness of the Right to Water Scale” - should be a significant predictor of the vote intentions.

Personal (dis)advantages and group efficacy

In Chapters 4 and 5 we already adopted the distinction between moral and instrumental motives (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009), suggesting that “intuitive economists” defend their individual self-interests and are interested in maximizing subjective utility (e.g. Olson, 1968). According to this metaphor, people can be motivated by possible personal advantages (or to avoid a possible disadvantage). This metaphor resonates also with the instrumental path to collective action (Van Stekelenburg *et al.*, 2009; see also Chapter 1). In this case, the rationale is that people will decide to vote YES (to stop the liberalization process) as much as they will perceive a personal disadvantage

⁹ For example, how much money would someone have to pay you to: Kick a dog in the head (Harm)? Renounce your citizenship (Ingroup)? Get a blood transfusion from a child molester (Purity)?

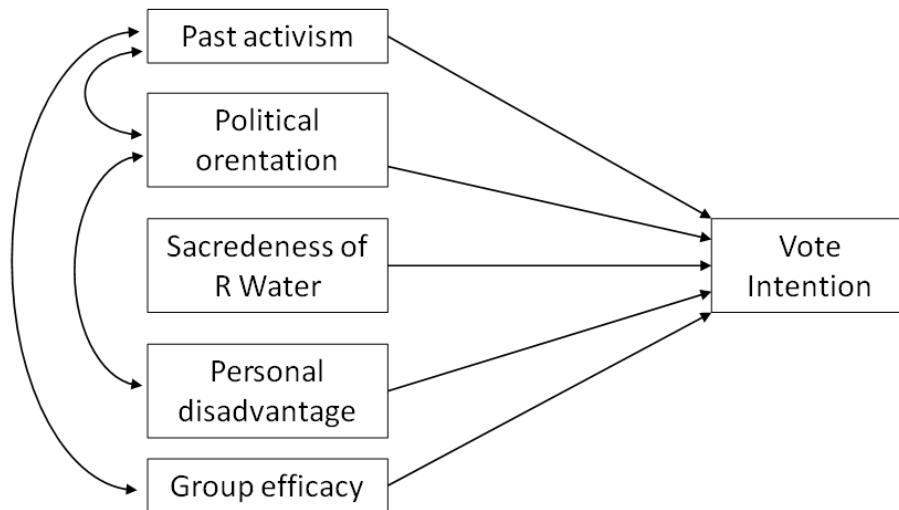
form the on-going liberalization of water supplies. Of course, this point of view can be particularly related with left-wing affiliation, so that it is also possible to hypothesize a correlation between personal disadvantage and political left orientation.

We should add that individual cost-benefit calculations (Klandermans, 1984; Stürmer & Simon, 2004a) is not the only instrumental motive to act. Indeed, the social-psychological literature emphasized group efficacy as a key variable. In other words, people's willingness to act collectively is a reflection of their estimates of success or efficacy (Finkel & Muller, 1998; Klandermans, 1984; Simon *et al.*, 1998; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004). As each vote is influential only when aggregated with other votes, voting results into a cooperative enterprise that can be influenced by group efficacy beliefs. In other words, when people vote they express their autonomy (values, perceived advantages, political orientation, etc.) but, at the same time, they affirm their trust in concerted action (Caprara, 2008). As for other forms of political behaviors (Caprara *et al.*, 2009) we thus suggest that this line of thought could be true also to explain vote intention. Furthermore, according to Chapter 3, we hypothesize also that group efficacy should be higher among activist than non-activist.

Aims and hypotheses

The main aim of the study was to identify the predictors of the intention to vote YES among a sample of Italian eligible voters. Summarizing the above paragraphs, we can illustrate our hypothesized model through a series of predictions. Firstly we suggest that the intention to vote "YES" at the referendum should be positively influenced by the past activism (H1) and by political left orientation (H2). Moreover, the perceived sacredness of the right to water (H3), the disadvantages from the privatization process (H4) and group efficacy beliefs (H5) should also have an effect on vote intentions. Finally, we hypothesize a correlation between past activism and left-orientation (H6), between left-orientation and perceived disadvantages from the privatization (H7), and a correlation between past activism and group efficacy (H8). The complete model is thus shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The model of vote intentions.



Method

During the month before the referendum (May 1st – June 1st, 2011) a convenience sample of 195 participants from Piemonte and Emilia Romagna freely accepted to complete a paper questionnaire. Males were 46.7 % of the sample, while females were 53.3%. The mean age was 40.57 y.o. ($SD = 15.26$). All participants were Italian eligible voters. The questionnaire took 15 to 20 minutes to complete and covered the following areas.

Past activism

We measured past activism, asking participants if, in the previous 6 months, they took part in a list of six activities in support of the referendum campaign. Examples of activities were giving money to support the campaign, distributing communication materials, suggesting friends to go to vote. The number of activities ranged from 0 to 6 ($M = 1.13$; $SD = 1.26$).

Political orientation

Like in the study by Van Leewen and Park (2009), participants completed a single-item explicit measure of political orientation, on a 7-point scale (1 = very left, 2=left, 3 = somewhat left, 4=neither left nor right, 5=somewhat right, 6 = right, and 7 = very right) ($M = 3.27$; $SD = 1.37$). This means that our sample was slightly left oriented. In the following analysis, this item was reversed in order to obtain positive coefficients for left-wing orientation.

Sacredness of the Right to Water

According to Tetlock's work on sacred values and taboo trade-offs (Tetlock, 2003; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000), and following the method adopted by Graham, Haidt, & Nosek (2009), we developed a 7 item 'Water Sacredness Scale'. We presented 7 situations in which the respondents indicate how much money someone would have to pay (anonymously and secretly) to be convinced to violate each dimension of the Right to Water (see Chapter 4). Instructions for participants were the same of the Moral Foundation Sacredness Scale (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009): "Try to imagine actually doing the following things, and indicate how much money someone would have to pay you, (anonymously and secretly) to be willing to do each thing. For each action, assume that nothing bad would happen to you afterwards. Also assume that you cannot use the money to make up for your action". Response options given after each action were € 0 (I'd do it for free), €10, €100, €1,000, €10,000, €100,000, a million euro, and never for any amount of money. Below these instructions participants found a list of 7 actions (listed in Appendix A).

The two items about the dimensions of 'quality' and 'access' were excluded from the analyses, because of their low variance due to the fact that most of the respondents were not willing to violate these dimensions of the right to water (for any amount of money) (Skewness respectively: -8.18 and -4.27). A principal axis factoring analysis extracted one factor that predicted 37.46 % of the variance, with factor loadings ranging from .45 to .74. Thus, the mean of the five items was adopted in the analyses (range 1 - 8, $M = 7.47$; $SD = .75$; $\alpha = .66$).

Personal disadvantage (from liberalization)

We measured the perceived personal disadvantage through the mean of two items: "How much would you be personally disadvantaged from the liberalization of water services?" and "How much would you be personally advantaged from the liberalization of water services?" (item reversed). Possible answers ranged from 1 ("not at all") to 7 ("very much"). The mean was 5.71, that means that our participants felt a bit personally disadvantaged from the liberalization process ($M = 3.43$; $SD = 1.63$).

Group efficacy

We measured group efficacy beliefs with four items similarly to chapter 3 (adapted from: Van Stekelenburg, 2006; Mannarini *et al.*, 2009). This measure employed 7-point response scales (ranging from 1 = "not at all" to 7 = "completely") ($M = 4.61$; $SD = 1.23$; $\alpha = .85$). An example was: "To what extent do you think that the Water Movement will be able to realize a large referendum campaign?".

Intention to vote “YES”

We measured the importance of voting “YES” through a single item “How much it is important for you, to vote “YES” at the next Referendum about water?”. Possible answers ranged from 1 (“not at all”) to 7 (“very much”) ($M = 6.36$; $SD = 1.36$).

Results

Pearson’s correlations were performed to explore the relationships between each of the predictors and the dependent variable (Table 1). As expected, in the whole sample we found significant relationships between all the predictors variables and the intention to vote YES.

Table 1. Correlations between study variables.

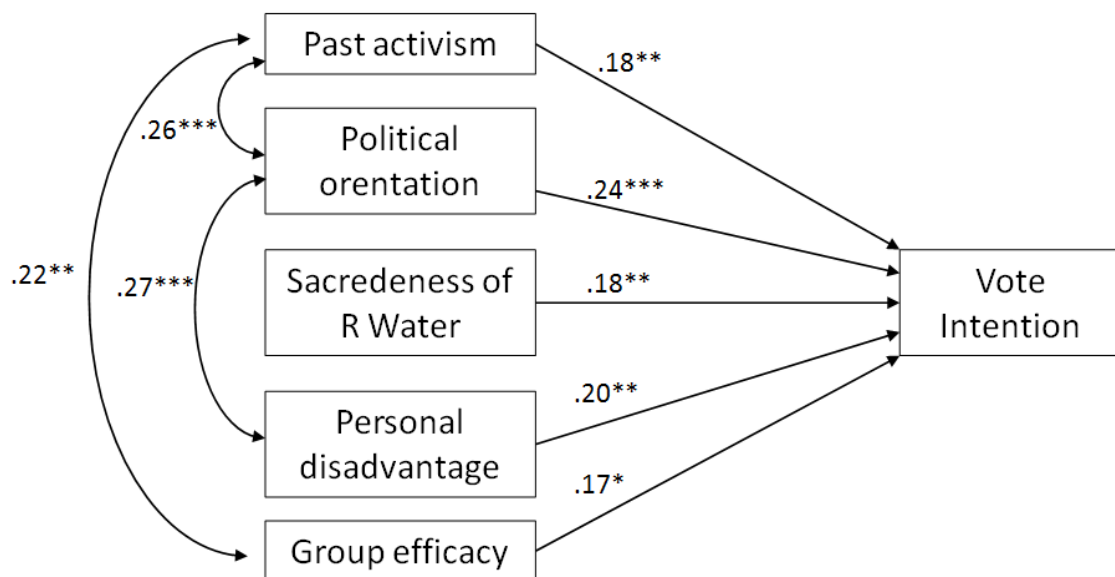
Variable	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(1) Past activism		.32***	.09	.18*	.25**	.33***
(2) Political orientation			.10	.32***	.07	.40***
(3) Sacredness R Water				.13	.04*	.26 ***
(4) Personal disadvantage					.10	.34***
(5) Group efficacy						.24**
(6) Intention to vote YES						

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

According to our aim, we first tested our predictions with a multiple regression analysis. We regressed the predictors on the intention to vote YES. Results showed, as expected, that past activism ($\beta = .17$, $p < .05$), political orientation ($\beta = .24$, $p < .001$), sacredness of the right to water ($\beta = .18$, $p < .01$), personal disadvantage ($\beta = .20$, $p < .01$) and group efficacy ($\beta = .16$, $p < .05$) were predictors of the intention to vote YES.

However, multiple regression analysis does not provide an assessment of the fit of the model as a whole and does not have the benefit of simultaneous parameter estimation, including the hypothesized correlations between predictors. We therefore subsequently tested our predictive model through structural equation modeling (using Amos 5). The entire model (see Figure 2 for the standardized parameter estimates) fit the data quite well ($\chi^2 = 11.76$, $df = 7$, $p = .11$, which indicates that the hypothesized covariance matrix did not differ from the actual covariance matrix). Other fit indices partially corroborated this evaluation of the model: CFI = .96, NFI = .91, SRMR = .07, RMSEA = .06 (see Kline, 1998). As can be seen in Figure 2, parameter estimates supported our hypotheses. The intention to vote YES at the referendum was predicted by all the five variables. These results corroborate the regression results and also establish that the model as a whole fits the data quite well.

Figure 2. The model of vote intentions with standardized estimates.



Discussion

In previous chapters we demonstrated that the right to water (based on moral values, like universalism, Schwartz *et al.*, 2001) plays an important role in collective action development; in this chapter we extended our results also to vote intentions. In details we demonstrated that the

intention to vote YES at the referendum was not only a matter of past activism and political orientation, but that other instrumental and moral reasons were also important.

For example, the significant effect shown by the sacredness of the right to water further demonstrated the usefulness of the conceptualization offered by the work on sacred values and taboo trade-offs (Tetlock, 2003; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000) in explaining vote intentions. If we compare the instrument adopted in the present chapter with the “perceived right violation” as measured in Chapters 3 and 4 (a multiplicative index of two dimensions: importance and perceived threat), we can conclude that both of them share the evaluation of the different dimensions of the right to water. However, the “sacredness of the right to water” stresses, more than a perceived violation which make activists to react, a representation of the water and of the right to water as something “inviolable” for any amount of money. This means that at last for someone, the vote at the referendum was not necessarily a vote against possible right violations, but a vote to express their views of the right to water as non negotiable. Further research about the representation of water and of the right to water shared by voters and activists would be particularly interesting.

However, we should also add that some people voted YES also for well defined instrumental reasons. For example, a perceived possible personal disadvantage (or non-advantage) from the privatization process lead some voters to express their agreement with the referendum. Unlike previous chapters, the perceived disadvantage showed a direct effect on the dependent variable without the mediation effect of identification with the Water Movement. We suggest that for vote intentions the identification with the movement was not a necessary predictor (as it was in Study 2 for activism), since to vote at this behavior require lower degrees of commitment in respect to others forms of activism. However, a limitation of our study is that we did not include a measure of identification, so we are not allowed to take definitive conclusion about its specific role.

In this study, we also showed a direct effect of group efficacy on vote intentions. This result could appear particularly interesting, since in Chapters 2 and 3 we demonstrated, through qualitative and quantitative data, that group efficacy beliefs were not important among activists to predict their commitment. However, once more we must considered that the results presented in Chapters 2 and 3 with activists, do not allow us to exclude the potential role of group efficacy for explaining vote intentions in a different sample made also by non-activists. A further methodological consideration has to do with the time of data collection. Indeed, it is possible to hypothesize that the 10 months of time from data collection in Chapter 2 (July 2010) to the one for this chapter (May 2011) could have increased the relative importance of collective efficacy. Indeed, if in the first stages of mobilization the referendum success was considered a “unreachable

objective, a few weeks before that the referendum took place it seemed to be more reachable (Bersani, 2011).

APENDIX A

The Right to Water Sacredness Scale

Write on a newspaper a wrong information about the source of the water we derive from the tap.

(Information)

Burn a list of letters to the Municipality, containing the citizens' protests about the aqueduct malfunction. *(Participation)*

Dry a small lake in a natural park. *(Environment)*

Steal a tank of water delivered to a Developing Country. *(Quantity)*

Add the toxic substances in the pipes that bring water to the house of a stranger. *(Quality)*

Permanently break the pipes that bring water to the house of a stranger. *(Access)*

Sell bottles of water to strangers, at a prize higher than usual. *(Affordability)*

CHAPTER VII

General discussion

It is necessary to rely on rights,
and their violation, wherever it comes from, must cause our indignation.

There is to be no compromise on these rights¹⁰.

[Hessel, 2010]

Through this dissertation we conducted a series of five studies, with the aim to answer important research questions about the role played by perceived human rights violations in predicting collective action. From a methodological point of view, the main weak point is probably that it is based on a single case (the Water Movement and the referendum for “public water”) and all data were collected only in Italy. Indeed, the literature stresses that the prevailing case-study

¹⁰ Le message d'un Mandela, d'un Martin Luther King trouve toute sa pertinence da un monde qui a dépassé la confrontation de ideologies et le totalitarisme conquérant. C'est un message d'espoir dans la capacité des sociétés modernes à dépasser les conflits par une compréhension mutuelle et une patience vigilante. Pour y parvenir, il faut se fonder sur les droits, dont la violation, quel qu'en soit l'auteur, doit provoquer notre indignation. Il n'a pas à transiger sur ces droits.

design limits the possibility of generalization and, more importantly, it makes it hard to test whether the motives of participants are contextually determined (e.g. Van Stekelenburg *et al.* 2009; 2011). However, the different methodologies and instruments through which data were collected, helped in reducing the effect of micro-contextual variables in our conclusions. Indeed, summarizing the different instruments, this dissertation adopted face-to-face interviews with activists in the local committee of C. (Chapter 2), on-line questionnaire sent to all the activists at the national level (Chapter 3), a web survey delivered through Facebook (Chapter 4), structured interviews with citizens in the city of R (Chapter 5), and paper questionnaires in two different Italian regions (Chapter 6). Furthermore, our work is based on a fruitful interplay of qualitative and quantitative methods, which showed convergent evidence and this represents also a strong point.

In the next paragraphs, we discuss the main points which emerged in previous chapters, in order to provide the reader with some more understanding of the theoretical contribution and practical implications of this dissertation, suggesting some potential developments for future research.

Right violations

This dissertation mainly represents a contribution in the field of research on morality and collective action. Indeed, among the different kinds of injustice which can promote collective action (Klandermans, 1997; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a) we focused on the specific injustice which derives by the violation of important moral principles. In continuity with Folger (1986; 1987) and Van Zomeren *et al.* (e.g. Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009; Van Zomeren, 2011a; 2011b; 2011c) we studied moral convictions in relation with collective action, defining them as “strong and absolute belief that something is right or wrong, moral or immoral” (e.g., Skitka & Bauman, 2008, p. 31; Skitka & Mullen, 2002). These convictions are personally perceived as absolute and are defended from any violations.

Moreover, our work explicitly focused on the defense of the human right to water, which represents the main thread of the whole dissertation. We know that human rights became object of interest for psychologists who gave attention to several aspects, including the cognitive representation (Stellmacher *et al.*, 2005), attitudes (McFarland & Mathews, 2005; Cohrs *et al.*, 2007), knowledge and importance (Stellmacher, Petzel, & Sommer, 2002; Stellmacher *et al.*, 2005), feelings of responsibility (Spini & Doise, 1998), and commitment (McFarland & Mathews, 2005).

However, some of these studies stressed that, even if many people apparently sustain human rights, only a minority decides to act in order to defend them (e.g. Ellis, 2004). According to Ellis (2004), the first two main barriers that the young participants reported, were: “It’s not my problem” and “It’s not my responsibility”. In this way, respondents allowed themselves (even if “supporters” of human rights) to distance from specific injustices (e.g. against lesbians and gay men) failing to see them as human rights violations.

Through the present work, we thus proposed that two coexisting “conditions” can facilitate collective action. The first one is the importance that people attribute to human rights and to their implicit moral value. The second one is that also a perceived violation or a threat of violation should be perceived. Indeed, with specific regard to the right to water, we demonstrated that a multiplicative indices which derives from these two components was able to predict identification in the Water Movement and the following activism in Chapters 3 and 4.

This can be considered a confirmation of the initial quotation by Hessel (taken from the famous book ‘Indignez-vous’ which inspired the movement of “Los Indignados”) who considers human rights as something to defend against every violation. This idea fits perfectly with the literature on “sacred values” that we recalled several times in chapters. According to this line of thought, some values (e.g. human rights, the environment, human life, etc.) are absolute, not-negotiable and inviolable, so that individuals will react with strength to every moral outrage which derives from a possible violation (Baron & Spranca, 1997; Tanner & Medin, 2004; Tetlock *et al.*, 2000; Lodewijkx *et al.*, 2008). For example, we demonstrated the perceived “sacredness” of the right to water is a significant predictor of vote intentions at the referendum (see Chapter 6).

Thus, we suggest that the first practical implication of our work has to do with the opportunity of promoting human rights among individuals. Our results suggest that to promote a real mobilization, it is important that people value human rights and that at the same time they perceive a possible violation. If the Universal Declaration of Human Rights asks *every individual* (and not only the States) to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights (UN, 2002, p. 1), we suggested that it is possible to influence the perceived violation of human right through communication. In Chapter 4 we demonstrated that the perceived violation of the rights (especially the violation component) can be influenced by the exposure to a communication campaign. Furthermore, in Chapter 5 we demonstrated that adopting some messages which emphasize the right violation, it is possible to elicit anger, identification in the Movement and the following activism.

Identification with Water Movement

A second interesting general result of this dissertation has to do with the importance of the identification with the social movement. Social identity theory already (Tajfel; 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) provided a framework for understanding collective action which also highlights the centrality of legitimacy concerns. Indeed, this theory proposed that people generally seek to belong to groups that provide them with positive social identities. According to this, the literature showed that movement identification is a strong predictor of individuals' participation (e.g., Simon *et al.*, 1998; for a meta-analysis see Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2008a). For example, the study by Stürmer and Simon (2004b) provided support for the role of identification with the gay movement in promoting participation in actions organized by that movement. Similarly, Cameron and Nickerson (2009) found further support for the predictive role of such group identification in the context of anti-globalization protests.

The results from this dissertation strongly confirmed this line of thoughts. Indeed, in three studies (see Chapters 3, 4 and 5) identification with the Water Movement was the proximal predictor of activism, mediating the effect of the perceived right violation, individual efficacy beliefs, and anger. In this sense, we suggest that these three predictors demonstrated an “aggregating power” which sustained activism about the topic of ‘public water’.

We can conclude that, together with the defense of the right to water, these results shed some light more on the process of “politicized collective identification” at the basis of collective action development (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Indeed according to Simon and Klandermans (2001), ‘awareness of shared grievances’ represents one of the three critical ingredients of the process of collective identity. With reference to the work by Kriesi (1993) on the new social movements in the Netherlands, the authors suggested that “it seems reasonable to assume that it was the violation of these “new” principles that led to shared grievances in the form of moral indignation and ultimately to collective protest on the part of many members of the middle class” (Simon & Klandermans, 2001, p. 325). However, even considering the recent contributions on moral convictions and ideology (see Chapter 1) no previous work was able to explicitly demonstrate this relation (as we did).

The role of community

In our first study (see Chapter 2), the preservation of community ties emerged as important motive for being “Water activists”. According to this, in the following quantitative study (Chapter 3) we introduced the variable “community integration” as possible predictor of activism. However, despite its correlation with other variables (individual and group efficacy, identification with WM, activism) in the final model its effect was not significant. We partially discussed these results at the end of Chapters 2 and 3, in the light of the literature on sense of community.

What we want to stress here is that, despite the confusion in the definition of the concept, sense of community has been often considered a catalyst for many forms of community participation. However in the last decades, integrated models of collective action often neglected its potential role. Indeed, community can also be described as a dynamic social group that shares problems and interests in a specific space and time (Montero, 1984) and in collective action literature it can be conceived as a large backstage region, which provides the base upon which collective action develops. In this sense, the notion of “social movement communities” has been sometimes adopted to describe informally organized networks of people in which activists are embedded, and which include also people who are not movement members (Stoecker, 1995; Staggenborg, 1998).

If in Chapter 3 we did not find a significant effect for community integration, our methodological limitations do not allow us to exclude that other dimensions of sense of community could be more important for collective action development. Indeed in the literature there is no agreement about the relation between the different components of sense of community (e.g. Tartaglia, 2006; Mannarini & Fedi, 2009), but there is enough evidence to hypothesize that its important dimensions (e.g. influence, needs fulfillment, social connections, identification, shared values and attachment) can facilitate collective action development (Mazzoni, Cicognani, & Van Zomeren, 2012).

Anger and emotions

If chapters 2 and 3 did not focus on self-reported emotions, in chapters 4 and 5 we focused on anger as a consequences of a perceived injustice. Indeed, recent developments in collective action research showed a renewed interest for emotions (Jaspers, 1998; Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2004; Iyer *et al.*, 2007; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a, 2009b), with a particular interest in anger (Van Zomeren *et al.*, 2011a). Our idea was that perceived rights violations, together with a perceived

personal disadvantage can enhance anger. In Chapter 4 we confirmed this hypothesis as a general association, while in Chapter 5 we demonstrated that anger can be elicited in real contexts by messages which alternatively emphasize personal disadvantage (i.e. money interests) or a right violations (i.e. water).

Some questions are still open, and in particular it is not clear the differential role played by “moral emotions” like indignation and moral outrage, vs. emotions related with hostility and aggressiveness (e.g. Eckart, Norlander, Deffenbacher, 2004). Indeed, our suggestion is that if the first ones can reflect a violation of a moral principle, the second one can have individual and group interests at their heart. Further research, adopting also different method to measure emotions, will clarify this issue and the possible consequences of the two types of anger. According to this line of thoughts, in Chapter 5 we already demonstrated that only the anger which derives from a moral violation has an “aggregating power” (see also Chapter 2) predicting identification and activism with the Water Movement.

Money interests and personal (dis)advantages

In Chapter 2 some activists reported a potential motive for being activists which was based on the representation of water as a *bill* to pay (like electricity supply) and privatization as *increasing rates*. This idea, even rare among highly committed activists, implicitly suggested that the privatization could lead to personal disadvantages, like higher water price. We considered this position as a good example of “instrumental motive” (e.g. Van Stekelenburg, *et al.*, 2009) and we included it in the models adopted in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. In details, Chapters 4 and 5 demonstrated that this instrumental reason can coexist with the moral path in eliciting anger (see above paragraph). Moreover, in Chapter 6 personal disadvantage showed a significant effect on vote intentions at the referendum.

Taken together, these results demonstrated the real importance of personal interests and somehow confirm some of the conclusions emphasized by the rational choice theory (e.g. Olson, 1965). However, we must also consider that in Chapter 6, the perceived disadvantage from the liberalization process significantly correlated with political left orientation. This finding suggests that costs-benefits calculation does not sit in a vacuum, but it must be contextualized and it can be also related with more ideological variables.

Individual and group efficacy

In the literature, efficacy (or agency) beliefs can be traced back to Bandura's (1995; 1997) concept of self-efficacy, which refers to the feeling of being able to influence politics through collective action. In Klandermans' (1997) view, agency concerns the perceived opportunities and the belief that collective action is a potentially successful influence strategy.

In Chapter 3 and 5 individual efficacy showed a significant effect on identification with the Water Movement. The way we measured individual efficacy, tried to capture the beliefs of people expressed in Chapter 2: the efficacy of their own individual contribution to the group effort. In this sense, our results represent a contribution to the study of political efficacy, stressing the potential importance of an understudied type of efficacy beliefs, sometimes named "participatory efficacy" (Azzi, 1998). This type of efficacy, which connects self-efficacy beliefs with collective efficacy, represents the belief that one's own participation in collective action would make a difference. Relying on our results, we suggest that this type of efficacy (that we referred to as "individual") showed a greater effect than group efficacy (see Chapter 3) on the identification with the water movement.

Indeed, with regard to group efficacy, in Chapter 2 activists stressed that their battle was similar to the one of David against Goliath, where the Water Movement was David while the Government and the corporations were Goliath. For this reason, group efficacy was not really considered important among the interviewed activists. Results in Chapter 3 confirmed this statement through quantitative data, showing that group efficacy was no more a significant predictor of identification or activism in the final model. However we cannot conclude that group efficacy was not important at all. Indeed, according to Van Zomeren & Spears (2009) it was also possible to hypothesize that group efficacy beliefs (like other instrumental motives) could be more important for people less involved in the Water Movement or for other kind of political behaviors. For example, as each vote at the referendum is influential only when aggregated with other votes, voting results into a cooperative enterprise that can be influenced by group efficacy beliefs (Caprara, 2008). According to this line of thought, in Chapter 6 we found that collective efficacy showed a significant effect on vote intentions among eligible voters.

Conclusion

Adopting qualitative and quantitative methods, this dissertation filled an important gap in the collective action literature by investigating the role played by perceived human rights violations in predicting identification with the social movement and activism.

Through five studies we demonstrated that, because of its “sacred value”, the violation of the right to water can sustain activism and can influence vote intentions at the referendum for ‘public water’.

This path to collective action, coexists with other ‘classical’ predictors of collective action, like other instrumental factors and anger. Even considering the moral value of human rights (related to universalism) in two studies we also showed the chance of enhancing the perceived violation of the right to water with a specifically designed communication campaign.

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