

**UNIVERSITA' CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE
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S.S.D: M-PSI / 05

**DO THE RIGHT THING!
PRO-SOCIAL DISOBEDIENCE, MORAL REASONING,
AND ENGAGEMENT VALUES AS PREDICTORS OF A
(NEW) MODEL OF COLLECTIVE ACTION**

Tesi di Dottorato di: Francesco Fattori

Matricola: 4011131

Anno Accademico 2013/2014



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“Science is but a perversion of itself unless it has as its ultimate goal the betterment of humanity”

Nikola Tesla

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This research project proposes a new model of collective action (MoCA) aiming to prove the contribution of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values in fostering collective action in favor of a disadvantaged out-group. This interest originated from the actual socio-political context, characterized by the worst economic crises since 1929 and by a bad management of public resources and services by local politicians. The current historical period is permeated with a growing numbers of persons asking for a change of this unfair status quo. Often, these grievances are put in action by persons who join together in a social movement all over the world (*No Tav, Occupy Wall Street, Indignados* and so on) questioning the authority and demanding social change through manifestations, petitions but even through occupations and illegal actions. It is reasonable to label some of the cited movements as *pro-social* disobedient, that is, composed by persons who aim to bring a positive social change to benefit the whole civil society.

Within the umanistic and scientific literature several disciplines including philosophy, ethic and political sciences dealt with the relationship between the person and the authority (Kojève, 2011; Preterossi, 2002), whether it is an institutional, a moral or a phisical authority. Within the psychological sciences, after the World War II mainly phenomena of destructive obedience were inquired (Milgram, 1963; Blass, 2012), trying to understand which dispositional and situational variables fostered political phenomena as Nazi-fascism. In that precise historical period obedience was but a virtue (Milani, 1965) and those who disobeyed tried to defend fundamental human and civil rights.

Why did partisans get together to fight Nazi-fascism? Why do high school and university students join to ask more resources for public education? Why in the 60's thousands of black people marched on Washington with Martin Luther King claiming for racial equality?

Mainly social and political psychology tried to answer these question and to discover why a person should engage in a collective action to restore social justice (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). The set of these theorizations composes the *Social psychology of protest and collective action* (Klandermans, 1997), that has always been interested in unveiling the process through which a person collectively act to benefit his/her in-group and community.

Recently, some scholar introduced a novelty element in this theoretical framework, conceiving the *Encapsulated model of social identity in collective action* (EMSICA) (Thomas,

Mavor, & McGarty, 2011). According to this explicative model, moral outrage and collective efficacy impact on the collective action benefitting a disadvantaged out-group, mediated by social identification. This branch of research defining the process leading bystanders to collective action that favors a disadvantaged out-group has been recently defined *Solidarity-based collective action* (Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, 2014).

Defining pro-social disobedience as a behavior aiming to change an unjust status quo benefitting the whole society without harming any social group (Passini & Morselli, 2009) (Ghandi's protests, M.L King Jr. movement for civil righthst, etc.), it is here considered as an instrument of global citizenship, as an element able to preserve democracy, contributing to prevent authoritarian tendencies and being a useful instrument in the struggle for social justice (Smith & Tyler, 1996).

Coherently, is pro-social disobedience a reliable predictor of the EMSICA model?

Moreover, EMSICA model can be conceived as an expression of what is theoretically labeled as *prosocial behavior* (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006), explaining a behavior enacted to benefit other persons or other groups. Prosocial behavior can assume several forms, from volunteering to give shelter to the homeless, to rescuing victims of a natural calamity and two fundamental variables belonging to the personal attributes of volunteerism theorization (Penner, 2004), can coherently be assumed as possible components of collective action: *Engagement values* and *Moral reasoning as a component of the prosocial personality*.

The entire research project developed through three main studies organized in a sequential structure. The structural organization of this project was functional and aimed to answer the original research question: Are pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values reliable and effective predictors of solidarity-based collective action?

To answer the original research question, two preliminary steps were necessary (Study 1 and Study 2). Because of the lack of psychometric instruments measuring pro-social disobedience and the extreme focus on experimental methodology studying authority relationship within the literature, a cross-cultural study on social representations of obedience and disobedience was conducted. This study (Study 1), over to unveil the components of obedience and disobedience and to gain a bottom-up definition of these two complex phenomena, allowed to create a psychometric instrument that assesses the attitudes related to pro-social disobedience. In fact, starting from the bottom-up definitions and themes obtained

by this study¹, it was possible to create the Pro-social disobedience attitude scale (PSDA) (Study 2).

The last study (Study 3) tested and proved the impact of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values within the EMSICA model, creating a new model of collective action (MoCA).

This doctoral thesis is composed by three chapter and every chapter contains two parts. The first part describes the theoretical background and the state of the art of the literature in order to introduce the second part: the empirical study.

Therefore, *Chapter 1* (Study 1) is composed by theoretical paragraphs dealing with obedience, disobedience and the Theory of social representations. Starting from the first theorization on obedience and disobedience, the issue of the excessive focus on destructive obedience is discussed. Further, recent insights from study on disobedience and a new standpoint on Milgram' studies underline and show the necessity to analyze in innovative ways such complex phenomena. Within the chapter, a paragraph is dedicated to the *Theory of social representations* (Moscovici, 1961, 2001), in particular to the *Structuralist approach* (Abric, 1993), the theoretical paradigm through which authority relationship was studied in this research project. Within these paragraphs the importance of analyzing obedience and disobedience within a societal perspective is discussed.

Thus, Study 1, a cross-cultural study of the social representations of obedience and disobedience in Italy, Austria and U.S., is introduced. Firstly, results from the single countries are reported, with a focus on the final definitions of the two concepts and the differential analysis between them. Secondly, the discussion presents the links between authority relationship theories and the results, highlighting the cross-cultural similarities and differences. From here on, only the findings from the Italian sample were considered in order to conduct Study 2, that consisted in the creation and validation of the pro-social disobedience attitude scale (PSDA) within the Italian context.

In *Chapter 2* (Study 2) a broad review of the literature on Pro-social disobedience and on its fundamental components, *Moral inclusion* and *Social responsibility*, is presented, in order to introduce the whole procedure of creation and validation of the Pro-social disobedience attitude scale (PSDA), from the first item pool to the results of the confirmatory factor analysis.

¹ The data used for the creation of the scale were taken from the study on social representations of obedience and disobedience conducted in Italy.

In the last chapter, *Chapter 3* (Study 3) a literature review of the Social psychology of collective action and of the Psychology of prosocial behavior is reported. This theoretical introduction aimed to show the historical process leading to EMSICA modelization and the link between collective action and prosocial behavior. Moreover, this part allowed to describe the prosocial behavior variables (moral reasoning and engagement values) composing the hypothesized new model of collective action (MoCA).

The statistical confirmation of the MoCA is reported in the second part of the chapter.

Within this last part the impact of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning, engagement values as predictors of the EMSICA model is statistically tested and discussed.

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CHAPTER 1

1. Study 1: A cross-cultural study on the social representations of obedience and disobedience in Italy, Austria and U.S.

1.1 The notion of authority

The relationship with the authority is a fundamental element in every social context, since every social organization, whether it is a family or an institution, is based on an hierarchical structure to adequately function (Passini & Morselli, 2010c).

In this scenario, persons can accept and comply with authorities' requests or deny them, acting different forms of obedience and disobedience² (Passini & Morselli, 2009).

The term authority comes from the latin *auctoritas* and its semantic origin implicitly refer to the action of judging and to a function of hierachization³ (Preterossi, 2002). As reported by Minichiello (Minichiello, 2013), the French philosopher Kojève stated in 1942 to be surprised by the lack of studies investigating the notion of authority (Kojève, 2011) and proposed a collection of four different theories that, throughout history, addressed this issue: 1) *Theologic* theory, describes God as the only primary authority, stating that all the other authorities derive from it; 2) *Plato's* theory: the legitimate authority is based on justice and equity; 3) *Aristotle's* theory identifies authority with Wisdom and Knowledge; 4) *Hegel's* theory, recalling the Master-Slave dialectic.

Throughout history, the authority was initially conceived as a representative of two great institutions, the Church and the Empire, and its powers and legitimacy, derived from its sacred origins, were applied to administer public life (Preterossi, 2002).

The modern notion of authority is a result of a gradual process of secularization, and is therefore devoid of any religious component (Lübbe, 1970). This process meant that the authorities were evaluated solely on the basis of their legitimacy (Skitka, Bauman, & Lytle, 2009), feature that distinguishes the concepts of authority and power (Weber, 1922). An authority is considered legitimate whether its control over people's life is evaluated as an appropriate extension of its role (Darling, Cumsille, & Loreto, 2007).

A legitimate authority does not need to use power and coercion to be obeyed, because it is "socially validated through processes of social influence" (Wenzel & Jobling, 2006, p.

² See par. 1.2 and 1.3 for a description of forms of, respectively, obedience and disobedience.

³ The presence of a hierarchical structure is a fundamental requisite that discriminate obedience from conformism (Milgram, 1974).

240). Furthermore, the use of power as strategy of social influence is not efficient and can lead to a loss of perceived legitimacy (Miklosi & Moles, 2013).

For its pervasive, transversal and multi-faceted nature, authority relationship has been a salient issue for scholars belonging to various disciplines, from theological philosophy, to law and political sciences (Clayton & Stevens, 2014; Harcourt, 2012; Smith, 2012).

As reported by Preterossi (2002), Sigmund Freud (Freud, 1913, 2011 trad. it.) interpreted the authority relationship through the Oedipus complex metaphor: Men need to submit to an authority figure in order to appease a primordial authority that they destroyed.

Within sociological literature, Emile Durkheim (1923) described authority as a form of social organization determined by the society itself and not reducible to any individual.

Between the 1920's and the 1940, with the birth and the rise of authoritarian regimes in Europe (Italy and Germany), the issue of authority became pivotal within social sciences (Preterossi, 2002). The scholars of the "Frankfurt School", namely Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm and Franz Neumann, conceived authoritarianism as a responses of the governments to the new born liberal economy of capitalism (ibidem).

To deal with the concept of authority and to have a better comprehension of its nature within psychological sciences, its intrinsic complexity was reduced, but not solved, by coherently referring to it in terms of obedience and disobedience phenomena (Blass, 2012; Bocchiario & Zamperini, 2012; Milgram, 1965; Passini & Morselli, 2009).

The first reflections on obedience and disobedience within a psychological theoretical framework date back in 1936, when a cross-cultural study investigating the phenomena of obedience and disobedience to authority was conducted (Fromm, Horkheimer, Mayer, & Marcuse, 1936). The aim of that study was to establish psychological structures that determined the dependency of individuals on societies' rules. The focus was on the family because, according to the authors, the very first instance to come into contact or experience authority occurs within the family. Therefore, the family has a crucial role in the development of one's ability to assign and subordinate, reproducing the required social forms of living together and the necessary adaptation to the authorities, which are essential for the construction of social order.

Furthermore, referring to a broader social context than the family, there is no doubt about the pivotal role of obedience for "the success of most human groups and organizations, which in turn is crucial to the biological success of our species" (Ent & Baumeister, 2014, p. 575).

Dealing with obedience and disobedience phenomena allowed researchers and scholars to theoretically frame these two social objects within socio-psychological paradigms (See par. 1.2 and 1.3).

Within Social Psychology⁴, since Milgram's first studies (1963), scholars addressed authority relationship focusing almost exclusively on destructive obedience (Milgram, 1965). This trend was characterized by the sole use of the experimental methodology (Blass & Schmitt, 2001; Burger, 2009; Meeus & Raaijmakers, 1986; Miller, Collins, & Brief, 1995; Miller, 2009), not leaving any space to other research design or methodologies of inquiry.

Only recently, disobedience and some of its form (i.e. whistleblowing) became a valuable research object, always analyzed through an experimental methodology (Bocchiaro, Zimbardo, & Van Lange, 2012).

In the next paragraphs, a review of the socio-psychological literature on obedience, disobedience and an introduction to Social Representations Theory (SRT) (Moscovici, 1961) is presented, in order to allow the reader to better comprehend the theoretical framework and the rationale within which Study 1 was conducted.

1.2 Obedience in the history of Social Psychology

As described in the introduction, people are constantly interacting with authorities as long as they live within multiple hierarchical structures. People can obey authorities positively (e.g. respecting the rules of the road when driving) or they can behave obediently with negative personal and social consequences (e.g. during Nazism).

Social psychology has for many years shown a strong interest in the dynamics between individuals and their authorities, with particular emphasis on the behaviour of obeying the commands of an unjust authority (Burger, 2009; Milgram, 1963).

After the end of World War II and the fall of Nazism, very important scholars such as Hannah Arendt (1963) and Stanley Milgram (1963) focused on understanding the social and psychological processes which sustained such a perverse political model.

Hannah Arendt had a provocative view of the Nazi phenomenon: Nazis were average men and hypothetically every man could perpetrate evil actions under precise situational conditions. The German scholar labeled this concept as *Banality of evil* and inspired the social psychologist Stanley Milgram (1963), that conducted one of the most upsetting experiments in the history of social psychology.

⁴ Theoretical framework of the whole project.

Stanley Milgram's experiment (Milgram, 1963, 1965, 1974) on destructive obedience is the most cited study on the relation between the individual and an unjust authority. Milgram's aim was to understand how an average person would react to a legitimate authority's order to shock an innocent stranger. The Yale scholar was also interested in searching for situational conditions fostering destructive obedience. Through a cover story, the experimenter (i.e. Milgram) created a setting where three subjects were involved: The *experimenter*, the *teacher* and the *student*. The teacher, the only experimental subject, believed to attend an experiment regarding the effects of punishments on learning (cover story). The student instead was a confederate of the experimenter and his task in the experiment was to learn a series of coupled words. This latter was connected, through electrodes, to a shock generator controlled by the teacher. The teacher's task was to read to the student the second term of the couple and check if the student remembered the first one. In case of error, the teacher pushed the switch of the shock generator, giving an electric shock to the student⁵. The shocks were from 15 to 450 volts, increasing after every error of the student⁶.

Milgram's experiment confirmed Hannah Arendt's theoretical hypothesis of *banality of evil* because the findings suggested that people are more than willing to implement inhumane behavior if requested by an authority. In fact, in 1 of the 19 variations of the experiment, up to 95% of the participants administered potentially lethal electric shock to another human being. Milgram argued that, in a situation where the victim (in his experiments – the teacher) is psychologically and physically far from the subject and the authority assumes the responsibility for the consequences, obedience is likely to happen. In particular, Milgram observed that obedient participants switched from a state of autonomy to an *agentic* state, becoming only executioners of the experimenter's will and orders. Three variables concurred to favor the switch to the *agentic* state and consequently to destructive obedience: a) Distance from the victim, b) Closeness to the authority and c) Legitimacy of the authority.

Milgram (1965) admitted a “painful alternation in [one's] own thinking” (p.74) as he observed how many subjects experienced deeply stressful sensations, yet they complied. Since this extraordinary experiment, similar studies have been discouraged or even prevented by “sets of highly restrictive rules and regulations established by federal government” (Elms, 1995, p. 3). Despite numerous ethical controversies (Baumrind, 1964; Kaufmann, 1967; Mixon, 1972), Milgram's experiment was replicated worldwide on numerous samples,

⁵ Obviously the electric shocks were fake, but the teacher believed them to be real. Indeed, introducing the experimental setting to the participants, the experimenter provided a real 45 volt shock to the learner, to prove that the shock generator was functioning and that the shocks were real.

⁶ For a detailed explanation of the experiment see Milgram, 1974.

tracking levels of obedience even higher than the basic study⁷ (Ancona & Pareyson, 1968; Burley & Mc Guinness, 1977; Kilham & Mann, 1974; Mantell, 1971; Meeus & Raaijmakers, 1986; Shanab & Yahya, 1978). Milgram's paradigm, due to its theoretical and pragmatical relevance, was also tested in a virtual reality setting (Slater et al., 2006).

Despite the heightened federal ethical regulations, Burger (2009) investigated the question whether people would still obey today with a milder version of the experiment and concluded that "average Americans react to this laboratory situation today as much the way they did 45 years ago" (Burger, 2009, p. 16).

Recently, some scholar revisited Milgram study arguing that participants' behavior could have been caused by their acceptance of the experimenter's scientific goals and not by the switch to an *agentic* state (Haslam, Reicher, & Birney, 2014; S. D. Reicher, Haslam, & Miller, 2014). These last new insights show once again the complexity of defining and analyzing obedience phenomena.

After Milgram's experiment and its replication all over the world, within social sciences the interest shifted to analyze the so-called *Crimes of obedience* (Browning, 1995; Kelman & Hamilton, 1989). Milgram's findings and reflections were used as theoretical framework to explain destructive obedience behaviors during war and military operations. Analyzing the MyLai massacre⁸, Kelman and Hamilton (1989) argued that the perception of legitimacy of the authority is a crucial element in creating and maintaining obedience. Thus, it is crucial for the authority to be perceived as legitimate and not to lose this status. According to Kelman and Hamilton (1989), to have obedience, legitimacy has to characterize three subjects: the *system* (i.e. the State), the *authority* and the *request* (Passini & Morselli, 2010b). Moreover, legitimacy of a request is evaluated according to three principles: *rules*, *role* and *values*.

As reported by Passini and Morselli (2010a), an authority's request is perceived as legitimate and then satisfied if:

- a) Sanctions are provided in case of disobedience;
- b) Having a specific role (e.g. policeman) imposes a person to obey;
- c) The more a person evaluate authority's request for its adherence to his/her values, the more he/she will be disposed to obey in case of matching between the request and his/her values.

Due to its intrinsic complexity, the concept of obedience is often confused with another process of social influence: *Conformism*. Milgram (1974), in order to clarify the differences

⁷ For a recent and complete review on Milgram's experiment replications see Blass, 2012.

⁸ MyLai massacre was the mass killing of about 500 unarmed civilians by US army during the Vietnam War.

between these two phenomena, found four aspects differentiating obedience and conformism, specifically: a) *Hierarchy*; b) *Imitation*; c) *Clarity*; d) *Voluntarism*. Differently from the social influence process studied by Asch (1956), obedience is enacted only within a hierarchical social structure. Moreover, the person who conforms to his/her peers imitates them, creating an homogenization of behaviors, while the obedient complies with the authority's request, not implementing any form of imitation. Indeed, the authority's request is always explicit, while influences and social pressures shaping conformism are often implied. Lastly, people explain differently their obedient or conformist behavior: Obedience to an authority's order is used as a justification for one's behavior (e. g. Eichmann case) while conformist people do not recognize the influence of the group on their behavior.

Recently, Passini and Morselli (2009), willing to give theoretical boundaries to authority relationship, defined two different types of, respectively, obedience and disobedience behavior: a) *Constructive* and *Destructive* obedience and b) *Pro-social* and *Anti-social* disobedience⁹. Then, obedience is constructive when people agree to authority requests that are legitimate and based on social justice and equality. To the contrary, destructive obedience "is conceived of as a displacement of responsibility from the person to the authority" (ibidem, p. 99) and often leads to negative consequences as Milgram's studies highlighted (1974).

Except for the already cited new insights and revisitations of Milgram's paradigm (S. D. Reicher et al., 2014), within the authority relationship literature, the focus recently moved from obedience to disobedience phenomena, described in the next paragraph.

⁹ For an exhaustive description and definition of pro-social and anti-social disobedience see par. 1.3.

1.3 Disobedience as a socio-psychological research object

The history of humanity began with an act of disobedience by Adam and Eve (E. Fromm, 1981) and the historical pervasivity of disobedience in our life is easily recalled thinking at the Greek myths such as Prometheus, Antigone and Lysistrata (Laudani, 2008, 2010).

Nowadays, it is possible to identify two branches within Social Psychology research that have so far approached issues of opposition to the authorities and disobedience, declining them into individual and collective actions. The first of these branches moves from Milgram's study lack of inquiry (Blass, 2012; Milgram, 1974), and focuses on the study of individual disobedience in different contexts (Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010; Bocchiaro, Zimbardo, & Van Lange, 2012). The second, instead, focuses on the psychosocial causes of people engagement in social movement and protest action¹⁰ (Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2011; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008)¹¹.

Historically, reflections on what is commonly known as *civil disobedience* started with the U.S. philosopher Henry David Thoreau (1849). Thoreau argued that it is a right and a duty of every citizen to disobey an authority whose requests are perceived as immoral and defined civil disobedience as a deliberate, public and non-violent violation of a law, because obeying would mean betraying a higher morality.

The German philosopher Hannah Arendt, in her "*Civil disobedience and other essays*" (1985) defined civil disobedients as organized minorities of citizens relying on common opinion to oppose government's policies and even called for a constitutional niche to give legitimacy to citizens willing to act it out (Smith, 2010).

Then, Arendt pointed out the differences between civil disobedience and deviance, starting from the assumption that, from a juridical point of view, both these behaviors are contrary to the laws. Then what is the difference between civil disobedience and deviance? Arendt's (1985) differential analysis between these two concepts is focused on several issues. Firstly, the civil disobedient breaks the law publicly while the deviant acts clandestinely hiding his/her actions. Then, the civil disobedient acts for the benefit and the sake of a social group against an unjust status quo while the deviant instead acts uniquely for his/her interest. Always according to Arendt (1985) these two types of disobedience differ for the use of

¹⁰ Protest actions can be legal (e.g. petitioning, manifestations) or illegal (e.g. occupying or blocking public spaces). Studying disobedience within collective action literature means to refer to illegal actions aiming to change an unfair status quo (Tausch et al., 2011).

¹¹ This branch of research is described in the par. 3.2.

violence. Civil disobedience's approach contemplates non-violence as a strategy to reach its goals while deviants use violence for their purposes. Moreover, civil disobedience accepts and recognizes the role and the limits of the authorities, questioning it when its behavior violates the pact with the citizens, damaging them. The deviant instead refuses every authority and every hierarchical structure of power. Passini and Morselli (2010b) expand the differential analysis and claim that, coherently with his/her acceptance of the role of the authority, civil disobedience not only accepts sanctions and punishment, but uses them to bring the attention on the issue. Furthermore, *morality* is a relevant difference between civil disobedience and deviance, to the extent that the former aims to enlarge moral boundaries, including those people who were excluded from them, while the latter does not respect the basic moral principles¹². Coherently, the civil disobedient does not infringe other's rights and is responsible for his/her actions, which are always visible and public.

Analyzing the biographies of three important civil disobedients (Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King), Passini and Morselli (2005) found out that particular life experiences shaped their awareness and their choice to become a leader of civil disobedience. According to the authors, specific individual experiences through childhood and adolescence are more relevant factors fostering civil disobedience, than dispositional traits and attitudes. Specifically, they individuate:

- a) Formation of a strong *moral sense* developed through the narratives of parents and relatives (mainly during childhood);
- b) Finding the *alternative* to an unjust status quo (during adolescence and college period);
- c) Self-esteem derived from the engagement in positive actions for their social group (during militancy). Through social identification with their groups, these civil disobedients increased their self-esteem as much as they could reach positive collective goals and satisfy the expectations of their fellow members.

Beyond these theoretical reflections, disobedience phenomena were left out for a long time from socio-psychological inquiries. As illustrated before, Milgram found that a very high percentage of normal citizens (even up to 90% in certain experimental conditions) would have seriously injured another person if requested by a legitimate authority. His conclusions were exclusively focused on the analysis of destructive obedience, however, almost leaving the

¹² See par. 2.1 and 3.2 for a deeper comprehension of the role of morality within civil and pro-social disobedience theorization.

analysis of disobedient behaviors unexplored. In fact, Milgram considered disobedience as a strategy that participants used to escape from a stressful situation causing them cognitive dissonance (Milgram, 1974).

Sociologist and psychoanalyst Erich Fromm (1981) tried to deepen the analysis of this phenomenon and defined disobedience as necessary for human evolution and survival. Fromm argued that civil resisters have the responsibility to awaken those who conform and comply uncritically, in order to avoid authoritarian tendencies. Despite the fundamental role of disobedience in shaping and influencing the real social world, only several years later, scholars have begun to adequately study disobedience (Dambrun & Vatiné, 2010; Passini & Morselli, 2010a; Rochat & Modigliani, 1995) and some of its forms such as whistleblowing, considering it as experimental research objects (Bocchiaro et al., 2012; Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010).

Modigliani and Rochat (1995), analyzing historical events characterized by disobedient behaviors against an unjust authority, proposed the concept of “*Ordinariness of goodness*” (Rochat & Modigliani, 1995, p. 198), in theoretical opposition to the *Banality of evil* by Arendt. In their analysis of the resistance movement against Nazis occupation in the French village of Le Chambon, the two scholars found three variables that fostered positive disobedience:

- a) *Timing*, that is, resistance occurred immediately after the election of the Vichy government;
- b) The time between the beginning of the helping behavior (disobedience) and the retaliation was enough to allow Le Chambon citizens to develop a routine of resistance;
- c) Maintaining the initiative and involve persecuted people in the community life.

More recently, the analytic focus shifted from civil disobedience to the analysis of disobedience in a relationship between an individual and a physical authority (Bocchiaro et al., 2012; Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010). Confirming the relevance of timing as a facilitating variable for disobedient behavior, Bocchiaro and Zimbardo state: “Participants tended to disobey the experimenter either at the victim’s first request to be released or not at all” (2010, p. 166). Although these results are consistent with the findings by Packer (2008), the authors refer that other studies replicating Milgram (Meeus & Raaijmakers, 1986) found several critical points able to promote disobedient behaviors. At the same time, once again, this study confirmed the weakness of personality traits and the consequent strength of situational

variables in explaining the differences between obedient and disobedient behaviors (Bocchiaro, 2011).

These last findings have been confirmed in a recent study on a specific form of disobedience, namely *Whistleblowing* (Brinker Dozier & Miceli, 1985; Miceli, Near, & Schwenk, 1991; Near & Miceli, 1985, 1995; Sims & Keenan, 2013). A whistleblower is an employee who reports to the authorities an illicit behavior (i.e. a fraud) occurring within his/her company (Fraschini, Parisi, & Rinoldi, 2011). Results from this study demonstrated that, whistleblowing is a highly-demanding behavior, even more than disobedience. In fact, only the 9.4% of the participants involved in the experimental setting, reported a misbehavior of a colleague, while the 14.1% disobeyed the authority's request.

This new focus on positive disobedience paved the way to reflect on the *Psychology of heroism* (Franco, Blau, & Zimbardo, 2011), a new branch of research that aims to promote everyday heroism (ordinariness of goodness), fostering the persons' consciousness of all those dangerous situational variables leading to destructive behaviors (Bocchiaro, 2011).

From another point of view, recently, new insights resulted from a neuropsychological study that investigated which brain regions are most involved during the decision to disobey (Suen, Brown, Morck, & Silverstone, 2014). Specifically, findings showed that a person needs more cognitive resources to disobey an authority than to disobey a peer, because the evaluation of the request requires more certainty. Coherently, "over time, advice from a seemingly trusted source, such as an expert, may lead to a similar reduced awareness in decision-making as seen in depressed patients" (Suen et al., 2014, p. 9).

Moving from the description of the findings of disobedience-focused studies to the analysis of the methodology, it seems evident that beyond experimental research, over the years, numerous theoretical inquiries by non psychological scholars¹³ investigated the components and definition of disobedience (Harcourt, 2012; Markovits, 2005; Moraro, 2014; Rosales, 2011; Thomassen, 2007), but their results mostly lay on logical assumptions and speculations rather than empirical methodologies. Trying to give scientific relevance to this side of the authority relationship, some scholars aimed to discover and analyze disobedience from a qualitative point of view, unveiling the components of such a complex concept (Morselli & Passini, 2012b). As said in the previous paragraph, Passini and Morselli (2009) theoretically defined disobedience, finding two definitions: *Pro-social* and *Anti-social* disobedience. Pro-social disobedience is based on principles of *moral inclusion* and *social*

¹³ Philosophy, law, political sciences and theology scholars.

responsibility and promotes social change in favor of the whole society (e.g. Ghandi's civil disobedience; M.L. King Jr.'s protests against racial laws). In the authors' reasoning, pro-social disobedience can be considered an important instrument of active citizenship to address social issues and to oppose possible authoritarian tendencies (Lefkowitz, 2007; Passini & Morselli, 2011). From the previous description of the components of civil disobedience, it is easy to notice their strong correspondence with the features of pro-social disobedience, that can be considered as its modern conceptualization.

This type of disobedience has been recently connected and tested in relation to democracy and democratic values (Morselli & Passini, 2012a). The seemingly paradoxical relation between disobedience and democracy can be better understood referring to pro-social disobedience components, namely, moral inclusion and social responsibility. Findings revealed that (Morselli & Passini, 2012a):

“Protesters with a wider and more inclusive self-categorization are more oriented towards prodemocratic attitudes than protesters with a narrower definition of the self. Different from other protesters, high-inclusive respondents are also more oriented towards responsible obedience and less towards blind obedience to the authority” (p. 290).

People who enact pro-social disobedience, whether individually or collectively, are adopting one of the primary strategies for social change through a democratic process (Thomas & Louis, 2013). Moreover, pro-social disobedience is a strategy to preserve democracy because it prevents from the degeneration of democracies opposing to the rise of authoritarian systems of government (Morselli & Passini, 2012b). In order to empirically substantiate their theoretical conceptions, Morselli and Passini conducted a cross-cultural study on social representation of obedience and disobedience (2012b). This study was one of the first attempts within social and political psychology to describe and comprehend the qualitative components of the authority relationship. The Italian scholars found disobedience composed of three main factors—*transgression*, *right* and *duty*—but they did not provide a comprehensive and ultimate definition of the phenomenon.

Analyzing the state of the art within the authority relationship literature, these scholars (Morselli & Passini, 2011) sustained the need for an analysis of obedience and disobedience as social objects and specifically that:

“The authority relationship cannot be only considered an individual relational process, given that it has the function of regulating the life of the community. Without wishing to reject any of the individual level explanations, the argument here is that they should be integrated within a societal level approach, thereby highlighting the link between the two levels” (p. 298).

1.4 From Moscovici to Abric: The Theory of Social Representations and the structuralist approach

People belonging to the same social group - ethnic, political, religious, cultural - share a set of beliefs, ideas, values, symbols, and expectations, called Social Representations (SRs), that form the general modalities of thinking and feeling within that particular group (Palmonari & Emiliani, 2009).

Emile Durkheim introduced the concept of collective representations in 1898 adducing evidence that every representation is static and arises from a collective consciousness.

Afterwards, in the sixties, the French psychologist Serge Moscovici (1961), responding to Durkheim's work, developed and articulated the *Social representation theory* (SRT). SRT represents a unique approach to studying psychosocial phenomenon in modern societies. Contrary to Durkheim (1898), Moscovici (1961) suggested the idea of a social, dynamic and contextualized representation, which simultaneously embraces both the structure and the process of the social re-construction of the social object to which it refers. SRT plays a significant part in the field of social psychology as it focuses on how social (lay) knowledge is generated and influenced within the social environment and how it guides and constrains human behavior.

While multiple variations of definitions exist also within Moscovici's own work, it is correct to define social representations as a system of ideas, practices, images and values with their own cultural meaning; the knowledge is acquired directly through experiencing the behavior in the family, with friends and school peers and it includes all processes of memory, perception, and information-gathering which work together to provide knowledge within a social context (Moscovici, 2001). SRs arise through social interaction and are maintained through various sources (popular experience, religious beliefs, scientific and secular knowledge).

SRs have several functions (Purkhardt, 1993): (a) to establish an order in the social context, allowing people to control and regulate their behaviours; (b) to make communication

easier by offering people categories and common codes in order to select and classify the social objects (i.e., justice, sexuality, human rights, violence, money); (c) to delimit and consolidate groups; (d) to model the process of socialization started in the parent-child relationship; and finally (e) to make familiar what is unfamiliar, that is to integrate unknown concepts into one's social reality. As explained by Wagner et al. (1999, p. 96):

“In contrast to social cognitive approaches it is presupposed that an object is social not by virtue of some inherent characteristics, but by virtue of the way people relate to it. In talk people attribute features and meanings to an object which make this object a part of their group's social world. In the same vein, people's actions are often concerted and coordinated by bearing on shared conceptions of the world. The view which group members maintain about a social object is specific for the group and, hence, also the object itself takes on group specific social characteristics”.

Furthermore, not every social object can be considered as a social representation object. In fact, there are four characteristics that a social object needs (Galli, 2006): a) a strong social relevance; b) being object of social interaction; c) being in relation with other social objects; d) referring to social norms and values strictly connected between them.

Since Moscovici formulated the SRT, several theoretical and methodological improvements have been made by social scientists (Abric, 1976; Doise, 1985; Markova, 2003).

Doise conceived social representations as the expression of the influence of the social metasystem on the cognitive system (Doise, 1985). The Swiss scholar's *genetic approach* was focused on the relation between the subject and his/her social context. The membership of a subject in a marginalized or in an advantaged social group, his/her work and social status constrain and shape the cognitive elaboration of the social representation, becoming an intermediate and organizing structure between the social world and the cognitive system (Galli, 2006).

Markova's *dialogical approach* is based on a co-constructivist epistemology (Gelo, 2012) and goes beyond the conception of cognition as solely information processing, highlighting instead the relational nature of the lay knowledge as the social representations (Palmonari & Emiliani, 2009). Thus, social representations are the result of the *Ego-Alter-Object* relationship, that is, they are continuously negotiated and co-constructed within a relational system.

Among these developments, the *Theory of the central nucleus* (TCN) by Abric (1976), leading exponent of the structuralist school of Aix-en-Provence, occupies a place of particular importance. According to Abric (1994), TCN highlights SRs as an apparent paradox. SRs are rigid but flexible, stable and mobile phenomenon, sharpened by numerous interindividual differences. As a solution to this paradox, TCN assumes that SRs are composed of both *content* and *structure*. The content represents the information that people of a group have of a social object while the structure represents the way in which that information is organized¹⁴(Abric, 1993).

Within the structure, information is organized in a central core and in peripheral elements. The SRs' central core (called *nucleus*) is composed of a few cognitive elements responsible for the stability and rigidity of the representation (Abric, 2003a). These elements are resistant to change because they are strongly linked to the collective memory and to the history of the group. According to the TCN, the nucleus generates the global significance of a SR and determines the organization of the peripheral elements (Galli, 2006).

The peripheral elements consist of those evaluative elements of a SR that allow flexibility, mobility and interindividual differences (Abric & Tafani, 2009). Therefore, peripheral elements allow a particular social group's integration of individual stories and experiences and support its evolution and diversity. Moreover, the peripheral elements allow to understand how that SR favours the adaptation to concrete social practices (behavioural elements) (Abric, 1994). Another function of the peripheral elements is to protect the nucleus from the transformations due to the social circumstances (Fasanelli, Galli, & Sommella, 2005).

Therefore, for a complete understanding of a SR, it is necessary to take into account both the content and the structure of the representation (Abric, 2003b). The study of a SR aims to uncover the components of a social object and to understand its organization: two identical contents can belong to two different symbolic universes and consequently be two different representations (Galli & Fasanelli, 2001).

¹⁴ see Rosch, Mervis, Gray, Johnson, and Boyes-Braem (1976) for an analogue version in the cognitive science.

1.5 Introduction to Study 1

As explained previously, obedience and disobedience have been always analyzed as behaviours, but in the meantime no clear definitions have been provided. Scholars have studied obedience and disobedience mainly using the experimental paradigm as a main approach and, even descriptive and correlational studies (Morselli & Passini, 2012a, 2012b; Passini & Morselli, 2011), did not resulted in data-driven boundaries and definitions of these social objects. The predominance of both an experimental and quantitative paradigm to analyze these phenomena left uncovered important spaces of inquiry within the authority relationship literature, only recently approached with descriptive and qualitative studies of this social phenomenon (Morselli & Passini, 2012b; Passini & Morselli, 2010c). This unique focus on just one specific kind of authority relationship, namely destructive obedience and furthermore, only through experimental paradigm (Blass, 2012), left uncovered what Doise (1986) theorized as the *Ideological* level of analysis: societies develop systems of beliefs, values, norms and representations to understand and interpret the social events.

In addition to hierarchical contexts, people are included in communicative contexts within which transmit, shape and negotiate their knowledge, values and attitudes (Palmonari & Emiliani, 2009). In this sense, the analysis of complex phenomena as obedience and disobedience can not be exhausted by a unique methodology but it needs a comprehensive inquiry of how persons conceive, represent obedience and disobedience.

Beyond the methodological issue and considering the pivotal role of the authority relationship in shaping the current socio-political scenario, it is relevant to unveil the representations of authority relationship because the way people mean it and represent it influence social change and democracy processes (Morselli & Passini, 2011). In fact, people, sharing meanings and scripts, give order to reality and use social norms to establish the adequacy of a behavior (Galli, 2006; Moscovici, 2011).

Nonetheless, none of these studies highlighted a clear definition of what obedience and disobedience are, since they were assumed as behaviours. Milgram's definition, in fact, originated from an everyday use of the word obedience and disobedience: "If Y follows the command of X we shall say that he has obeyed X; if he fails to carry out the command of X, we shall say that he has disobeyed X" (Milgram, 1965, p. 58). Moreover, Milgram's differential analysis (1974) between conformism and obedience clarified the main features of these two social phenomena but could not saturate the semantic universe of such complex concepts.

Recently, obedience has been defined as follows: “Obedience means that the subject keeps the action and attitude the same as that of the object to seek rewards or avoid punishments after summarizing, judging, and deducing the object” (Song, Ma, Wu, & Li, 2012, p. 1369). These scholars view obedience as depending only on the subject's expectation to satisfy the goal and by the valence of the object. As mentioned earlier, some scholars proposed, firstly, a twofold definition of obedience (constructive and destructive), and at the same time, a twofold definition of disobedience (pro-social and antisocial) (Passini & Morselli, 2009, 2010b). In short, constructive obedience is a set of behaviours that promotes social harmony and destructive obedience is a set of behaviours of uncritical acceptance of immoral or illegitimate requests by an authority. Accordingly, pro-social disobedience promotes a positive change in society, and antisocial disobedience aims to a “selfish” improvement of the situation, as an exclusive benefit of an individual or of a specific group.

Moreover, studies cited so far often focused on obedience and authority relationship from an individual level, underestimating the impact of the societal one (Morselli & Passini, 2011). Addressing the societal level means to be in opposition with the predominant vision of a psychology (e.g. experimental methods) considering the individual as an *atomic* unity of analysis, not taking into account its belonging to social world with its norms, beliefs, bonds and representations (Jesuino, 2009).

These premises highlight the importance of better defining obedience and disobedience and that “it is important to consider how people represent themselves and others and how these representations influence their relationships with authority [...]. In short, the issue of obedience also concerns the role of disobedience” (Passini & Morselli, 2009, p. 99). According to these assumptions, it is necessary to study these social objects using a methodology that allows a contextualized and comparable description of obedience and disobedience.

Furthermore, to fully understand actual political reality and, specifically, authority relationship, it is not adequate consider it separated from processes “by which people achieve their own representations” (Elcheroth, Doise, & Reicher, 2011, p. 733), because shared social knowledge a fundamental role in shaping social behavior. In fact,

“Citizens are embedded in a political culture that is made up by widely shared ideas circulating in society – social values, beliefs and ideologies – which can be seen as ‘social representations’ (Moscovici, 1961) that help people to make sense

of their social life and to take a stand towards the existing social order” (Staerklé, 2009, p. 1097-1098).

It is important to highlight how citizens share understanding of the authority relationship, here declined into obedience and disobedience, also because this knowledge provides the cognitive and cultural basis of policy attitudes (Staerklé, 2009).

Elcherot, Doise, and Reicher (2011) claim for the relevance of studying SRs within political psychology . These authors highlight the need to take into account these SRs in order to develop original insights into political psychology phenomena. In fact, SRs are shared knowledge that people built together in order to act within the world (Abric & Tafani, 2009). For example, recent literature provided evidences supporting the influence of SRs on political attitudes and behaviors, as well as the growing relevance of a societal approach in studying authority relationship (Doise, Spini, & Clémence, 1999; Klein & Kruglanski, 2013; Orfali, 2006; Sibley & Liu, 2012). Moreover, SRs have an important role in guiding collective behavior because “often bring reality into being” (Elcherot et al., 2011, p. 729).

SRs guide people behavior in social contexts in several ways. Staerklé, Clémence and Spini (2011) exemplified one of them by describing how

“social stability is maintained through a system of mutual processes of social influence which sustain particular forms of social representations. Majorities strive to maintain their dominant position by resisting minority influence, for example through delegitimizing minorities and the alternative points of view they put forward” (p. 765).

Thus, the importance of considering the societal level in the authority relationship analysis, going beyond individual and not ecological inquiry, can contribute to a full comprehension of this complex phenomena (Morselli & Passini, 2011; Moscovici, 2011). The idea of a better understanding of the actual political issues through a societal point of view is grounded on the possibility to infer, from the study of specific cultural narratives as SRs, a comprehension of several psychological phenomena of interest for political psychologists, as, amongst the others, motivation to engage in various forms of political behavior and social protest (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012). In this sense, when representations became pervasive in a social group they can assume normative functions and define the institutional asset of that specific community (Morselli & Passini, 2011).

Therefore, obedience and disobedience SRs can provide a concrete contribution in understanding how people psychologically relate to the authority and the pertinence of social representation theory (SRT) in studying authority relationship is widely recognized (Leman & Duveen, 1999; Morselli & Passini, 2012b; Moscovici, 2011). In this perspective, obedience and disobedience can be considered as two social representation objects for two main reasons. The first one is that they respect the inclusion criteria defining when a social object can be a social representation object (Galli, 2006). Indeed, obedience and disobedience a) have a strong social relevance; b) are object of social interaction; c) are in relation with other social objects (as power, dominance, hierarchy); and d) refer to social norms and values strictly connected between them.

The second reason is given by the intrinsic and contingent nature of the topic. Obedience and disobedience are phenomena with which people deal every day, often implicitly, since the first stages of life, and that nowadays are important social issues about which people want to communicate (Chomsky, 2013; Galli, 2008). The need to communicate about obedience and disobedience, reaffirm their salience, making them important representational objects.

Thus, in order to understand the behavior of people disobeying authorities and not blindly following state rules and regulations, the understanding of how people represent the concepts of obedience and disobedience is salient (Morselli & Passini, 2011). To this aim, obedience and disobedience will be directly defined by people using a methodological approach that allows the researcher to highlight the co-construction of the meanings.

Furthermore, both obedience and disobedience are necessary requirements for democracy (Morselli & Passini, 2012a). Obedience, when enacted to respect a fair authority preserves social stability and protects civil society, while the function of *democratic* disobedience (Markovits, 2005) is to promote democratic principles and values. Thus, democracy and disobedience, even if it seems counterintuitive, are linked in a positive sense: the more a citizen supports democracy, the more he/she disobeys an authority's illegitimate requests (Passini & Morselli, 2010a, 2011; Thomas & Louis, 2013). Disobedience, in its pro-social or democratic form, is supported by and acted out by those people who have *post-materialistic* values (Morselli & Passini, 2012a), that is, those people caring for civil freedom, democracy and empowerment (Inglehart & Abramson, 1999). Moreover, it was proved that shared values within a culture or a specific social group influence social representations of

obedience and disobedience and, consequently, authority relationship and support for democracy (Morselli & Passini, 2012a).

1.6 Aims of the study

Thus, according to the World Values Survey data¹⁵, it was possible to identify two Western World countries, Italy and U.S., that differ for post-materialistic values (Italy: $M = 2.32$, $SD = 1.66$; USA: $M = 1.80$, $SD = 1.46$) and a third country, Austria, that according to the European Values Study¹⁶ is very similar to Italy for the amount of persons that consider democracy the best political system (Italy = 88.3 %; Austria = 88.5%).

According to these theoretical premises, similarities between Italian and Austrian social representations and differences between European countries and U.S. were expected.

So, according to these premises and considering attitudes related to obedience and disobedience being socially construed, the present study aimed to:

1. Define and compare obedience and disobedience as two social representations in samples of young adults using a mixed-method research approach;
2. Analyze cross-cultural differences between Italian, Austrian and U.S. young adults.

Results, in addition to theoretical improvement within authority relationship literature, gave new hints to understand which components can influence the interpretation of social and political events. Moreover, the Italian data retrieved from this first study contributed to the creation and the validation of the Italian version of the Pro-social disobedience attitude scale (Study 2).

¹⁵ <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSONline.jsp>

These data were taken from the 5th wave (2005-2009) of the World Values Survey (WVS).

The WVS is a network of social scientist that study values and their impact on social and political life.

The data refer to an Italian sample (18-29 years old) composed by 193 participants and a U.S.A. sample (18-29 years old) composed by 272 participants. The 12-item post-materialist index is a Likert scale ranging from 1 to 6. An example item is "How much is important seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities".

¹⁶ <http://www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu/>

EVS (2010): European Values Study 2008, 4th wave, Austria. GESIS Data Archive, Cologne, Germany, ZA4754 Data File Version 1.1.0 (2010-11-30) doi:10.4232/1.10152.

These data were taken from the 4th wave of the European Values Study (EVS) survey performed in 2008.

The results reported here refer to the answer at the question: "Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government". Participants were asked to answer on a Likert scale ranging from 1 ("Agree strongly") to 4 ("Disagree strongly"). The Austrian sample was composed by 1510 subjects (older than 18 years) while the Italian was composed by 1519 subjects (older than 18 year).

1.7 Method

1.7.1 Participants

Samples from Italy, Austria and U.S. took part in this study on a voluntary basis and signed the participation consent.

The sampling procedure was run according to Moscovici recommendation (Galli, 2006) in finding specific social groups within exploring in depth the research object. Specifically, being social representations studies theoretically included in a constructivist paradigm, do not require a nomothetic-inferential sampling. Indeed, according to Moscovici (Fasanelli, *personal communication*), the fundamental rule is to choose a target group acquainted with the research object, in order to have an highly informative sample.

The project was reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of the East Carolina University, (Greenville, North Carolina, U.S.).

1.7.1.1. Italian sample

A sample of 190 Italian individuals (53 female, 137 male) ($M = 23,75$, $SD = 3,67$) took part in this study on a voluntary basis. The majority of the participants have a Bachelor degree level (60.5%). 34.1% declared to have a Master degree level and 3.2% a Ph.D. level. 51.4% of the subjects were university students. 27 % were student-workers and 16.2% workers. 50.5% of the participants volunteered. 94 participants (70 females, 74.5%) answered the questionnaire related to obedience ($M = 24.03$, $SD = 4.1$) while 96 (67 females, 69.8%) of the participants answered the questionnaire related to disobedience ($M = 23.5$, $SD = 3.3$).

There were no significant differences between the two sub-samples, except for the occupation variable (see Table 1). Participants were recruited in the city of Milan, Italy.

Table 1 - Chi-square analysis on socio-demographic variables (Obedience VS Disobedience sub samples)

Variable	Chi2/df	Sign.
<i>Sex</i>	1.366/1	.243
<i>Level of education</i>	4.153/4	.386
<i>Occupation</i>	14.290/4	.006
<i>Religious orientation</i>	.964/2	.617
<i>Volunteering</i>	3.097/1	.078
<i>Political orientation</i>	4.681/4	.322

1.7.1.2 Austrian sample

154 participants, mostly psychology students at the Sigmund Freud PrivatUniversität (SFU - Vienna), were recruited and entered in the study on a voluntarily basis, signing participation consent. Their mean age was 22.9 (SD = 3.5) and 106 participants were female (68%). The sample was composed by: 97 university students (63%), 28 student-workers (18.2%), 9 workers (5.8%), 15 unemployed or other (9.7%). 71 participants (53 females, 74.6%) completed the task referring to obedience (M = 23.4, SD = 3.4) while 83 (53 females, 63.85%) participants answered the questionnaire related to disobedience (M = 22.5, SD = 3.5). There were no significant differences between the two sub-samples, except for the occupation variable (see Table 2).

Table 2 - Chi-square analysis on socio-demographic variables (Obedience VS Disobedience sub samples)

Variable	Chi2/df	Sign.
<i>Sex</i>	2.968/1	.085
<i>Level of education</i>	3.966/5	.544
<i>Occupation</i>	13.244/4	.010
<i>Religious orientation</i>	1.005/2	.605
<i>Volunteering</i>	.001/1	.978
<i>Political orientation</i>	1.055/4	.901

1.7.1.3 U.S. sample

A sample of 151 U.S. young adults (79 female, 52.3%)¹⁷ aged between 19 and 25 years (M = 22.7, SD = 1.3) took part in this study on a voluntary basis and signed the participation consent. 70 participants (33 female, 47.1%) answered the questionnaire related to obedience (M = 22.96; SD = 1.481) while 81 participants (46 female, 56.8%) answered the questionnaire related to disobedience (M = 22.46; SD = 1.078). 111 (73.5%) were university students, 27 (17.9%) were student-worker while 8 (5.3%) were workers. 89 (58.9%) participants declared to have a college degree, 58 (38.4%) had a high school degree while only 3 (2%) had a PhD. A Chi-square analysis was run and no significant differences regarding socio-demographic variables were found between the two sub-samples (Obedience VS Disobedience) (See Table3). Participants were recruited in North Carolina and California (U.S.).

¹⁷ 2 people didn't declare their gender.

Table 3 - Chi-square analysis on socio-demographic variables (Obedience VS Disobedience sub samples)

Variable	Chi2/df	Sign.
<i>Sex</i>	1,772/2	.412
<i>Level of education</i>	4,381/4	.357
<i>Occupation</i>	5,725/8	.678
<i>Religious orientation</i>	2,984/6	.811
<i>Volunteering</i>	1,087/2	.581
<i>Political orientation</i>	15,039/8	.053

1.7.2 Measures and research design

The data analysis followed a mixed-method approach (more specifically, a subsequential analysis (Gelo, Braakmann, & Benetka, 2008). There was a first qualitative part (focusing on the content of the SR, by means of thematic analysis) and then a quantitative part (focusing on the structure of the RS, by means of an ad-hoc software EVOC2000 by Verges (1992, 2002).

A semi-structured self-report questionnaire was administered.

The instrument was composed of two sections:

1. An open-ended question framed to investigate the content of the representation (“In your opinion, what is obedience?” and “In your opinion, what is disobedience?”);
2. An exercise of free associations based on the hierarchized evocation technique (Verges, 1992), to disclose the structure of the representation. Participants were asked to associate five nouns and five adjectives with the inductor word (“Obedience” for half sampling, “Disobedience” for the other half) and to rank them by importance. In order to allow a better disambiguation of the answers provided, subjects were asked to briefly explain their choices of nouns and adjectives, (Fasanelli, Galli, & Sommella, 2005).

Mixed methods central premise is that an intentional and synergic integration of quantitative and qualitative approaches provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone, because it provides more comprehensive evidence for studying a research problem, especially when it is very complex and asks for multiple sources of data, and finally is more practical and close to how people understand the world (Clark & Creswell, 2011).

By using this instrument and a mixed-method approach, specifically a subsequential analysis (Gelo et al., 2008), a data corpus and a data set (structure of the representation) were obtained and treated, respectively, through a *thematic analysis* (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and quantitatively analyzed running Evoc2000 software (Vergès, 1992).

The content of the SR of obedience and disobedience has been studied through the thematic analysis method (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis method (Braun & Clarke, 2006) allows the researcher to extract the main components and themes forming the content of the representations. A theme represents patterned responses from the data that are relevant to the research question. Thematic analysis include the following steps (Braun & Clarke, 2006):

1. Familiarization with the data set;
2. Generating initial codes;
3. Identifying themes amongst codes;
4. Defining and deducting themes into the summarized final narrative reports.

This procedure was applied to the open questions' data set. On each single data set (one for obedience and one for disobedience) the aim was first to provide some labels which refer to the collected open answers (Level 1-coding), secondly to identify groups of labels which have similar meaning and cluster them into themes (Level 2-coding), and finally to clarify the relationships among the themes into a concise coherent narrative which “connects” the emerged themes. All two levels of coding were devised with reference to something significant in the data related to the research question. The coding process was led by the study’s research questions following a deductive approach to the data.

The second component, that is the structure of the representation, was recreated by inserting the words, results of the free associations, in Evoc2000 and running the software. Before this operation, the terms had been placed into semantic categories or lemmas. These categories are the result of matches between all the words with similar meaning according to the explanation given by the participants (“Why have you chosen X?”).

Evoc2000 software runs according to the TCN (Abric, 2003; Verges, 1992) crossing two possible criteria for prototypicality: the *frequency* of appearance and the *rank* of its importance, as in the average position in which it is classified. EVOC2000 software generates a four-quadrant matrix taking into account the criteria of word frequencies and order of evocation (Abric, 2003a). For example, the central nucleus (top left quadrant¹⁸) is generated by words with the highest frequencies and ranked as most salient.

As Fasanelli et al. (2005, p. 113) reminded, “only the intersection of these two [qualitative and quantitative] criteria allows for the identification of the statute of constitutive elements of the social representation being studied.”

¹⁸ The meaning of the quadrants of Evoc2000 output are described in par. 1.8.2.

A pool of independent judges (3 for Italy, 3 for Austria and 4 for U.S.) completed the analysis on both obedience and disobedience. Within each country, each judge worked first individually; then afterward all the judges shared their analysis. Therefore, within every country the final analysis is the result of the shared and negotiated integration of the independent analyses.

The cross-cultural comparison was made by one judge that integrated and compared the three independent analysis.

Within the appendix section it is possible to find the procedure followed throughout the entire process of data analysis (see Appendix A).

1.8 Results – Italy

1.8.1 Obedience – Thematic analysis

The representation of obedience resulting from the thematic analysis was complex and polysemic. The participants defined it *compliant behaviour, act, unconditional adhesion, feeling, condition, value, imposition, disposition, process, relationship, adjustment, participation, and form of control* (Level 1-coding). Participants explained obedience using the verb: to follow² (Level 2-coding). For many participants obedience was: *the respect of implicit and explicit rules* (Level 2-coding). These rules were reported by participants as both formalized laws and social and family norms: “Obedience means to respect and to follow the rules of our society, in which we are included. With the term rules we mean the laws of the civil code and, in a broader way, all those conventions useful for a peaceful life in a community” (Level 2-coding, participant 72).

Identifying obedience with the respect of orders given by authority figures, participants described the *authority as an individual* (Level 2-coding, participants 4, 6, 14, 17, 27, 33) or as a *social reality* (society in its whole or the institutions) (Level 2-coding, participants 11, 19, 22, 32).

Some participants considered obedience both as a *positive and a negative element* (Level 2-coding): “There are positive or negative forms of obedience, which can also degenerate into forms of submission” (participant 17); “Obedience can be a virtue but can also be risky, as history teaches us” (participant 50).

Moreover, faced with an authority's request, participants referred to behaving in a twofold way: they can *uncritically follow the request*, in terms of an obligation or a duty (Level 2-coding) or they can *deliberately choose to adhere to the request* (Level 2-coding, participants 23, 33, 59). For those who referred to the uncritical way, which was the majority of the participants, obedience is “accepting without question the demands of another person” (participant 4) or “unconditionally accepting someone else will” (participant 29). For those who referred to the deliberative choice, obedience is more nuanced: “Obedience is a choice. Obedience means choosing to perform, to adhere and to comply with rules, norms, requests and wishes of an individual having an important role-status [...] for us [...]. ‘Blind’ obedience refers to the decision to submit to orders because we are not able to freely think, to act as we would like; we give to another individual the responsibility that we don't want to manage” (participant 33). Referring to *uncritical way to follow the request*, the term

unconditional (level 1-coding) recurred and it was referred to an obedient subject *as an agent without a will* (level 2-coding) (participants 2, 4, 5, 10, 25, 29, 33, 41, 55, 56, 60).

1.8.2 Obedience – Structure analysis

In the nucleus, upper left quadrant, characterized by a high frequency of appearance and by a high average rank of appearance, those terms that give meaning and stability to the representation are included (see Table 1).

In the first periphery, upper right quadrant, characterized by a high frequency of appearance and by a low average rank of appearance, there are indicators of behavioural tendencies.

The elements of contrast located in the third quadrant, on the lower left, characterized by a low frequency of appearance and by a high average rank of appearance, are terms that characterize the nucleus or symbolize the tendencies of a minority.

In the second periphery, lower right quadrant, characterized by a low frequency of appearance and low average rank of appearance. In this section, there are the elements going in or out from the representation.

Table 4 - Social Representation Structure – Obedience - Italy

Nucleus			First periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 11	<i>Rank</i> R<3		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 11	<i>Rank</i> R≥3
Laws	63	2.5	Submission**	15	4
Respect	32	1.7	Duties***	11	3.4
Authority*	30	2.8	Power	11	3.3
Parents	20	2.6			
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 9	<i>Rank</i> R<2.9		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 9	<i>Rank</i> R≥2.9
Necessary	19	2.3	Mandatory	18	3.3
Right	9	2.8	Blind	15	3.4
			Voluntary	12	3
			Submissive	10	3.3
Elements of contrast			Second periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 5≤F<10	<i>Rank</i> <3		<i>Frequency</i> 5≤F<10	<i>Rank</i> ≥3
Society	9	2.8	Order-command	9	3
Country	9	2.9	Punishment	8	3.9
Family	7	2.7	Religion	8	4.1
Hierarchy	6	2.3	Social order	7	3.6
Discipline	5	2.4	Master	5	3.2
Education	5	2.8			
Job****	5	2.8			
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 4≤F<8	<i>Rank</i> <2.9		<i>Frequency</i> 4≤F<8	<i>Rank</i> ≥2.9
Respectful	7	1.9	Hard	6	3
Useful	7	2.9	Faithful	4	3.5
Civic	7	2	Severe	4	3.2
Limiting	6	2.7			
Educational	6	2			
Important	6	2.5			
Governed	4	1.7			
Unconditional	4	1.7			
Condescending	4	2.7			

*This term includes the terms *leader* and *chief* grouped together because they have similar meanings.

**The noun *subordination* is included in this label.

***The label *duties* contains the terms *duty*, *imposition* and *obligation*.

****The label *job* contains the noun *worker*.

1.8.3 Disobedience – Thematic analysis

The participants' answers showed a representation of disobedience both as a *behaviour* and as an *attitude* (Level 2-coding). Disobedience was seen as an *infraction*¹⁹ of laws and rules (Level 2-coding): “Infraction of social and moral rules” (Level 2-coding, Participant 27) or as a *lack of respect for social norms* (Level 2-coding). The majority of subjects expressed this thought and participant 20 has summarized it: “In my opinion, disobedience is the transgression of globally established norms, rules, and laws”.

Individuals, institutions, and society (Level 1-coding) were the *authorities* (Level 2-coding) that people referred to. This aspect was underlined by some participants: “People can disobey their parents, a partner, or the authorities” (participant 16); “disobedience means not respecting rules imposed or established at a family, organizational or community level” (participant 19), “children may disobey their parents, a citizen can disobey the State” (participant 30).

The concept of disobedience was inextricably *linked to the context* (level 2- coding, context depending) when people are asked to evaluate it. Many participants claimed that the *disobedient behaviour is neither good nor bad per se* (level 2-coding), but should be qualified taking into account the rules which it breaks within the context in which it is implemented: “Disobeying can be risky or not, useful or just stupid, something positive or new or else wrong depending on the circumstances and contexts” (participant 45). Nonetheless, there are a large number of participants who stayed in a *neutral position* (level 2-coding), deciding to describe disobedience without expressing any evaluation.

A critical component of disobedience was *awareness* (Level 2-coding), “In my opinion, a fundamental aspect of disobedience is awareness: when you disobey, you need to know about, and be aware of, the existence of a limit that you can decide not to comply” (participant 21). One participant mentioned that disobedience is a *right* (level 2-coding), “To dissent, in my opinion, is a fundamental right, just like freedom to express one's ideas” (participant 75). Many subjects agreed in considering disobedience active and conscious, as in taking a *stance* (level 2-coding) “Disobedience means wanting to say ‘no, I do not agree’ or to not respect what someone asks or worse, dictates. This stance happens in many cases when what they're asking does not fit with my ideas or my way of being” (participant 90); “disobedience means to

¹⁹ The label infraction contains the following verbs: to disrespect, to violate, to not follow, to not comply, to not meet, to not accept, to go against, to transgress, to not listen directives, to not conform, to contravene, to escape, to be free, to not follow, to not listen, to ignore, to oppose, to not observe, to be outside, to ask yourself against someone/something, to oppose, to not join, to depart.

not respect, almost always voluntarily, rules imposed by an external authority” (participant 80); “disobedience means to voluntarily not comply with the rules established or imposed by someone” (participant 50).

1.8.4 Disobedience – Structure analysis

The term “disobedience” evoked globally more terms than “obedience”, especially in the nucleus, as can be seen in Table 5. In analyzing this table, please refer to paragraph 1.8.2 for the meaning of the quadrants.

Table 5 - Social Representation Structure – Disobedience - Italy

Nucleus			First periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 11	<i>Rank</i> <3		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 11	<i>Rank</i> ≥3
Laws	52	2	Punishment	15	4
Rebellions	38	2.8	Parents	14	3
Authority	18	2.7			
Society	14	2.9			
Protest	13	2.9			
Freedom	11	1.5			
Rejection	11	2.5			
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥8	<i>Rank</i> <2.9		<i>Frequency</i> ≥8	<i>Rank</i> ≥2.9
Civil	9	2.4	Bad	15	3
Young	9	2.7	Active	9	3.1
Positive	8	2.5	Fair	8	3.1
			Violent	8	3.2
Elements of contrast			Second periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 4≤F<10	<i>Rank</i> <3		<i>Frequency</i> 4≤F<10	<i>Rank</i> ≥3
Respect	10	2.7	Order	7	3
Young people	6	2.5	Deviance	6	4,2
Behaviour	4	2.7	Family	5	3.2
Children	4	2.7	Imposition	4	4
			Rudeness	4	3
			Denial	4	4
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 4≤F<7	<i>Rank</i> <2.9		<i>Frequency</i> 4≤F<7	<i>Rank</i> ≥2.9
Rebellious	6	2.5	Free	7	3
Disrespectful	6	2.3	Nasty	6	3.7
Dangerous	5	2.4	Contagious	4	3
Wrong	5	2.4	Creative	4	3.7
Brave	5	2.8	Rude	4	3.2
Constructive	4	1.7	Necessary	4	3.5
Strong	4	2.2			
Peaceful	4	2.5			

1.9 Discussion of the results - Italy

1.9.1 Obedience

The analysis of obedience highlighted a strong correspondence between content and structure. The content, in particular, seemed to consist of four basic dimensions:

(a) Obedience as respect of implicit and explicit rules - these rules can be both formal laws and social norms; (b) A dichotomy in the authority representation - authority as a physical person and as a social reality; (c) Evaluation of obedience as both positive and negative; (d) Obedience as an obligation, an external imposition, which a person cannot withdraw by choice.

It seems relevant to underline the polysemic nature of the term obedience intended as behaviour, sensation, state, value, process, and relation. In the structural analysis there were the same key words found in the thematic analysis - that is, the terms *law*, *respect* and *authority* - and in the nucleus of the representation.

This means that the shared concept about obedience was mainly characterized by the respect of some formalized laws or rules given by an authority. Obedience evoked the adjustment to social norms to comply with the basic desire to belong to a social group and is a socially learned behaviour, which permeates our lives since childhood. Relatedly, it is important to notice the presence of the noun *parents* in the nucleus - and it is a behaviour gratified by the authority and soon becomes an implicit operative norm (Miller, Collins, & Brief, 1995). Furthermore, adjustment to social and formal norms - construed as legal rules - is fundamental for survival of social system and for the maintenance of social order (Bocchiaro & Zamperini, 2012).

In the first periphery obedience evoked the terms *submission*, *submitted*, *duties*, *mandatory*, and *blind*, reminding the concept of "subject as an *agent*", that is an individual without autonomy, a tool in the hands of the authority. As described before, Milgram (1974), commenting on his study results, invented the definition of agentic, or eteronomic, state. A change is indicated in the person - an attitude change - that leads the individual, inserted in an authority relationship, not to be autonomous but an agent which does what the authority says.

In order to assure obedience, it is necessary to have a hierarchy and this concept is underlined by the terms *submission*, *submitted* and *hierarchy*. This assumption confirmed what Milgram said about the differences between obedience and conformism (1974):

“Obedience to authority is channelled through a hierarchical structure in which the actor accepts the principle that the person above him has the right to prescribe his behaviour. Conformism regulates the behaviour between people of the same status; obedience binds a status to another” (p. 107).

Furthermore, in the first periphery, although less frequently, the term *voluntary* emphasized the presence of a view opposed to the idea of the agentic state. Obedience evoked a subjective choice of compliance.

In the elements of contrast, there were terms associated with the representation of authority, which are intended as real or abstract figure, from which the laws derive: *country*, *society*, *family*, and *work*. These elements qualified the nucleus, as if to say that obedience is necessarily linked to these figures, or represents the expression of a minority.

1.9.2 Disobedience

Some aspects evoked by the thematic analysis were also highlighted by the structure analysis (in the nucleus and in the first periphery). There were in particular four basic common components: (a) disobedience as lack of respect of rules and social norms; (b) authorities identified both as physical individuals and as institutions; (c) a context dependent aspect; and (d) the need to reflect on the situation, to activate oneself promptly and to be responsible.

Hence, the thematic analysis highlighted disobedience as the infraction of (a) social rules or (b) laws formally imposed by an authority.

In addition, disobedience evoked different forms of authority: individuals, institutions, and society. The latter term has a central role in the representation of disobedience. Indeed, society was intended as both: (a) a synonym of State, as a guarantor of the social order and norms and (b) the social context, inductor of disobedience. Interestingly, parents were identified as the principal authority to disobey²⁰. The adjective *civil* was a nuclear element strictly linked to the evocation of the social context. It is linked to the idea of change of an unfair status quo.

Awareness and responsibility are causal components and requirements of disobedience. The association between disobedience and responsibility goes back to Fromm's considerations (1981) in which Fromm categorized our historical post-modernist context as the era of the organized man. This era was described as a time in which individuals are trained to

²⁰ The age of the participants probably had an influence on the references to the parents as authority figures.

conformity by institutions such as school and family. Individuals cultivate the illusion of acting voluntarily, meanwhile they unconsciously devote their time to obeying impersonal and anonymous powers. Under these circumstances the disobedient should carry the burden of being responsible for the intellectual awakening of those who are “asleep” (p. 49).

In this regard, reflections on the dialectical relationship between obedience and disobedience and the role of responsibility, taken by the sociological tradition and political psychology by Passini and Morselli (2010c), are coherent and interesting: disobedience can play a key role in curbing the possible “degeneration of the authority relationship into an authoritarian relationship” (p. 10). With that in mind, the nuclear concept of *freedom* is relevant, and can be interpreted as the effect or the context either towards which disobedience tends, or in which it is evoked.

The disobedient subject is considered to be active, responsible, and also aware, that is, being able to critically reflect on the situation, identifying and neutralizing the forces directing behaviour (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989).

Nouns related to the transgression of orders and rules dictated by an authority, such as *rebellion*, *rejection*, and *protest*, are central elements in the representation of disobedience. Protest is a concrete behaviour aimed towards creating alternative scenarios to the existing status quo (Rattner, Agil, & Segal, 2003). Thus, the term disobedience evokes primarily a *behaviour*, the taking of a conscious and responsible stance. Recalling Maslach's reflections during her interruption of the famous Stanford prison experiment (Zimbardo, 2007): “The disobedience of individuals should be translated as systemic disobedience that forces change in the situation or the organization itself and not just in some operating conditions” (p. 459).

Often, however, civil protest flows into a deviance and ends up being confused with it. This confusion was originally settled by Arendt (1972):

“Over, the common lawbreaker, even if he belongs to a criminal organization, acts for his own benefit alone; he refuses to be overpowered by the consent of all others and will yield only to the violence of the lawenforcement agencies. The civil disobedient, though he is usually dissenting from a majority, acts in the name and for the sake of a group” (p.79).

Punishment is a possible consequence of the transgression of rules and laws (Buttle, 1985). Disobeyers and deviants differ from each other by the way they face legal punishment after their transgression: only the former accept arrest and punishment because the arrest is considered useful as it enhances the media attention to the cause for which they have

disobeyed (Passini & Morselli, 2010b; Thoreau, 1849). Therefore, disobeying can result in high costs, mainly of two types: (a) Stigmatization and possible consequent exclusion from the social group (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989; Zimbardo, 2007); and (b) sanctions incurred for disobeying to laws or social norms (Passini & Morselli, 2010b).

1.9.3 Comparison between obedience and disobedience

Regarding the content, the two representations showed almost the same basic composition: authority and laws (or norms) were central factors in both representations. Many subjects defined disobedience using the negation adverb “not” in front of terms usually evoked by obedience, as for example, “respect”. This process showed how the two terms - obedience and disobedience - are related, have a complementary function, and complete the meaning of the concept *relationship with authority*.

The main difference between the two representations in question was that the nucleus of the term disobedience is richer in contents. Terms - including *refusal, society, protest* and *freedom* - indicated a precise process of contextualized rebellion and need to be integrated with the adjective *civil*. In both representations, individuals, institutions and social groups, with their own specific social norms, are evoked as authority figures. Moreover, obedience and disobedience always evoked formalized laws or implied social norms.

Neither representations was considered essentially positive or negative, but require contextualization in order to be evaluated (Darley, 1995). Therefore, obedience can be destructive as Milgram's noted (1963), but so can be constructive as theorized by Darley (1995) and by Passini and Morselli (2009). Darley (1995) defined constructive obedience, or creative disobedience, when an obedient person deviates from the orders of the authority to achieve the purpose determined by his/her role but in a morally acceptable way, while Passini and Morselli (2009) defined constructive obedience as an act performed by individuals who take responsibility for their conduct having once evaluated the legitimate request of the authority.

The two representations were almost specular regarding the content, if it weren't for one significant difference: the *degree of activation* of the subjects. Obedience sometimes can be a behaviour resulting from a condition of submission that cancels the individual autonomy. Disobedience instead requires an extra step and is considered an action resulting from a cognitive effort that the individual performs in order to analyze the situation and not to follow uncritically the requests from the outside (Suen et al., 2014). Indeed, if obedience recalled a

polysemic definition, disobedience directly evoked acts which recall the feeling of rejection and protest.

Both representations were entirely composed of elements not referring to dispositional variables, confirming Milgram's findings about the influence of situational variables on individual behaviour. The representation of disobedience is “context dependent”. This means that disobedience recalled the idea that individuals critically evaluate the legitimacy of the law (to be disobeyed) considering the broader context in which it occurs.

According to the results, the research questions can be answered defining obedience as both: (a) the respect for social norms (or formalized laws) given by an institutional authority and (b) the compliance with orders or requests given by a physical authority. Obedience is neither positive nor negative in itself but it is constantly assessed considering the request and the outcome of the act of obedience. Obedience always evokes a binding force or a constraint that often is accepted passively and unconditionally by the actor in the authority relationship.

Disobedience is intended as a lack of respect of (a) laws and rules that may be imposed by a physical authority or (b) for social norms imposed by social group.

Authority is multiform: it can be a person, an institution or the society.

The assessment of a disobedient act depends on the context in which it is implemented and on the outcomes. The peculiarity of disobedience is the subject's awareness. Those who disobey recognize the illegitimacy of a request or the injustice of a rule in a specific situation and they oppose it consciously.

1.10 Results - Austria

1.10.1 Obedience – Thematic analysis

The analyses of the responses to the open-ended question yielded eight labels. Obedience was defined as *conformity with regulations* (Level 2-coding), acceptance of laws without any questioning, and the ability to contemplate one's conformity with regulation was stressed among the answers: "To carry out commands" (participant 1). It is the willingness to follow and accept regulations and laws, for some participants it means to "take orders and carry them out to 100%" (participant 22). One must adjust to the society, but it is also seen as a ranking of importance.

Obedience evoked the issue of *reflection* (Level 2-coding). It means to follow a person, a regulation, or a system with or without thinking about one's reasons or behavior. For some participants it was a question of finding middle ground, to "follow without thinking about meaningfulness" (participant 3). Especially, in the upbringing of children it is important to find the right way of dealing with obedience "the right measure is the deciding factor" (participant 37).

There was mention of the *fear of punishment* (Level 2-coding) when standing against or refusing to obey regulations. This fear is a reason why people obey the law and submit to an authority: "Reason for obedient behavior is fear" (participant 4).

Obedience was also seen as a sign of *respect* towards other people, whether they are children, parents, or older people.

Thus, participants perceived obedience to different *types of authority* (Level 2-coding). Some see it as an acceptance of regulations and obligations; others identified authority in the form of social norms and conventions, to "observe the regulations and obligations" (participant 2). There is a blind and abstract obedience, and the term "Obedience" is connected to educating children, the process of bringing up: "students who follow at school, children observing the rules of parents" (participant 23).

Regulations (Level 2-coding) were divided into rigid laws, social norms and conventions, within the family or school. For many participants, obedience meant *no individuality* (Level 2-coding) because "thoughts and personal opinions do not matter" (participant 1). An obedient person loses the possibility or quality of being oneself, being different from other people, while still recognizing the importance of obedience for the functioning of society. One might also obey out of self-compulsion or out of responsibility to

protect other members of society because obedience also implies solidarity and protection of other members of the society.

Evaluation (Level 2-coding) of positive and negative aspects of obedience was contemplated, in fact subjects distinguished between positive and negative connotation of obedience, as well as healthy and unhealthy obedience. In some cases obedience can be dangerous: “There is healthy and unhealthy obedience” (participant 78).

1.10.2 Obedience – Structure analysis

In Table 6 the free word associations to the term obedience are organized according to Evoc2000 output. While analyzing this table please refer to the following explanation. In the nucleus, upper left quadrant, characterized by a high frequency of appearance and by a high average rank of appearance, there are those terms constituting the core meaning and that give unity and stability to the representation.

In the first periphery, upper right quadrant, characterized by a high frequency of appearance and by a low average rank of appearance, there are those terms indicating behavioral tendencies (Abric & Tafani, 2009).

In the element of contrast quadrant, in the lower left angle, low frequency and high average rank, we have those terms representing a minority group’s beliefs.

In the last quadrant, lower right angle, low frequency and low average rank, the elements fading in or out from the representation are included.

Table 6 - Social Representation Structure - *Obedience* - Austria

Nucleus		First periphery			
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 14	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 14	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
authority	19	2.3	upbringing	32	3.1
regulations	17	2.3			
power	16	2.2			
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 7	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 7	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
blind	9	2.0	obedient	40	2.8
nice	9	2.6	anxious	7	3.3
submissive	7	2.1			
important	7	2.6			
Elements of contrast		Second periphery			
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 5 ≤ F < 13	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> 5 ≤ F < 13	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
command	10	2.5	suppression	13	3.1
laws	10	2.5	consequences	11	2.8
compulsion	7	2.4	military	10	2.9
discipline	6	2.3	punishment	9	3.6
respect	6	2.3	subordination	6	3.2
will	5	2.4	violence	6	3.5
			implementation	5	3.2
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 4 ≤ F < 6	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> 4 ≤ F < 6	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
authoritarian	5	2.4	subordinate	6	3.2
restrained	5	2.4	adjusted	5	2.6
structured	4	1.5	restrictive	5	2.6
			weak-willed	4	3.2
			punishing	4	3.2
			strict	4	3.5
			positioning	4	4.0
			disciplined	4	4.7

1.10.3 Disobedience – Thematic analysis

The evaluation of the data demonstrates the complexity of this social object, reduced into nine labels by the participants' responses.

The majority perceived disobedience as *non-conformity* (Level 2-coding) with existing regulations or authority regardless of whether that is a person or a system: “To oppose regulations and laws, to disregard regulations and standards” (participant 2), regardless whether these regulations make sense or not. In the case of regulations being absurd, non-conformity with laws is legally justified and “it lies in the hands of the acting person and not in the hands of the superior” (participant 45).

According to their answers, authority can take on several *forms* (Level 2-coding), varying from familial surroundings, the political arena, institutional policies, social

expectations, but also self-inflected rules. In particular, many participants associated disobedience as a phenomenon occurring within the familial context.

More semantic difference was made between family and public: “Disobedience only at home, means violating of regulations” (participant 3). Some perceived authority in the form of conventions “not to hold on to social norms” (participant 5), others even refer to regulation as “advice and opinion of others” (participant 75).

Another factor often mentioned in the answers refers to the ability to determine and control one’s actions. Opinions belonging this category of self-mastery that reflected disobedience as an act of self-determination, referred to a person’s decision about his/her destiny without accepting the commands from others, “doing his own thing” (participant 6). It also can be seen as an attempt to be different, special, or not following the mainstream, “to be unique” (participant 5) and in this sense individuality can also imply seeking attention or dealing with frustration.

Obedience also evoked either a *conscious*²¹ (Level 1-coding) and *unconscious* (Level 1-coding) judgment or decision to oppose authority. Participants mentioned conscious-unconscious reactions to disobedience, referring to it as “a conscious or unconscious protest against demands made by a superior person or a system (participant 35).

A superior-inferior relationship in which power is established is already a premise to accept and perceive authority, without such a presumption there is no disobeying: “not following superiors’ instructions” (participant 34).

Positive (Level 1-coding) and *negative* (Level 1-coding) aspects of disobedience have been cited, stating that in some situations or contexts obeying is just as important as disobeying. Some participants connected it to negativity because it reminds them of negative authority, and others to positivity because they referred to positive rebellion.

Disobedience was associated with *force* and *punishment* (Level 2-coding), because to stand up against authority can and will be punished: “The alleged authority becomes real when disobedience is violently suppressed” (participant 22); “disobedience can bring sanctions” (participant 58). For some participants, suppressing disobedience violently makes it possible to gain power over others.

Many associated disobedience to the family context, teaching or educating children to obey. It was also seen as a *lack of respect* (Level 2-coding) for authority, regardless of whether in public or in the family. Accordingly, the theme *future orientation* (Level 2-coding) reflected

²¹ The use of this term is probably due to participants being students of Sigmund Freud PrivatUniversität and, consequently, being acquainted with Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalytic theories.

on disobedience as an important part of an upbringing: “belongs to growing-up, to learning for the future (participant 25).

1.10.4 Disobedience – Structure analysis

In Table 7 the free word associations to the term disobedience were organized according to Evoc2000. Please refer to paragraph 1.10.2 for the explanation of the quadrants’ meanings.

Table 7 - Social Representation Structure – Disobedience - Austria

Nucleus			First periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 13	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 13	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
regulations	21	2.1	upbringing	37	2.8
rebellion	17	2.6	resistance	37	2.8
			punishment	23	3.4
			individuality	19	2.8
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 12	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 12	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
brave	17	2.1	against	61	2.9
reflective	12	2.4	negative	31	3.2
			regulated	27	3.0
			individual	19	2.7
			rebellious	18	2.9
			disrespect	14	3.2
Elements of contrast			Second periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 12	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 12	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
spite	10	2.3	stubbornness	12	3.7
regulation breach	8	2	freedom	8	2.6
			authority	8	2.7
			politics	7	3.3
			courage	6	3.2
			obedience	6	4
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 11	<i>Rank</i> < 2.6		<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 11	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 2.6
self confident	9	2.4	young	10	3.2
free	6	2.3	selfish	7	3.3

1.11 Discussion of the results - Austria

1.11.1 Obedience

Results indicated a good correspondence between the thematic and structural analysis. The concept of obedience evoked the notion of conformity with regulations, acceptance of laws without question, while recognizing the importance of obedience for social order and the functioning of society. This definition is reinforced with terms from the nucleus: *regulation* and *submissive*. The former refers to the need of norms to be followed while the latter refers to the hierarchical position of the obedient person. One of the main theoretical components of obedience, which differs from conformism, is hierarchy (Passini & Morselli, 2010b): for the concept of obedience, it is necessary to have a person with a higher status, an *authority* (nucleus term), otherwise it is conformism, regulating social influence between peers.

In these data, authority is conceived as a two-fold object: it is represented as a physical authority giving orders or as a social entity composed of a set of social norms, regulations and conventions. Regarding physical authority, parents are the main actors objectifying it. Family is the first social context requiring obedience from its members and it is the first place in which obedience is socially learned by children as future citizens (Fromm et al., 1936; Darling, Cumsille, & Loreto, 2007). Family, therefore, has a crucial role in developing the ability to comply and subordinate, reproducing the required social forms of living together and the necessary adaptation to the authorities which are essential for the construction of public order (Xiao, 1999). Within this perspective, it is pivotal for parents not to raise children as obedient machines who turn out to be future “sleeping” citizens, blindly accepting the authorities’ requests (Fromm, 1981).

Within these data the notion of obedience further evoked different types of regulations, ranging from the most rigid to more lenient ones: rigid laws, social norms and conventions, and rules within the family or school. Interestingly every category of regulations belongs to a specific authority, whether it is an informal order from a parent or a formal law written in the Constitution.

Furthermore, obedience evoked the issue of individuality and reflection. Within the literature several theories linked obedience to blind submission, explaining this relationship as resulting from lacking individual reflection in response to authority’s requests (Bandura, 1990; Bocchiaro et al., 2012; Milgram, 1974; Pozzi et al., 2014; Zimbardo, 2004). Recently, the blind nature of obedient behavior has been discussed and Milgram’s experiments re-analyzed, looking for further explanatory variables. Results indicated, for

example, that the participant's willingness to contribute to the further progression of science was a fundamental component of their destructive behavior (Haslam et al., 2014; S. D. Reicher et al., 2014).

Another important theme outlined in these results is that fear of *punishment* encourages obedience (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989). Ideally authority should govern without the use of punishment; exercising coercion usually is a sign of losing power over citizens and punishment becomes necessary in order to preserve the status quo:

“Social systems cannot be undermined each time the authority lacks legitimacy and its influence is not strong enough to guarantee a proper level of obedience. Thus, disobedience to authority is limited and discouraged by establishing sanctions and punishments” (Morselli & Passini, 2011, p. 294).

In this data set obedience evoked a consequence-based evaluation: it is not positive or negative *per se* but depends on the fairness of its actions and consequences. This result is coherent with recent definitions of obedience (Passini & Morselli, 2009): in this respect obedience can be defined as constructive when it preserves social order and destructive when its actions have negative consequences for people, groups or communities.

1.11.2 Disobedience

The majority of the participants conceived disobedience as non-conformity with existing regulations or authority, regardless of whether these are persons or a social system. Rebellion to unjust regulations, in terms of making a stand and not follow rules or formal laws despite possible consequences, requires courage and reflective skills.

Reflection is a component characterizing disobedience (see also Italian results) and it is connected to disobedience to the extent to which a person is able to process an authority's request and answer accordingly to universal ethical standards (Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010). In this data set the associations to disobedience were described as unconscious reactions to regulations or authority requests. This dichotomy in the reflective nature of disobedience could be due to “a difference in their interpretation of the situation as one requiring a new immediate action on their part, of perceiving danger, or threat, or immorality that others may misidentify as less urgent” (Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010, p. 167).

Within these results disobedience was related to authority figures that can take several forms, varying from familiar surroundings, the political arena, institutional policies, social expectations, to self-inflected rules. Authority and hierarchy are binding requirements for

disobedience, both on a personal and a community level (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004).

When an authority and its requests lack legitimacy, disobedience is likely to occur and punishment is the easiest strategy an authority can use to maintain the status quo and its power (Passini & Morselli, 2010a). Sanctions and punishment, both on a personal and a social level, such as stigmatization, either foster or inhibit a person's disobedient behavior (Zimbardo, 2007). Yet, within the civil disobedience theoretical framework, disobedient behavior differs from deviant behavior in respect to dealing with punishment: persons acting in civil disobedience accept the consequences of their actions, using punishment as an amplifier of their political message (Arendt, 1985).

On a personal level, disobedience was strictly connected to self-determination: every person has the right and the duty to decide destiny. This issue was discussed within the literature on the individual level, recalling the highest level of Maslow's pyramid (1943), but also at the socio-political level, for example community self-determination (Wellman, 1995). While the former refers to persons' needs of reaching their full potential, whatever it may be, community self-determination refers to the need of people belonging to the same ethnic group to re-draw national boundaries, to fulfill secession from its state, and to consequently annex to another state. These two processes and their respective aims often require disobedience: in the first case towards parents, social groups, or norms and in the case of community self-determination to national laws. In the latter case, rebellion or resistance may be enacted. While perceived as disobedience against rules and laws, also in case of injustice, they are acts of violation of a legal directive that can be justified when fundamental rights within a democracy are at stake (Moraro, 2014).

In correspondence with other studies on social representations of authority relationships in different cultural contexts (Morselli & Passini, 2012b), results also showed that evaluations of disobedience are consequence-based. While it has a negative connotation when it leads to disrespecting other people for one's own benefit, it is considered positive when referring to rebellion for positive social changes (Passini & Morselli, 2009). In this respect disobedience is seen as positive whether related to important ethical issues, such as nuclear weapons (Buttle, 1985), or aimed at increasing fundamental rights and well-being to disadvantaged social groups (Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). Accordingly, rebellion is a nuclear element of disobedience and defines its necessary behavioral component (Zimbardo, 2007).

Further confirmed in this study, disobedience as social representation has an intrinsic bond with obedience (Morselli & Passini, 2012b). This relationship can be theorized referring to Marková's *themata* (Marková, 2003). The Czech scholar theorized common sense as composed of oppositional taxonomies (e.g. simplicity/complexity or analysis/synthesis) that can arise and become social representations under certain socio-historical conditions (Marková, 2000). The current historical period is characterized by evident action of civil and pro-social disobedience that could have thematized the obedience-disobedience antinomy: "Themata are such oppositional categories which, in the course of history, become problematized; for one reason or another they become the focus of attention, and a source of tension and conflict" (ibidem, p. 446).

1.11.3 Comparison between obedience and disobedience

The structure and thematic analysis complemented each other for both obedience and disobedience. The two SRs have several common themes: (a) (non) conformity with regulations; (b) multi-form regulations, ranging from formal laws to implicit social norms; (c) authority as a multi-faceted object. It can be a physical person, an institution or a social entity; (d) evaluation is context-based. Obedience and disobedience cannot be evaluated *per se* but according to the social consequences of their actions; and (e) punishment is a strategy both to maintain obedience and to contrast disobedience.

The main difference resulted in the degree of reflection attributed to obedience and disobedience. Whereas obedience can be blind and enacted without reflecting on authority's requests, disobedience always evokes a certain degree of reflection. This issue was connected to the individuality theme. Obedience evoked a lack of individuality, recalling Milgram's agentic state (1974), while disobedience was defined as a pathway to reach self-mastery (Maslow, 1946).

According to these results it was possible to give a completely bottom-up definition of obedience and disobedience. Obedience is conformity with a multi-form of regulations, ranging from implicit social norms to written formal laws, given by different authorities' actors: people, groups, institutions, and society. Obedience is evaluated according to its consequences.

Disobedience on the other hand is a lack of conformity to multi-form regulations created by multi-faceted authorities, often characterized by a high degree of reflection and enacted at personal and community level.

1.12 Results – United States

1.12.1 Obedience – Thematic analysis

According to the participant in the study, the term obedience evoked an *act of compliance with orders and rules* (Level 2-coding). A common idea presented by the participant was the idea of obedience as the tendency of “doing what one is told”: “Obedience is when you obey certain task, to comply with rules and laws” (participant 1); “Obedience is when you listen to what is being told” (participant 2).

Participants used different labels to indicate how the authority asks for obedience: *orders*²², *norms*, *rules*, *laws* and *guidelines* (Level 1-coding). Participants defined obedience as “how well you listen to directions, laws or guidelines and how well you follow them” (participant 69). They also defined it as “willingly following laws, rules, guidelines, and expectations” (participant 67), as well as “following the rules set by someone else” (participant 45).

Authority was mainly considered in a *one-to-one relationship* (Level 2-coding) (parents, superiors, teachers). However a few participants (participants 14 - 19 - 23 - 63) indicated society, as a whole, as an authority, defining obedience as “being able to follow rules or directs commands given by some of higher authority than you” (participant 10) and as the tendency to follow “the norms of our society” (participant 19).

Obedience also evoked the theme of *ability* (Level 2-coding), which is something you learn since childhood. Participants indicated how obedience is “the ability or willingness to follow something” (participant 50), while another defined it as “one's ability to remain faithful and committed to something” (participant 46).

Participants conceived different *ways of being obedient* (Level 2-coding), from agreeing and willingly accept the order to blind obedience. In this context, participants described it as “following directions and accepting to agree about something” (participant 19) as well as “being able to listen, obey, and confirm with what you are told, but respectively and with no hesitation” (participant 25) and “doing things that may go against your personal preference in order to support a greater overall good” (participant 71).

Loyalty (Level 2-coding), explained as faithfulness towards people who depends on your action, is an important theme evoked by participants, who reported how “being obedient is remaining faithful to those who you care about and to those who depend on you for

²² Henceforth words in italic are the original terms evoked by the participants

fulfilling certain wants or needs” (participant 37), while another participant defined obedience as “one's ability to remain faithful and committed to something” (participant 46).

From participants' answers arose a *positive* view (Level 2-coding) of obedience, as “always doing the right thing. Even if you're told otherwise” (participant 31). Another participant described it as “following an order in a good manner and good attitude” (participant 43).

1.12.2 Obedience – Structure analysis

Table 8 represents the Evoc2000 output of the structure analysis.

In the nucleus, upper left quadrant, characterized by a high frequency of appearance and by a high average rank of appearance, there are the terms belonging to the nucleus. These elements are fundamental and stable components that form the central core of the representation, giving her stability and unity.

In the first periphery, upper right quadrant, characterized by a high frequency of appearance and by a low average rank of appearance, there are those terms indicating the behavioral tendencies (Palmonari & Emiliani, 2009).

The elements of contrast located in the third quadrant, on the lower left, characterized by a low frequency of appearance and by a high average rank of appearance. The terms in this section can characterize the nucleus or symbolize the tendencies of a minority.

In the second periphery, lower right quadrant, characterized by a low frequency of appearance and low average rank of appearance, there are the elements going in or out from the representation.

Table 8 - Social representation structure - *Obedience* - U.S.

Nucleus			First periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 13	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 13	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Family	21	1.7	School	33	3.4
Rules	16	2.2	Animals	25	3.9
Respect	16	2.8	Army	16	3.1
Children	14	2.7			
Religion	13	2.7			
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 13	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 13	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Positive	30	2.9	Submissive	19	3.5
Respectful	21	2.4			
Compliant	21	2.8			
Faithful	16	2.9			
Obeying	13	1.8			
Loyal	13	2.1			
Elements of contrast			Second periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 7 ≤ F < 12	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> 7 ≤ F < 12	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Follower	10	2.2	Superior	10	3.3
Loyalty	10	2.5	Compliance	8	3.0
Work	10	2.7	Law	8	3.2
Police	8	2.0	Conformity	7	3.9
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 12	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 12	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Willing	11	2.1	Strict	10	3.4
Smart	6	2.7	Hard	7	3.3
			Dutiful	6	3.0
			Social-order	6	3.0
			Listened	6	3.7
			Attention	6	3.8

1.12.3 Disobedience – Thematic analysis

For the majority of the participants, disobedience was the refusal *to obey a law* or an *authority order* (Level 2-coding).

Moreover it was an act against *different types of authority* (Level 2-coding) identified in parents or superiors. For example a participant reported to identify disobedience as “not to obey significant individuals such as higher being and family members” (participant 3); for another it “is not obeying anywhere from not obeying parents to not obeying laws”

(participant 32); while another defined it as being “disobedient to your parents, the police, to teachers, or even to God”²³ (participant 12).

Participants identified *different types of “orders”* (Level 2-coding): *commands, rules* and *laws* (Level 1-coding) were the most cited. One participant reported how disobedience “is the lack of obedience or not obeying a rule, law, or an order” (participant 52), another defined it as “not following the rules/laws that you are required to follow” (participant 81), while a third one described it as “going against expectations, rules, and guidelines set by a higher authority” (participant 88).

Disobedience evoked the theme of *failure* (Level 2-coding), and some participants defined disobedience as “failing to obey certain laws to be followed” (participant 46), as “failure to abide by the rules, order, regulation” (participant 6) and as “failure to obey an authoritative figure” (participant 73).

Disobedience evoked an *intentional* behavior (Level 2-coding), captured by some of the participants statements. For example participants defined disobedience as “intentionally going against what you are expected to do” (participant 48); as “blatant disrespect for the person who you are intentionally undermining” (participant 62); and “voluntarily and purposefully violating a superiors orders” (participant 76).

Overall disobedience was considered as a negative behavior, being also “defined as misbehavior” (participant 80), as “doing the wrong things” (participant 87), and “not doing the right thing or being negligent” (participant 102).

1.12.4 Disobedience – Structure analysis

In Table 9 the free word associations to the term disobedience are organized according to Evoc2000. Please refer to paragraph 1.12.2 for the explanation of the quadrants’ meanings.

²³ The majority of the participants (113 people) came from the so-called Bible Belt, a specific area in the south-eastern and the south-central of the United States where religion is a pervasive aspect of everyday life and where church attendance is higher than the country’s average. However, multi-group analysis comparing Bible Belt VS Non Bible Belt participants highlighted no differences regarding the representations between the two samples.

Table 9 - Social representation structure – *Disobedience* – U.S.

Nucleus			First periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 12	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 12	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Prison	24	2.8	Children	29	3.4
Disrespect	21	2.6	Animals	21	3.3
Criminal	18	2.8	Negativity	19	3.4
			Rebellion	19	3.3
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 10	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> ≥ 10	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Negative	64	2.9	Rebellious	38	3.0
Rude	21	2.8	Naughty	14	3.1
Disrespectful	19	2.2			
Stubborn	16	2.9			
Elements of contrast			Second periphery		
<i>Nouns</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 7 ≤ F < 11	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> 7 ≤ F < 11	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Ignorance	11	2.6	Rule	8	3.1
School	10	2.8	Insubordination	7	3.0
Non compliance	9	2.4	Time-out	7	3.6
Defiant	9	2.6			
Teenager	8	2.7			
Punishment	7	2.3			
Law	7	2.6			
<i>Adjectives</i>	<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 9	<i>Rank</i> < 3		<i>Frequency</i> 6 ≤ F < 9	<i>Rank</i> ≥ 3
Ignorant	9	2.8	Non compliant	9	3.8
Defiant	8	2.1	troublemakers	6	4.0
Sad	6	2.3			

1.13 Discussion of the results – United States

1.13.1 Obedience

A great correspondence between nuclear elements and narrative themes stood out, giving strength and unity to the representation of obedience. Supporting the Milgram's (1974) conception of a face-to-face authority relationship, in this study obedience evoked the respect of an explicit order from an individual authority as *police* or *superiors*.

The terms *rules* and *law* confirm the necessity of an explicit form of order to evoke obedience. This is also presented in Arendt's essay (1963) on Nuremberg trial, where Nazi lieutenant Adolf Eichmann's role was prescribed both by his superior direct orders and by routine rules and norms regulating his daily work. Social norms and laws (e.g., National Constitution, Street Code, etc.) have a fundamental role in regulating people behavior in a lot of social contexts (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989; Passini & Morselli, 2009).

Participants then considered obedience as resulting from two process of (non) consciousness: a) a blind answer to a request, as the destructive obedience studied by Milgram and his legacy (Blass, 2012), or b) as a conscious agreement to an order. This second form of obedience stems, according to Kelman and Hamilton (1989), from the equivalence between individual and authority values: if a person share the values of the authority, then he/she agrees with orders and norms coherent with what they consider as the society's fundamental values (Haslam et al., 2014; Reicher et al., 2014).

Obedience was also considered as an *ability*, a positive skill a child should learn and act out during his/her lifespan. In fact, participants focused on obedience figures as parents and teachers, persons that they have to follow to learn how to behave. Terms as *family* and *religion* reinforced this last statement and represent places where a *child*, as evoked in the nuclear elements of the representation, can learn how to be obedient. Since Piaget (1932) first reflections on the authority relationship, personified by the child-parents interaction, it was hypothesized that is through the first forms of social relations, that is family relations, that the child experiences autonomy and heteronomy, assessing these forms of thinking in a positive or negative way according to their parents' values (Leman & Duveen, 1999). In the past, obedience had an economic explanation: it provided "a manageably supportive workforce for the family economy" (Stearns, 2014, p. 593).

When childhood ends and the individual experiences different relational contexts, as *school*, *army*, and *work*, other than his/her family, he/she learns obedience through socialization processes which are influenced by his/her cultural belonging (Xiao, 1999). This thesis recalls once again SRT (Moscovici, 1961) and the importance of studying such phenomena through a societal approach.

Obedience also evoked the idea of respect (*loyal, faithful, respectful*): the individual has to respect and to be loyal to his/her commitments toward other people that depend on him or from whom he/she depends. According to this dimension it is relevant to refer to Kelman and Hamilton (1989) studies on military obedience. In a war context a person is incline to obedience according to 3 different variables: a) the expectations of his/her social role imposing certain behaviors; b) to avoid sanctions and stigmatizations; c) if his/her personal values fit with those conveyed by the authority's request. The dimension of personal respect towards other people is evoked: an obedient person, for the participants, is someone you can rely on.

Finally the whole representation of obedience, obtained merging content and structure, is overall considered as positive, in fact the most evoked adjective in the nucleus is *positive*.

1.13.2 Disobedience

A strong correspondence between content and structure emerged from the data, giving a coherent representation of this social object.

The term disobedience evoked a lack of respect of a law or of a person's order. In both cases there was an explicit command (formal law or verbal order) a person refuses to comply with. Participants referred to commands in different ways along a continuum, going from the very formal laws, to verbal orders, which can be very informal. Different levels and context of disobedience were theorized several years ago (Herr, 1974; Rawls, 1971) and clear differences between civil disobedience, against an authority law, and individual disobedience, against an authority direct order (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989) were defined.

Disobedience evoked also the concept of *failure*: a disobedient person is someone who is not able to do what he/she has been told to do. This topic recalls the educative role of family in teaching obedience: a person who does not learn from his/her family to properly behave in an authority relationship, is going to be a person not able to obey. A disobedient person was considered uneducated (*ignorance, stubborn, rude*), because he/she has no respect for other people and because he/she does not know how to behave in occasions where obedience is required, showing a lack of respect for social norms. Once again concrete subjects of disobedience were evoked: *children, animals* and *teenagers*, revealing the conception of a one-to-one disobedience.

Another issue in the representation of disobedience was the level of *intentionality*. According to the participants, disobedience is always an intentional behavior; a person cannot disobey by chance. This point seems to contradict the idea of disobedience as failure, because it considers disobedience as a planned and a conscious act. This is an issue that accompanied disobedience since its first theorizations (Lefkowitz, 2007; Milgram, 1974). The reflections on conscious disobedience evolved from the Milgram's (1974) conception of disobedience as an escape behavior from a stressing situation. According to Milgram (*ibidem*) people who cannot stand the authority order feel a cognitive dissonance that, due to their inability to deal with this dissonance, can lead them to disobey in order to reduce the dissonance. Because of this cognitive explanation was not satisfying for the scholars approaching disobedience studies, historical analysis (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989; Modigliani & Rochat, 1995) and experimental studies (Bocchiaro et al., 2012; Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010) began to uncover the processes underlying disobedience. These studies highlighted how disobedience is a final outcome of a rational process: people challenging the status quo, first evaluate the authority request or the law as illegitimate, then they find alternative to the situations, and finally, if

they feel effective, they could disobey. People who cannot stand the authority order feel a cognitive dissonance that, due to their inability to deal with this dissonance, can lead them to disobey in order to reduce the dissonance. Generally, this disobedience might be perceived as a failure.

Participants considered disobedience in a *negative* way, due to its evoking a sense of wrong doing. Moreover, the negative evaluation of disobedience stood out in the structure, monopolizing all the quadrants with the majority of terms having negative connotations, as, for example, *negativity* and *naughty*. In this sense, nuclear elements as *prison*, and *criminal* are significant because they highlight the process of a disobedient act, which ends with the one of the worst possible consequences and *punishments*³: the loss of freedom.

From these terms it is possible to infer participants' implicit reference to disobedience as an antisocial behavior, something dangerous for the people and for the society. Antisocial disobedience was theorized as a specific type of disobedience (Passini & Morselli, 2013), which favors only one social groups and put at disadvantage the other groups (e.g. Ku Klux Klan). There is no chance to highlight a positive side of disobedience, such as the pro-social disobedience (Passini & Morselli, 2009).

1.13.3 Comparison between obedience and disobedience

According to participants evocations, the two representations overlap for some aspects and are in strong opposition for some others.

Starting with similarities between the two representations both of them had an important coherence between content and structure. To have both obedience and disobedience it is necessary having "orders", that can assume several forms: it is possible having direct order, as military or parents' ones (as the ones in Milgram's study in 1963) or written order as laws, as the ones written in the Constitution.

These representations also shared the need for real authority figures to give orders or to create laws. Different authorities express themselves through different channels to give orders: institutional authorities can create and establish law that people must follow, while parents, to fulfill their role, can give verbal indications to their children.

The social representations of obedience and disobedience also shared the subjects who can obey or disobey. In both representations participants refer to *children*, *teenager* and *animals* as the main subjects in an authority relationship, indicating a preference in configuring an authority relationship as a face-to-face (one-to-one) relationship. School as a place of obedience and disobedience focuses on children, but also on educative figures as

teachers, that should teach a child how to behave properly and that are to obey. In fact obedience evoked the concept of ability, something that a person should learn in his/her first stages of life. When a person fails in learning this ability then disobedience likely stands out. Moreover, while obedience evoked a compliance to social norms, there are no references for social or civil disobedience. This result is quite interesting referring to U.S., as the birthplace of H.D. Thoreau and of several civil disobedience manifestations (for instance, Anti Vietnam War, African American civil rights, Occupy Wall Street).

Another strong difference relies on the participants' polarization in the assessment of obedience and disobedience. The former evoked exclusively positive terms and adjectives, while the latter was represented as something negative, for its nature and its consequences. This antinomies represented by the couple *ability-failure* and *positive-negative* recalled the dialogical approach within the SRT, theorized by Markova (2003). The Czech scholar assumed social representations as ruled by opposite concepts interaction, called *themata*. Themata are diads of opposite concepts (i.e. positive-negative) that serve to interpret the social world. For example if a child socially learns that obedience is positive, he/she will learn that everything that is not coherent or similar to obedience is negative. In this way people categorize the social world, creating their own representations deriving from the collective memory of the social group they belong to.

It is now possible answering to one of the research questions, defining obedience and disobedience according to the paradigm of SRT (Moscovici, 1961).

Obedience was seen as the respect of orders that can be verbal, as parents with children or sergeant with soldiers, or written, as the constitutional laws or the code of the street. These "orders" necessarily come from an authority that can assume different forms: a parent, a superior at workplace, his/her own social group or society in general. Obedience can be blind or critical, that is, the obedient person reflects on and agrees with the values underlining the authority request or with the norms imposed by society. Obedience was defined as totally positive, an ability that a child should learn to properly behave in the social interactions.

Disobedience conversely was represented as a lack of respects of orders, given by an individual authority, or of a formalized law, inserted in civil codes as, for example, the street code. It is defined as a behavior performed by an individual towards another individual representing the authority. The lack of education is the cause of disobedience. Disobedience is always intentional and it is the outcome of a rational cognitive process. It was defined as a negative behavior also for its consequences that can be, in the worst hypothesis, also imprisonment.

1.14 Cross-cultural comparison

The results supported the hypothesis of contextual influence assuming that post-materialist and democratic values shared at the societal level can have some degree of influence over attitudes and values at the individual level. In fact, the results highlight the similarities between the Italian and the Austrian SRs of obedience and disobedience and, simultaneously, they show some differences between the two European countries and U.S..

1.14.1 Social representation of obedience

Italian, Austrian and U.S. participants commonly evoked and shared three components:

1. *Individual authority*, authority relationship as an interpersonal relationship;
2. *Social learning*, social institutions as family and school should teach obedience;
3. *Awareness*, necessity to agree with the authority's request, in opposition to blind obedience.

The issue and the analysis of the relationship with a “physical” authority has been predominant within socio-psychological literature since Milgram's first studies on destructive obedience (Milgram, 1974; Blass, 2000). Doubtless, family and school are the first contexts where a person experience the authority relationship and its limits (Bray & Harvey, 1992; Fromm et al., 1936; Xiao, 1999). Parents and teachers represent the first authorities and their educative role is fundamental for a functional development of children's critical thinking and moral reasoning (Kohlberg, 1985; Marzana, Marta, & Pozzi, 2012b). A parental education that promotes reflections over ethics, morality and political issues is fundamental for the growth of a future active citizen (Marzana, Marta, & Pozzi, 2012a). Interestingly, participants recalled a dimension of awareness, underlining the existence of a critical obedience in opposition to the well-known blind obedience.

This result is an opportunity to stress the existence of constructive obedience, a fundamental feature of everyday life as it ensures social order (Darley, 1995).

Dealing with the differences, results showed a great difference between the two European countries and the U.S. Specifically, within the Italian and the Austrian samples, the two representations shared important parts of the content. In both countries, the SR of obedience evoked the *respect* to different types of *norms* and of *institutional authorities*. Here, obedience was referred to norms that can range on a continuum from oral (command by superiors) to written norms (Constitutional laws; Civil Code). Again, a basic requisite for obedient behavior is the explication of the order, whether it is oral or written (Passini &

Morselli, 2010b). Moreover, written norms usually come from institutional authorities, legitimate organs that, in their efficient forms, are necessary and facilitate the administration of civil life (Passini & Morselli, 2009).

U.S. participants represented obedience differently also because of their association with themes as *loyalty* and *personal respect*. The issue of loyalty connected to obedience was analyzed by studies on military authority relationship (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989; Pion-Berlin, Esparza, & Grisham, 2014). Analyzing obedience to superiors, Pion-Berlin et al. (2014) found that it was likely to happen when: “material interests were satisfied and where militaries identified with government, believed internal order missions to be appropriate, followed the law, and remained unified” (p. 246). Within U.S. sample, this theme was connected to the *ability* and *fear of punishment* components. Findings from the analysis of obedience behavior in military contexts revealed that military authority can also administer sanctions and punishment in order to ensure obedience (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989). Coherently, obedience was considered an ability, something that a person need to know how to enact.

Moreover, Europeans evaluated obedience neither positive nor negative per sè, while U.S. participants conceive it as totally positive. The following table summarizes the themes between the three countries.

Table 10 - Themes composing the SRs of Obedience

Themes	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>U.S.</i>
<i>Individual authority</i>	X	X	X
<i>Social learning</i>	X	X	X
<i>Awareness</i>	X	X	X
<i>Norms respect</i>	X	X	
<i>Types of orders</i>	X	X	
<i>Institutional authority</i>	X	X	
<i>Personal respect</i>			X
<i>Eteronomy</i>			X
<i>Ability</i>			X
<i>Punishment</i>			X
<i>Evaluation</i>	Pos/Neg	Pos/Neg	Positive

1.14.2 Social representation of disobedience

The term inductor “disobedience” evoked more themes and components than “obedience”. All the three samples included the following themes in the social representation of disobedience:

1. Disobedience as *lack of norm respect*;
2. Disobedience as expression of *autonomy*;
3. *Different types of orders* convey disobedience;
4. *Awareness*, disobedience is always a chosen act;
5. *Punishment*, as a consequence of disobedience

The issue of personal *autonomy* has been largely debated within the literature, from the heteronomy-autonomy dichotomy discussed by Milgram (1974) to the last reflections on civil disobedience (Moraro, 2014). According to these last insights, citizens are allowed to use a certain degree of force in opposition to coercion implemented by any other individual or institution. More precisely, it is reasonable to address moral autonomy (Leman & Duveen, 1999; Sonnentag & McDaniel, 2013) for positive disobedient actions, that is, the “inner” authority, composed by moral and ethical standards, opposes to the external authority. Accordingly, disobedience is evoked as a choice, a result of an aware process and that requires more effort to be implemented (Sonnentag & McDaniel, 2013).

As for obedience, disobedience evoked the theme of *punishment*, but in this case it was seen as a consequence and not as a cause. In fact, disobedient people are often punished not only with retaliation by superiors (Berry, 2004) but also with exclusion and stigmatization by their social groups (Milgram, 1974).

Again, Italian and Austrian samples shared the majority of the themes (with the Austrian evoking more themes than the Italians) and agreed on representing disobedience as *civil* and directed to an *institutional authority*. Civil disobedience is the most discussed type of disobedience since the reflections on the Greek myths such as Antigone, Lysistrata and Prometheus (Laudani, 2010) and one of its defining features is to be addressed to an institutional authority (Thoreau, 1849).

Similarly to what observed with the social representation of obedience, U.S. participants considered disobedience as a lack of *personal respect* (loyalty) towards a person and as a *failure* (vs obedience as ability). Lastly, Europeans evaluated disobedience according to the consequences of its implementation, while Americans considered it always negative.

Table 11 - Themes composing the SRs of Disobedience

Themes	<i>Italy</i>	<i>Austria</i>	<i>U.S.</i>
<i>Lacks of norms respect</i>	X	X	X
<i>Autonomy</i>	X	X	X
<i>Types of orders</i>	X	X	X
<i>Awareness</i>	X	X	X
<i>Punishment</i>	X	X	X
<i>Institutional authority</i>	X	X	
<i>Civil disobedience</i>	X	X	
<i>Hierarchy</i>		X	
<i>No personal respect</i>			X
<i>Failure</i>			X
<i>Evaluation</i>	Pos/Neg	Pos/Neg	Negative

In sum, several similarities can be found between the two European countries (Italy and Austria), both differing from the U.S. social representations for some relevant themes.

Thus, these cross-cultural comparison results support and corroborate the hypothesis of the connection between contextual influence, post-materialist values and social representations of obedience and disobedience. Indeed, both Italian and Austrian participants included the components *Civil disobedience* and *Institutional authority* in the representation, considering opposition to the authorities as reasonable in specific cases of authorities misbehavior. U.S. results instead indicated less flexibility in accepting disobedience and evaluate it as negative.

1.15 Conclusions and limitations

The present study analyzed the phenomena of obedience and disobedience through the theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1961), more precisely through the structuralist approach (Abric, 1993) to give bottom-up definitions of these two social objects, comparing their similarities and differences between 3 countries.

Many definitions of the authority relationship have been given throughout history and by different human sciences approaches (e.g. Fromm, 1981; Rattner, Agil, & Segal, 2003; Schlesinger, 1975; Thomassen, 2007) but they were based on logical assumptions and top-down empirical evidence. Being authority relationship a social object that people deal with from childhood onwards and as it is a social phenomenon currently characterizing the socio-

political world, it had to be investigated according to a constructivist approach (Gelo, 2012), such as social representation theory. This choice stems from the need to define the social objects with a mixed-method and according to a constructivist approach (Gelo, 2012). The constructivist approach uses methodologies that contrast with the conventional experimental studies traditionally chosen by social psychology to investigate the obedient and disobedient behaviour.

Contrary to the qualitative studies on the authority relationship (Morselli & Passini, 2012b; Passini & Morselli, 2010c), the present study adopted a mixed-method bottom-up approach aimed at defining obedience and disobedience on the basis of the verbalizations of the participants.

Furthermore, this study followed the recent reflections assuming the strict bond between social knowledge and political behavior (Morselli & Passini, 2011; Staerklé, 2009). The fundamental premise is the citizens' inclusion in a specific political culture, permeated by a system of beliefs, ideologies and social values that are shared and that contribute to shape social behavior. As well highlighted by Elcherot and colleagues (2011):

“The key contribution of social representations approach lies in exploring the processes by which people come to a shared understanding of the social world and how this relates to their possibilities for action within the world. From such a perspective political action depends upon the socio psychological processes by which our understanding of the world is produced, while, conversely, psychological understandings always involve a political dimension in the sense of being embedded in a wider understanding of how social relations are organized in the world. In short, a social representations approach overcomes the duality between psychology and politics” (pag. 730).

Summing up, if these two phenomena define the relationship with the authority and if the relationship with the authority is a central theme in one's adequate social life, it is relevant to explore what are the meanings attributed to these social objects. This process will enable to enrich and enlarge the opportunity to reason upon the possible dynamics elicited by the relationship with the authority, whether this is an individual, as presented by the participants of this study, or an institution.(Morselli & Passini, 2012b)

The present study can well responds to the claim of Elcherot et al. (2011) to start the study of social interactions (such as social movements) through the use of social representations methods.

Authority relationship resulted to be a central theme in the study of civic participation (Mannarini et al., 2009; Morselli & Passini, 2012a), a type of social action that political psychologists need to study from a societal point of view. If it is true that the protests and movements are representative of good citizenship, then it is possible to look at one of the component of protest, disobedience, as important. That is, if pro-social disobedience (Passini & Morselli, 2009) can be understood and hypothesized as positive and possible antecedent of democracy - as it becomes a component of a protest movement in favor of “outgroups” (Thomas et al., 2011) - then knowing that a group consider it only as negative, can help in develop awareness in democratic movement founded on pro-social protest. Many scholars ask the question “is reactionary civic involvement better than no involvement” (Banaji, 2008, p.557), then it is impossible to disregard the meaning attributed to the “reactionary” in terms of obedience and disobedience.

Through protest actions aimed at expanding the boundaries of moral rights to the whole society, disobedient stands as: (a) the defender of democratic values that should characterize our society; and (b) a civic guard avoiding the degeneration of the relationship between the individual and the authority. A pro-social disobeyer can be considered an active and engaged citizen (Haste, 2004; Marta, Marzana, & Pozzi, 2012; Vecina, Chacon, Marzana, & Marta, 2013) that can contribute to the transition from a local to a universal civic identity (Marzana, Marta, & Pozzi, 2012; Marzana, Pozzi, Mercuri, Fasanelli, & Fattori, *under review*), in order not to exclude any social group from social change. In accordance with Passini and Morselli (2009):

“It becomes relevant to strengthen norms that prescribe disobedience when people deal with orders and demands which they deem to be illegitimate, mainly on the grounds of a moral judgment. In that sense, disobedience becomes not just a right of the citizen that a democratic system should provide but also a duty of citizenship” (p. 100).

Prosocial disobeyers include in their actions a criterion of moral inclusiveness and no social groups are damaged or excluded from the social change (Morselli & Passini, 2012b). Thus, promoting the development of civic engagement at an individual and a community level seems a prerequisite for the maintenance of the substrate that supports the democratic western world. The importance of studying the meaning and the links between disobedience and active citizenship is justified by the growing interest within European politics to understand and resolve diverse phenomenon including, for example, corruption and crimes especially

during the actual economic crisis. Based on this point of view, a great importance is assumed by the phenomenon of whistle-blowing (Bocchiaro et al., 2012; Fraschini, Parisi, & Rinoldi, 2011). Whistle blowing is a particular type of disobedience, that is, to report “irregularities or even illegal criminal acts within one's own work setting” (Fraschini et al., 2011, p. 10). This passage, from reflections on the banality of evil, analyzed with Milgram and his successors, to the study of variables related to the ordinariness of good (Modigliani & Rochat, 1995), opens the way for a new paradigm within the current social psychology: the psychology of heroism (Zimbardo, 2007).

Possible limitations of this study could be the use of a single technique, including both open ended questions and free associations, to unveil the social representations of the authority relationship. The open-ended question should ideally replace, in a short and parsimonious form, the semi-structured interview that is often adopted to uncover the representation content (Fasanelli et al., 2005). Despite numerous existing techniques to retrieve social representations according to the structural approach (Abric, 2003b), this instrument allowed the researcher to reach a broad sample and is an efficient alternative for conducting a rigorous, reliable and economical study.

In addition, although the selection of participants was carried out according to sampling criteria that refer to the paradigm of social representations (which involves the identification of a specific social group within which to investigate the social representations of interest), it would be appropriate and interesting to compare the results obtained by selecting other participants belonging to the same reference population, in order to verify the redundancy of the results for a comprehensive definition of the investigated constructs.

The study presented in these pages does not exhaust the reflections on the descriptive aspects related to the construct relationship with the authority, but rather sets a benchmark for future research that will investigate the psychosocial dimensions unexplored thus far.

The present study also provides a number of indications to social researchers who might be interested in developing a scale (e.g. see Study 2) capable of individuating the different dimensions of obedience and disobedience. In this sense, it would be interesting to explore not only the explicit attitudes people have about these connected social phenomena but also their implicit beliefs and the interconnections with other social objects which might be similar to obedience and disobedience.

CHAPTER 2

Study 2: The creation and validation of the Pro-social Disobedience Attitude Scale (PSDA) within the Italian context

2.1 Pro-social disobedience: A definition

An overview of theories and an overall description of disobedience theories has been presented previously (see par. 1.3). The aim of this paragraph is to deepen the description of a particular form of positive disobedience, recently defined: *Pro-social disobedience* (Passini & Morselli, 2009).

Passini and Morselli defined it (2009) as a behavior enacted to violate an unjust law and caused by the resolve to extend social well-being to the whole society.

Famous historical examples of pro-social disobedience and disobeyers can be Ghandi with his non-violent movement for the independence of India from the British Empire and Martin Luther King Jr. with his African-American civil rights movement.

Pro-social disobeyers base their actions on two principles: *Social responsibility* and *Moral inclusion*. The presence or the absence of these two features distinguishes between pro-social and anti-social disobedience. Moreover, they are strictly interrelated, to the extent that without moral inclusion there is no social responsibility. In fact, the latter requires disobedient actions to be “enacted for the sake of the whole society, including all its different levels and groups” (Passini & Morselli, 2009, p. 101-102) but the possibility to have this type of enlarged responsibility depends on a process of moral inclusion.

Responsibility is intended here in a two-fold way: (a) responsibility to activate itself in order to stop possible authoritarian forms of government; (b) being socially responsible, that is, a disobedient behavior aimed to bring benefit to the whole society and not to harm or disadvantage other individuals or social groups.

Moral inclusion means that no individual or group should be excluded from or damaged by the social change. Indeed, morality is a fundamental component in the authority relationship (Skitka et al., 2009): “When people have a moral stake in decision outcomes, their reasoning about outcome fairness and decision acceptance will be based more strongly on internal conceptions of personal right and wrong than on their established perceptions of authorities’ legitimacy” (p. 568-569). Therefore, morality has a great importance in predicting pro-social collective action (Comunian & Gielen, 1995; Thomas & McGarty, 2009; van

Zomeran, Postmes, & Spears, 2012; Vilas & Sabucedo, 2012) but can also lead to negative social consequences if applied as *exclusionary* (Opatow & Weiss, 2000). Consistently, moral inclusion is fundamental for pro-social disobedience because it restructures moral boundaries and enlarges social identification, and includes out-groups in the process of social change (Thomas et al., 2009a). Being able to enlarge moral standards to include out-groups is necessary for acts of positive disobedience (Opatow & Weiss, 2000) because it avoids *moral disengagement* (Bandura, 2002) that can lead to destructive social behaviors (Bocchiaro, 2011). Accordingly, the development of good levels of moral reasoning is an important issue both at personal and civic levels because it directs protest to out-group-oriented positive outcomes and is associated with pro-social behavior (Comunian & Gielen, 1995).

The most relevant theorization on the development of moral reasoning was proposed by Kohlberg (1985). The scholar structured moral development in 3 levels, each of them divided in 2 levels:

1. In the *Pre-conventional* stage (7 years old) children base their moral decisions according to potential punishments (Level 1) or rewards (Level 2);
2. *Conventional* morality means that the norms of the social group (Level 3) and, afterwards, norms of the society (Level 4) decide what is moral or immoral.
3. *Postconventional* morality is the highest level of moral reasoning. In this stage moral decisions are based on concerns about the rights and the well-being of the others (Level 5). Not everyone can reach Level 6, because it includes people whose behaviors are guided by universal ethical principles.

As highlighted by Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1976), moral autonomy is a fundamental requisite to disobey an unjust authority. When a person behaves according to his/her moral standard, he/she does not depend anymore from an external source of information (i.e. authority) and can oppose to it in case of mismatch between internal moral standards and the request of the authority.

Thus, pro-social disobedience can be considered as an instrument of democracy (Passini & Morselli, 2011) and as a tool in the hands of the citizens and the community to check the legitimacy of the authorities' demands, becoming a factor in preventing authoritarian tendencies preserving democracy (Morselli & Passini, 2012a; Passini & Morselli, 2010a). Coherently with its definition, pro-social disobedience can be considered a *pro-social behavior*, to the extent that persons do not protest exclusively for their own interests and benefit, but also for the well-being of other persons and social groups (Marta, Pozzi, &

Marzana, 2010; Penner, 2004). As the reader may have noticed, the definition of pro-social disobedience has many similarities with *civil disobedience*, which can be conceived as its forerunner. Accordingly, it is reasonable to argue that pro-social disobedience should be “a necessary and normal part of a mature constitutional democracy” (Thomassen, 2007, p. 201) and it seems important to recall Hannah Arendt’s claim for a constitutional niche for civil disobedience (Smith, 2010).

If Arendt argued about an *institutional* civil disobedience, Fromm assumed that not every State supporting freedom could be, by definition, in opposition to disobedience. Furthermore, Fromm introduced the concept of *responsible disobedience*. In his essay (1981) the German scholar defined our historical period as characterized by excessive social obedience, a time in which individuals are trained to conformity by institutions such as school and family. In this cultural context, the disobedient must be responsible for the *awakening* of those people who cannot stop conforming and obeying on their own. If within Arendt’s theorization a *duty* of disobedience is conceived, that is, an institutional disobedience accepted and imposed by the law, Fromm assumptions sustained the beginning of an era of a conscious assumption of responsibility (Passini & Morselli, 2006).

2.2 Introduction to the study: The need for a measure

After World War II, social scientists aiming to study the causes of totalitarian regimes began to investigate the dispositional variables responsible for destructive obedience behavior. After the first reflections by Fromm (1941) on authoritarianism, conformism and their necessity to the modern human being, *authoritarian personality* was theorized (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), being composed of the following personality traits: (a) strong ethnocentrism, (b) prone to submission towards authority and (c) showing great opposition to unconventional people (Bocchiaro, 2011).

Authoritarianism is then defined as a tendency to rigidly accept what is considered culturally similar and to refuse what is considered culturally different (Aiello, Leone, & Chirumbolo, 2005).

According to these definitions of authoritarianism, Adorno created the F scale (Adorno et al., 1950), but it presented several criticalities (Passini, 2003): (a) although authoritarian personality was defined as a multifaceted construct, the scale was one-dimensional; (b) the theoretical model defining nine sub-dimensions was not respected in the factorial structure; and (c) the sampling procedure performed by Adorno did not allow a generalization of the

results. These limitations brought several scholars to criticize the scale and to create more accurate instruments, focusing on single dimensions. For example, Altemeyer (1981) decided to focus only on the *authority submission* dimension, creating the Right-wing authoritarianism scale (RWA), while Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994) operationalized the *Social dominance* dimension.

After more than half of a century and several revisions and adaptations (Aiello & Areni, 1998; Altemeyer, 1981; Passini, 2003), the RWA scale is still considered to be one of the most important scales to assess authoritarian personality. Such an important issue as the assessment of the authority relationship has been recently rediscovered within a growing research field addressing disobedience. Measures of obedience like *Blind Obedience Index* (Dalton & Ong, 2005; Morselli & Passini, 2012a) and the *Autoridad Institucional en adolescentes* (AAI-A) scale (Attitudes to Institutional Authority in adolescence Scale) (Cava, Estévez, Buelga, & Musitu, 2013), and measures of attitudes towards forms of activism like the *Activism orientation scale* (Corning & Myers, 2002) and the *Rights in a democracy scale* (Behr, Braun, Kaczmirek, & Bandilla, 2012), have highlighted the need for a measure assessing attitudes to disobedience in its positive form, that is, pro-social disobedience. Furthermore, this necessity arises from the real social world, calling on scholars to deepen their analyses of these socio-political changes and evolutions.

2.3 Introduction to the process of creation and validation

A definition is mandatory to operationalize a construct or, in this case, a social object as pro-social disobedience. As highlighted previously, only recently did social and political psychologists feel an urgency to give a completely bottom-up definition (see Study 1) and to treat at a societal level (Morselli & Passini, 2011) such a complex concept, unveiling the components that form its social representation. Following these new insights, the whole procedure of creation and validation of this scale was conducted according to indications by Chiorri (2011) and DeVellis (2011): Firstly, an initial item pool composed of 45 items was created (Phase 1) inspired by classical literature and new insights on disobedience (see Study 1 – Italian data). In this first phase an *Exploratory Factor Analysis* (EFA) was performed and then a *Confirmatory Factor Analysis* (CFA) (Phase 2) was conducted to obtain the final structure of the scale.

Then the final items have been compared with other psychometric instruments in order to test *convergent* and *divergent* validity.

2.4 Item analysis and Exploratory Factor Analysis (Phase 1)

The creation of the initial item pool, formed by 45 items, respected the theoretical structure observed in the studies dealing with pro-social disobedience (Morselli & Passini, 2012b; see Study 1). In this phase findings from studies unveiling the components of disobedience (Morselli & Passini, 2012a, 2012b), and the Italian results from Study 1 were integrated to define a list of themes and components of pro-social disobedience, specifically: *transgression, right, duties, responsibility, authorities and laws*. For each of these themes, 6-8 items were conceived according to attitude theories and composed of three main aspects: affective, behavioral and cognitive (Breckler, 1984).

The item analysis was performed before proceeding with the EFA to assess the psychometric features of the items. Then, the EFA was conducted aiming to (a) individuate the number of the latent dimensions explaining the relational pattern between the items and (b) reduce the number of items, making the scale more parsimonious.

2.4.1 Method

2.4.1.1 Participants and procedure

345 persons completed an online self-report questionnaire (see *Materials* for its composition) after having signed the participation consent. 256 participants were female (74.2%) and the mean age was 23.08 (SD = 3.291). 200 participants (58%) declared being university students, 52 were student-workers (15.1%) and 48 (13.9%) were workers, while the remaining 13% were unemployed or searching for a job.

All of the participants took part in this study on a voluntary basis. Convenience sampling was used to recruit the participants.

2.4.1.2 Materials

Pro-social Disobedience Attitude scale. Participants were presented with the 45 items of the initial pool in a random order. A 7-point Likert scale ranging from totally disagree (1) to totally agree (7) was used.

Participants were also asked for socio-demographic information such as age, gender, and current occupation.

2.4.2 Results

The analyses were performed with SPSS v.21.

The first step was to perform the *Item analysis*. A normality test on the item pool was run: 3 items (27, 29, 42) did not respect the normality criteria (skewness and kurtosis exceeded -1 and + 1) and were then deleted.

Afterward, running a *discriminant analysis*, the items' power to distinguish between subjects with a high level of disobedience and those with a low level was measured. After this analysis, 8 items (2, 4, 18, 26, 32, 37, 41, 44) were deleted from the item pool because of $d < .50$.

An *Item-total correlation* was then conducted to assess whether the items were effective in capturing different levels of the concept. This procedure allowed the assessment of the degree to which the items were able to represent the whole instrument and the whole concept. Three items (17, 36, 46) having $r < .30$ were deleted from the item pool.

Subsequently, the first cycle of EFAs was run, and a principal axis factoring was performed to determine the number of factors to be extracted and the structure of our scale. Deletion criteria were factor loadings lower than .50 and cross-loading exceeding .20. The EFA was run and two factors explaining 49% of the total variance were extracted following the *Scree plot method* and with *Promax rotation* (Kaiser normalization), because of their non significant correlation ($p = .59$).

The first factor (Cronbach's alpha .85), composed of 6 items, was defined *Collective action attitudes* (CAA), and refers to the attitude towards people demonstrating for social equality; the second one (Cronbach's alpha .78), composed of 4 reverse items, was called *Critical authority relationship* (CAR) because it evaluates the attitude relating to a critical reflection about acceptance of the laws.

Table 12 - Factor loadings from EFA

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
I appreciate people who protest for their rights	.828	-.133
I would attend a demonstration against an incompetent government	.743	-.013
I would be proud to take part in a demonstration against an unjust law	.699	.021
I would be proud to take part in a demonstration against unjust political decisions	.686	.131
I respect those who oppose an authority to change an unfair situation	.630	-.002
I respect those who oppose an authority to make society more equitable	.593	.031
I believe that the laws established by institutions should always be respected	.007	.779
I always obey the laws of the State	-.078	.670
I feel I must respect the institutions, even if their decisions seem unfair to me	.059	.652
The laws must always be obeyed	.023	.649

Bartlett's test of sphericity (Bartlett, 1950) was significant ($p < .000$) and the measure of sample adequacy of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) (Kaiser, 1970) was very good (KMO = .840). These criteria yielded 2 factors and 10 items to be analyzed with a CFA.

2.5 Confirmatory Factor Analysis (Phase 2)

The EFA allowed to obtain a 10-item and a two-factor form of the PSDA scale. Next a CFA was run to determine whether the structure found with the EFA provided an acceptable statistical fit (Byrne, 2010). Furthermore, once concluded this procedure, it was possible to test convergent and divergent validity to complete the validation process (Chiorri, 2011). All the analyses were run with Amos v.21.

2.5.1 Method

2.5.1.1 Participants and procedure

Entirely on a voluntary basis, 344 participants were administered a self-report questionnaire after having signed the participation consent. Females were 247 (71.8%) and the mean age was 23.46 (SD = 3.185). University students were 58.4%, 16.9% were full-time workers, 11% were student-workers, while the remaining 13.4% were unemployed and looking for a job. Convenience sampling was used to recruit the participants.

2.5.1.2 Materials

Pro-social disobedience. Participants were administered the 10 items of the PSDA scale. Items ranged from totally disagree (1) to totally agree (7) and were presented in a randomized order. Again this time, the same socio-demographic variables were asked.

Rights in a democracy. Pro-social disobedience is supported by and acted out by those people who have post-materialistic values (Morselli & Passini, 2012b), that is, those people caring for civil freedom, democracy and empowerment (Inglehart & Abramson, 1999). Democracy and disobedience, even if it seems counterintuitive, are linked in a positive sense: the more a citizen supports democracy, the more he/she disobeys an authority's illegitimate requests (Passini & Morselli, 2010a, 2011; Thomas & Louis, 2013). Accordingly, in testing convergent validity, expected results were that people with positive attitudes towards pro-social disobedience had a high response rate on the Rights in a democracy scale. The complete form of the scale (Behr et al., 2012) was adopted and an example item is: "How important is it that politicians take into account the views of citizens before making decisions". Item responses ranged from not important (1) to very important (7). Cronbach's alpha was .75.

Authoritarianism. Authoritarianism is a specific configuration of personality characterizing people inclined to obey authorities' requests. The F scale developed by Adorno and coll. (1950) was developed and improved after several critiques and revisions (Altemeyer, 1981; Pratto et al., 1994; Roccato, 2003) until present, with the current Italian version chosen for this study (Passini, 2003). The Italian scholar developed a 12-item version confirming the theoretical model proposed by Altemeyer and satisfying the statistical criteria.

Accordingly, expected results were that people with high levels of pro-social disobedience would report a low level of submission to authority, conventionalism and authoritarian aggressiveness. Item responses ranged from totally disagree (1) to totally agree (4).

An example item is: “It is important that children learn obedience to authority” or “Our country needs imposed order rather than freedom”.

The Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was .80.

2.5.2 Results and discussion

Items with factor loadings lower than .50 were excluded from the model. Following this criteria item 23 and 45 were deleted, obtaining the final configuration composed of 2 factors, both impacting on 4 items (see Table 13). This model satisfied the null hypothesis of good fit and produced very good indexes ($X^2/df = 26.899/18$, $p = .08$; $RMSEA = .38$ [.0 - .066]; $GFI = .981$; $CFI = .989$).

The reliability test was conducted according to Bagozzi’s (1994) indications: Collective action attitudes alpha was .74 while Critical authority relationship alpha was .76.

The first factor, Collective action attitudes, is composed of items referring to people’s intention to take part in a protest march and to the evaluation of people’s demonstrating for human civil rights. The behavioral dimension is a fundamental component of pro-social disobedience, included in its theorization (Zimbardo, 2007), and there is no pro-social disobedience without an active and responsible participation in real actions promoting it (Morselli & Passini, 2012a).

On the contrary, Critical authority relationship includes items related to the need of reflection, a basic component of pro-social disobedience. The need for reflection before acting out disobedience is a well-known concept since the first theorizations on civil disobedience (Fromm, 1981; Thoreau, 1849). The heteronymous state defined by Milgram and the concept of blind obedience indicate how an obedient behavior does not often require a conscious agreement with the authority’s request (Fennis & Aarts, 2012). On the contrary, several insights (Suen et al., 2014; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012; van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008) suggested that, especially referring to civil and pro-social disobedience, people need to reflect on the situation, on possible strategies, and on its consequences in order to engage in a disobedient behavior. Accordingly, the PSDA scale covers the two fundamental dimensions of pro-social disobedience: cognition and action.

Moreover it seems relevant to notice that the theoretical core concepts composing pro-social disobedience can be found in the final items. In fact, the final scale includes core concepts such as rights and justice within the Collective action attitude factor, and reflection and transgression in the Critical authority relationship factor.

Table 13 - Standardized regression weights from CFA

Item		Factor	Estimate
I would be proud to take part in a demonstration against unjust political decisions	←	F1	.750
I would be proud to take part in a demonstration against an unjust law	←	F1	.716
I would attend a demonstration against an incompetent government	←	F1	.838
I appreciate people who protest for their rights	←	F1	.505
The laws must always be obeyed ®	←	F2	.630
I always obey the laws of the State ®	←	F2	.532
I believe that the laws established by the institutions should always be respected ®	←	F2	.845
I feel I must respect the institutions, even if their decisions seem unfair to me ®	←	F2	.728

F1 means Factor 1 (*Collective action tendencies*);
 F2 means Factor 2 (*Critical authority relationship*).
 ® indicates reverse-coded items.

2.6 Convergent and divergent validity

To assess construct validity convergent and divergent validity were measured.

Convergent validity is “the degree to which a scale is related to other variables to which it theoretically should be related” (Jansen, Otten, Van der Zee, & Jans, 2014, p. 377).

Assessing divergent validity, instead, meant that PSDA is expected to not have significant correlations with instruments that measure opposite concepts, for example, obedience or authoritarianism.

In this process, the two factors have been treated individually and not together as a single instrument because of their non-meaningful correlations ($r = .059$, $p = .279$).

According to the historical review (see par. 2.2) there are few validated instruments to choose for assessing disobedience so, to evaluate convergent validity, the Rights in a democracy scale was chosen (Behr et al., 2012), also for its “civil disobedience” item.

For divergent validity PSDA scale was correlated with an Italian version of the authoritarianism scale by Passini (2003).

2.6.1 Results

In the divergent validity process, as just hypothesized, both factors, Collective action attitude ($r = -.144$; $p = .007$) and Critical authority relationship ($r = -.307$; $p = .000$), correlate inversely with the authoritarianism scale. Convergent validity analysis reported a significant correlation between the Collective action attitudes factor and the Rights in a democracy scale ($r = .432$; $p < .000$), while it did not for Critical authority relationship ($r = .000$; $p = .998$). This last result could be caused by the nature of the item composing this factor: indeed, it is composed entirely of the reverse item and it is known that “negative items have been found to be much harder to interpret and to require greater cognitive capacity than positive items” (Behr et al., 2012, p. 373). Technically it can be hard to analyze this kind of item with the usual statistical technique because they “may even constitute reverse-coding method factors” (ibidem). Furthermore, the Rights in a democracy scale was chosen because of the lack of instruments precisely measuring disobedience. This choice is an issue to be considered in order to effectively interpret convergent analysis results.

Accordingly with this last statement, despite convergent analysis results not being completely satisfying, the two-factor structure of the scale was maintained for its adherence to the theoretical definition and its good overall statistical fit.

2.7 Conclusions

The scientific community produced 51 years of psychological insights and theories about authority relationship, from Milgram (1963) to Thomas and Louis (2014). Authority relationship studies deeply analyzed destructive obedience behavior (Blass, 2012), while leaving veiled and undiscovered the disobedience phenomena.

Recent development in the disobedience studies (Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010; Macer, 2011) and current social events highlight the need to focus more on the disobedience phenomena. In the last years, several disobedient actors have taken the scene and challenged the status quo, demanding social justice and equality for all (Chomsky, 2013).

Actually, some of them are acting pro-social disobedience, disobeying unjust laws to bring back wellbeing on behalf of an entire society. Therefore, starting from the theorization of Passini and Morselli (2009) a two-factor scale (8 items, 4 for each factor) measuring attitudes towards pro-social disobedience was validated. The two factors were labeled Collective action attitudes (CAA) and Critical authority relationship (CAR).

The former addresses the behavioral intention component of disobedience, while the latter reflects the cognitive component of pro-social disobedience, opposing the heteronomous state of Milgram's obedient participants (Fennis & Aarts, 2012).

This specific type of disobedience is theoretically founded on moral inclusion and social responsibility, pushing for a social change that brings benefit to the whole society, neither leaving any groups excluded nor disadvantaged (e.g. Ghandi, M.L. King Jr., Nelson Mandela). Pro-social disobedience, opposing anti-social disobedience and destructive obedience (Milgram, 1974) can be an important instrument in citizens' hands to maintain democracy and preventing authoritarian relationships (Passini & Morselli, 2011). This insight is also supported by findings from Study 1: disobedience is mainly conceived as a behavior arising from a sense of responsibility.

This sense of enlarged social responsibility is coherent with pro-social disobedience aims to include every social group in the moral universe (Staub, 2014), fostering the improvement of their quality of life. Recently, collective action studies focused on models explaining why people could engage in behaviors benefitting disadvantaged out-groups (Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, 2014; Thomas & Louis, 2013; Thomas et al., 2011). These new models, especially the Encapsulated model of social identity in collective action (EMSICA) (Thomas et al., 2011), is based on the expansion of moral boundaries, manipulating persons' social identification with an opinion-based group. Accordingly, the operationalization of pro-social disobedience gives the possibility to statistically assess its contribution in promoting people's participation in these kind of collective actions (Study 3) (van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008, 2012). In this sense, statistical proof could attest to the importance of pro-social disobedience in promoting active citizenship strategies and could confirm pro-social disobedience as a tool that every citizen has to know and use in order to protect democracy and promote social wellbeing.

CHAPTER 3

3. Study 3: Pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values as predictors of a new model of collective action

3.1 Theoretical background

The inability of the institutions to face and solve economic crisis brought citizens to distrust in social and political institutions and to disengage from classic democratic processes. For example in Italy, recent statistical inquiries show that only the 15% of the population trusts the government and that the 3% appreciates the political parties (Demos, 2014).

Current actions of social protest and disobedience (e.g. Occupy Wall Street, Movimiento 15-M, Arab Spring, *etc.*) are the consequences of this unstable socio-economical situation and have brought the scientific community to deepen the inquiry of uncommon ways of expressing *social action*. This theoretical label includes all forms of action that push people to take action, not exclusively for their own interests and benefit, but also for the well-being of the communities to which they belong (Marzana, 2011; Snyder & Omoto, 2007). Being social action a broad concept, it includes in its definitions a wide range of actions, from volunteering to joining a social movement that aims social change (Omoto, 2005).

This last type of social action was theorized and studied by the *Social Psychology of collective action and protest* (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008) that investigated the dispositional and situational variables fostering a person's engagement in a collective action. Recently, new forms of social action have been studied, analyzing at the same time political engagement and collective action that improves social conditions of a disadvantaged out-group (e.g. rallying to support clean water movement in third world countries) (Costa-Lopes, Dovidio, Pereira, & Jost, 2013; Thomas et al., 2011; van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008). In particular the *Encapsulated Model of Collective Action* (Thomas et al., 2011) explains the process of a person's engagement in a collective action advantaging a disadvantaged out-group.

At the same time, in a social scene where disobedience against institutional authorities and protests demonstrating against an unfair status quo are taking center stage (Chomsky, 2013; Dalton, Van Sickle, & Weldon, 2010), there is a growing interest for studying behavioral disobedience (Bocchiaro et al., 2012; Bocchiaro & Zimbardo, 2010) and defining

it²⁴. Therefore theoretical reflections about positive forms of disobedience, namely pro-social disobedience (Passini & Morselli, 2009), became relevant for a pragmatic comprehension of the actual social world.

Pro-social disobedience and collective action benefitting a disadvantaged out-group (e.g. EMSICA) are based on an enlargement of moral boundaries to include every social group in the social change process. In this sense they can be considered as pro-social behaviors, that is behaviors aiming to benefit other people and other groups (Iyer & Leach, 2010).

The emphasis on superordinate identification with an extensive social category (e.g. human beings) has the function to re-shape the intergroup context to include everyone in a common in-group (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993).

As stated by Thomas et al. (2011, p. 197):

“A wealth of empirical literature now supports the claim that people are more likely to take action to help if they share a categorical relationship with the person who requires help (Dovidio et al., 1997; Levine, Cassidy, Brazier, & Reicher, 2002; Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005; Levine & Thompson, 2004; Reicher et al., 2006). For example, Levine and Thompson (2004) found that when a European identity was salient (but not a British identity), participants were more willing to offer financial and political support to European victims of a national disaster than to South American victims. Thus, recent work in the helping literature has pointed to the role of superordinate identification as the solution to spontaneous helping, sustained volunteerism (Stürmer, Snyder, & Omoto, 2005), and even emergency helping (Levine et al., 2005).

In the current critical scenario, fostering social justice and global citizenship (Lagos, 2001) becomes crucial to the extent that it promotes global well-being. Sharing a sense of identification with persons in need acquires nowadays more importance than during times of economic prosperity.

This chapter is structured as follows: the next theoretical paragraphs will revisit reflections and theories related to Social psychology of collective action, Pro-social behavior and Pro-social disobedience, in order to introduce the theoretical framework of Study 3. Study 2 consists in the creation and validation of the Pro-social disobedience attitude Scale (PSDA) while Study 3 tested the impact of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and

²⁴ See Study 1

engagement values within the EMSICA model, creating a new Model of Collective Action (MoCA).

3.2 Social psychology of protest and collective action

Why do people engage in protest and social movements to defend their interest? The quest for an adequate answer gave birth to the *Social Psychology of Protest* (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987).

Protest can result in an engagement in a social movement and, therefore, it can be enacted as a collective action (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). According to Wright, Taylor, and Moghaddam (1990) protest actions can aim to benefit one's personal condition (individual action) or one's group condition (collective action) and can respect the existing norms (e.g. petitioning) or violating them (e.g. occupation, civil disobedience).

Klandermans (2004) assumed three reasons to explain why people engage in movement participation: a) to change the status quo; b) to act as members of their social group; c) to express their beliefs, values and feelings. In Klandermans' assumptions these motivations can be perfectly satisfied by the participation in a social movement and he labels them as respectively: *instrumentality*, *identity* and *ideology*. The first one refers to "movement participation as an attempt to influence the social and political environment; identity refers to movement participation as a manifestation of identification with a group; and ideology refers to movement participation as a search for meaning and an expression of one's views" (Klandermans, 2004, p. 361).

Classical studies on collective action firstly focused on *grievances*, that is, people participate in protest actions to express their grievances (Gurr, 1970). These protest actions theories were based both on *Relative Deprivation Theory* (RDT) (Runciman, 1966; Walker & Smith, 2002) and on *Social Identity Theory* (SIT) (Tajfel, 1974).

RDT explains that grievances arise from a perception of injustice resulted from the comparison with a social standard. Grievances are strictly connected to the degree to which a person explains disadvantage as based on group membership.

SIT, instead, refers to those aspects of the self-concept that reflect a belonging to a specific social group (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Tajfel and Turner (1986), theorizing social identity, proposed this variable as pivotal in the process of social change arguing that an identification with a subordinate group promotes competitiveness toward the dominant group (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002). In fact, the more a person identifies with his/her

disadvantaged group, the more he/she will experience this situation as shared with group members (van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012) and then the social norm of participation becomes pervasive.

Studies within this theoretical framework proved that motivation to protest is strengthened when group identity becomes salient within one's experience (Passini & Morselli, 2005; van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2012) and the interconnection between individual and group experiences of deprivation is an important factor that predicts engagement in protest actions (Foster & Matheson, 1999).

Referring to grievances means to consider the affective level to the extent to which grievances are considered the expression of a moral outrage in response to a violation of basic principles and values (van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008). Moreover, grievances become more effective when shared within a communication process between members of a social group, because it allows the formation of a stronger politicized identity (Alberici & Milesi, 2012).

As reported by Dalton, van Sickle and Weldon (2010) most studies conducted in the institutionalized countries found weak relationship between levels of grievances and protest activities. According to these scholars:

“In less affluent nations, personal dissatisfaction may represent severe economic deprivation or the struggles to survive. These conditions more clearly reflect the deprivation logic of the grievance model. This may explain why developing nations apparently show more evidence that deprivation spurs protest. In contrast, dissatisfaction in advanced industrial democracies may reflect a more expressive quality of life or communitarian issues. Severe deprivation is less common in advanced industrial democracies and the means to address basic human needs are more extensive. Thus, some people may be dissatisfied with politics or the conditions of life, but the objective circumstances are less likely to be severe” (p. 57).

Trying to explain why there are more aggrieved persons than protest actions, scholars of social movements proposed that *efficacy* could play a fundamental role (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; van Zomeren et al., 2004; Winston, 2013). Efficacy-based theories assume that protest actions are promoted by a positive expectation that a group-based effort is effective in changing an unjust status quo. It is important to highlight the relevance of group efficacy over self efficacy, also called *agency* (Ajzen, 2002).

Thus, “people are more likely to take action to support a cause when they experience an action-relevant emotion and/or believe that taking action can make a difference” (Thomas & McGarty, 2009, p. 116).

As mentioned above, social identification has a fundamental role in shaping participation in action protests. In particular, social identity has to become *politicized* to be an effective catalyst of collective action (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010). With politicized identity, scholars refer to a specific form of social identity that sustain persons’ explicit motivation to engage in protest actions (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

An important element is that persons have to be aware of their shared membership and grievances, in order to address an external enemy and to bring this struggle for power in a public arena (van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008).

Indeed, social movements have a weak direct impact on policies but can largely influence public opinion, that, being the electorate, can consequently shape the political decision-making through the vote (Passini & Morselli, 2013).

A recent development within social movements studies regards the inclusion of the *affective* level (Thomas et al., 2009a; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009b). Group-level emotions have been omitted in social psychology but, as hinted previously dealing with grievances theories, they became important predictors in explaining collective action processes. This innovative branch of research laid on the *group-based appraisal theory* (Scherer, 2005), that explains inter-individual differences in the evaluation of an event and in the consequent emotional responses. As well explained by Mackie, Devos and Smith (2000):

“When social identity is salient, appraisals of situations or events related to social identity focus on social rather than personal concerns: Individuals are not necessarily personally concerned with the situation or the event, but they experience emotions because their group may be helped or hurt by it. When appraisals occur on a group basis, emotions are experienced on behalf of the in-group, and the in-group and out-group become the targets of emotion” (p. 603).

Thus, specific intergroup emotions lead to intergroup behaviors, that in a situation of unjust status quo and feelings of relative deprivation, can become collective action against a “guilty” out-group.

Van Zomeren et al. (2008), proposed that different levels of social identification can affect and lead to two processes of collective action: *emotion-* and *problem-focused coping*.

When social identity is salient for the members of the group, then collective action will be predicted by high levels of group-based anger. At the contrary, when social identity is not relevant, collective action will be predicted by group-efficacy beliefs.

In the distinction between the two pathways, group-based anger was addressed as the prototypical emotion of protest actions (van Zomeren et al., 2004). Moreover, group-based anger proved to be a direct predictor of group members' participation in a social movement, but it can often lead to ineffective behaviors (Stürmer & Simon, 2009) because, in these cases, collective actions are only functional to a reduction of these feelings.

Field studies on specific social movements involved in LULU mobilization (Locally Unwanted Land Uses) revealed new insights and discovered *community involvement, place attachment* and *perception of like-minded supporters in the area* as important elements in promoting LULU activism (Mannarini et al., 2009; Rochira & Mannarini, 2011).

The perspectives described so far explaining social action as effects of perception of injustice and related grievances, collective identity and group-based emotions, have been recently synthesized in an explicative model named *Social Identity Model of Collective Action* (SIMCA) (van Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008) described in the next paragraph.

3.2.1 An integration of perspectives: SIMCA and EMSICA

Van Zomeren et al. (2008) objective was to move beyond partial models explaining collective action considering social identity, group efficacy and perception of injustice as separated and exclusive predictors.

These scholars aimed to create a model that could simultaneously consider the inter-relationship between individual and societal variables in fostering collective action. To reach this aim they conducted a meta-analysis and integrated the three main components of the Social psychology of collective action, specifically injustice, identity and efficacy. In their words, the *Social Identity Model of Collective Action* (SIMCA) “proposes that social identity predicts collective action directly as well as indirectly through the injustice and efficacy variables” (2008, p. 511).

In their theoretical premises they assumed that social identity “underlies group-based emotions that bridge the gap between the perception of injustice and collective action” and “can politicize and hence motivate collective action by channeling broad social identities into more specific protest organizations” (p. 510). Thus, according to

social identity theory, they conceived social identity as explaining intergroup behavior and consequently collective action. This hypothesis was supported by the theoretical relationship between social identity and group-based emotions, explaining how the degree of social identification with a social group influences the appraisal of an event occurred to that specific group (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; van Zomeren, Leach, et al., 2012). Moreover, group efficacy has a strong relevance in predicting individuals' intentions to collective action and its predictable by high levels of social identification, functioning as an empowerment factor for perception of group efficacy. In fact: "To some degree, perceiving collective disadvantage as unstable implies a belief that the group is able to address their collective disadvantage through collective effort" (van Zomeren et al., 2004, p. 651).

The results supported their theoretical hypothesis and proved that social identity in its politicized form predicted collective action partially mediated by group efficacy and perceptions of injustice (Figure 1).

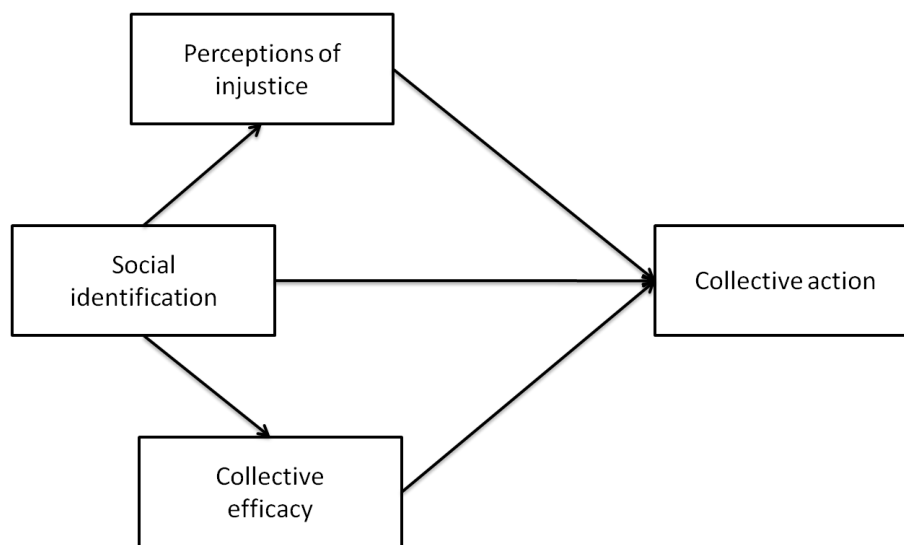


Figure 1 - SIMCA model (van Zomeren et al., 2008)

Differently from the traditional studies, the *Encapsulated Model of Social Identity in Collective Action* (EMSICA) represented an interesting development and an important advancement within this branch of research (Thomas et al., 2011). This explicative model, born as a variation of the SIMCA model (van Zomeren et al., 2008), conceived the social identification role as mediator between perception of injustice, beliefs of collective efficacy and collective action (Figure 2).

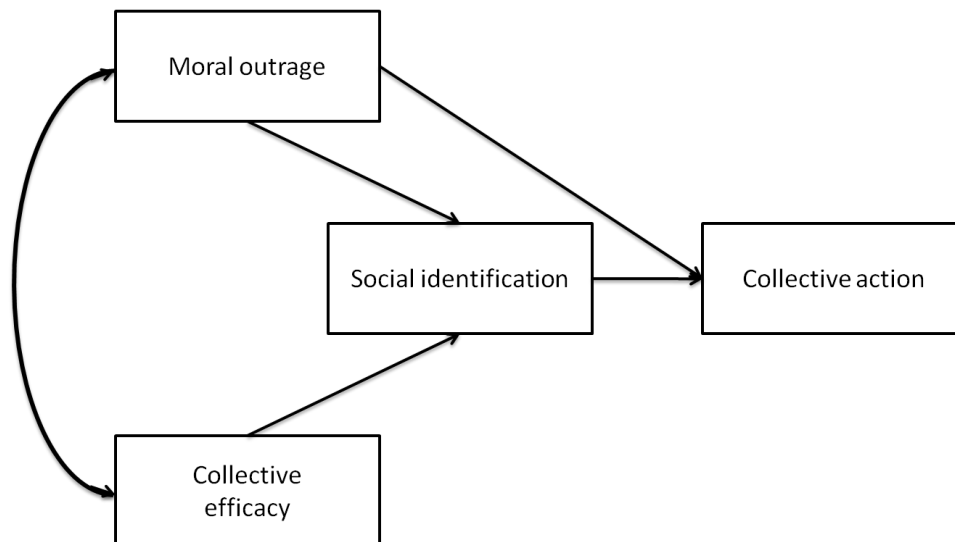


Figure 2 - EMSICA model (Thomas et al., 2011)

Within EMSICA logic, the perception of a social injustice (group-based anger) combined with simultaneous beliefs in collective efforts with like-minded people, may cause social identification, followed by the intention to act collectively to restore social equality.

This theoretical conception arise from the considerations of van Zomeren et al. (2008) stating that the causal effect within SIMCA model could be reverted, having group-based anger and group efficacy increasing levels of identification. Furthermore, this paradoxical relationship has been recently tested (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2010) and experimental results proved that group efficacy beliefs increased the identification of the members with their disadvantaged group by increasing their collective action tendencies.

EMSICA theorization re-consider the process of identification, not assuming it as deriving from a pre-existent group membership, but being formed and shaped by a shared opinion: *Opinion-based groups* (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007). According to these scholars, social groups can be defined by several variables (age, gender, nationality, etc.) as well as by shared opinions. Indeed, according to *Self-categorization theory* (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Margaret, 1987) once a person identifies with an opinion-based group (e.g. Opponents of some government policy) he/she will likely act in line with the norms of that group. Coherently, opinion-based group identification proved to be an excellent predictor of the engagement in political behaviors (Bliuc et al., 2007) and moreover, in these author's assumptions, is more efficient than the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1974) in the understanding of social change processes.

Differently from SIMCA, the structural configuration of EMSICA can explain the process through which persons engage in collective actions benefitting members of a

disadvantaged out-group. In sum, EMSICA structural configuration sustain that becoming acquainted with social injustice damaging out-groups can cause the emotion of moral outrage, that, together with collective efficacy beliefs, can lead to social identification with like-minded people.

Nowadays, a growing literature is focusing on the reasons why a person would help disadvantaged out-groups (Iyer & Leach, 2010). The involvement of members of advantaged groups can lead to social justice to the extent that always more supporters are involved and that they do not impose a dominant and intrusive strategy (Goodman, 2001; Nadler, 2002). Recently, some scholar proposed *altruistic disposition* based on empathy (Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002) and *sympathy* (Saab et al., 2014) as other important variables determining this type of prosocial behaviour.

Self-relevance is another fundamental variable in the process of helping behavior towards an out-group (S. Reicher, Cassidy, Wolpert, Hopkins, & Levine, 2006). The authors suggested that when people are able to experience the deprivation of the out-group, then prosocial behavior is likely to happen. Moreover, there are 3 conditions fostering the helping behavior towards an out-group: a) the helping behavior serves the in-group's goals; b) helping behavior is consistent with in-group norms; c) the injustice is harmful also for the in-group.

As just described, self-categorization is fundamental in shaping or inhibiting prosocial behavior. Its importance lies in the consequent evaluation of the social situation, that is, the *appraisal* of the situation. As seen before, appraisal theories assume that, according to the interpretation of the event, a person develop and experience different emotions (Scherer, 2005).

Some scholar classified typologies of emotional responses in relation to a situation of advantage/disadvantage (Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002): a) *Self-other focus* (attention to the in-group or to the out-group); b) *Perceived legitimacy* (the situation is fair or unfair); c) *Perceived stability* (the status quo is fixed or modifiable); d) *perceived control* (internal or external attributions for the high-status position). A person experience different emotions depending on the combination of these appraisals. For example, “an other-focused view of the inequality should elicit emotions directed at the disadvantaged group from a position of legitimate superiority: disdain, pity and indignation (anger)” (Iyer & Leach, 2010, p. 347).

These processes of helping behavior toward a disadvantaged out-group are labeled as *solidarity-based collective action* and a recent research (Saab et al., 2014) tested the dual pathway model of van Zomeren et al. (2008) in a group of *bystander* external to the dynamics

of advantage/disadvantage. Findings indicate that both emotion and problem-focused coping are effective explicative models for this specific helping behavior.

In this sense EMSICA can be linked to actions of *global citizenship* (Schweisfurth, 2006), including in this theoretical label all those persons engaging in pro-social behavior that attempts to solve global social issues (e.g. civil and human rights, economic injustice, etc.).

3.3 Protest and pro-social behavior: Which connections?

Many scholars define collective actions as part of the more global definition of *social actions* (Marzana, 2011; Omoto, 2005). The elements composing social action are still debated, but there are several definitions that refer to different aspects and components of social actions, such as: a) knowledge of the political structure and the functions of a specific government, b) attitudes towards traditional politics, c) political and social behaviors, e.g. voting or actively participating in civil society; d) protest actions and social movements (Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; Sears, Clarke, & Hughes, 1999).

Within this broad theoretical framework, some scholar (Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, & Freifeld, 1995; Penner, 2002a) focused on *prosocial behavior*, defined as behavior aimed to benefit other persons or other groups. Prosocial behavior can assume several forms, from volunteering to give shelter to the homeless, to rescuing victims of a natural calamity. Persons engaging in prosocial behaviors aim to benefit other persons and their communities (Marzana et al., 2012a; Snyder & Omoto, 2007) as well as the broader society.

Reviewing the literature on helping behavior, Marta and Pozzi (2013) classified it according to three dimensions. The first includes *unplanned* and *spontaneous* helping behaviors, enacted as reaction to a situation of immediate danger (e.g. Bystander effect situations by Latané and Darley, 1970). The *obliged* helping behaviors instead are long-term care behaviors towards a severely ill relative. The third dimension includes *planned helping behavior* and volunteering is its prototype.

Thus, why do people engage in a prosocial behavior? One of the fundamental premise is that people engage in behaviors that are “personally reinforcing”, actions that can give them immediate or deferred gratifications (Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006).

The great amount of researches on prosocial behavior identified two interrelated pathways leading to prosocial behaviors: *cognition* and *affection* (Batson, 1998; Dovidio & Penner, 2001).

According to the cognitive theories, people learn through observation and experience that prosocial behaviors are positively valued. Moreover, personal and social norms lead to helping behavior because people developed scripts about how they should act in specific situations and, an inner obligation and feeling of responsibility.

Affective-oriented theories assert that if people feel sad or distressed in relation to a specific situation then they are motivated to feel better by helping others (Cialdini, Kenrick, & Baumann, 1982). In cases of personal relationship with the person in need, then empathy could lead to an altruistic behavior aiming to primarily benefit the other person (Batson, 1991).

Theories on volunteering enlarged the reflection on motivation to prosocial behaviors differentiating between *self-oriented* and *other-oriented* motivations (Marta & Pozzi, 2013). The former refers to the instrumental satisfaction of personal needs such as knowing other people or learning a job, while the latter regards the expression of personal values.

Beyond motivations to engage in a prosocial behavior, according to Penner there are specific personality traits that form the *prosocial personality* (Penner et al., 1995; Penner, 2002a). Specifically *Other-oriented empathy* and *Helpfulness* are identified as the main components of the prosocial personality.

The most relevant study on prosocial personality is attributed to Penner et al. (1995) and in that study some personality traits positively correlated with prosocial behavior and social action. The authors created a psychometric instrument (the *Prosocial personality battery*) to assess them including empathy, helpfulness, moral reasoning and social responsibility in it, considering them basic elements in an interpersonal relationship and fundamental factors in motivating persons to volunteer for others. Moreover, Penner (2004) developed the *Sustained Volunteerism Model*, a theoretical model originating from the attempt to predict and explain engagement in volunteering actions, the main form of prosocial behavior in the author's theorization. The operationalization of the model (Marzana et al., 2012b; Marzana, 2011) identified some variables that predicted the choice to engage in a prosocial behavior. In his model of the volunteering action, Penner differentiates variables in four categories: a) *demographic* characteristics (educational level, socio-economic status); b) *personal* attributes (empathy, social trust); c) *social/family pressures* (support from family and peers, democratic interactions between parents and children); and d) *volunteer activators* (previous experiences in sport clubs or church group) (Marzana et al., 2012a). Amongst the others, two fundamental variables belonging to the personal attributes of volunteerism theorization (Penner, 2004), can

coherently be assumed as possible components of a solidarity-based collective action: *Engagement values* and *moral reasoning* as a component of the *prosocial personality*.

Engagement values reflect “the position taken and the relative importance attributed by subjects to issues of a social or political nature” (Marzana, Marta, & Pozzi, 2012b, p. 52) and develop over time beginning in adolescence (Amnå, 2012), becoming a fundamental factor for volunteerism and active citizenship.

Good levels of moral reasoning, especially postconventional reasoning, according to Kohlberg classification (1976), allow people to “recognize the limitations of their own culture's morality, understand cultural relativity, and engage in “principled ethical reasoning that appeals to abstract principles such as justice, fairness, and human well-being” (McFarland & Mathews, 2005, p. 369).

As can be inferred by its definition, prosocial behavior is considered strictly related to the processes of community change and social actions (Omoto, 2005). From this standpoint, prosocial behaviors can be associated with collective action, both being forms of social action aiming to benefit out-groups, as well as the actors and their in-group.

Within this theoretical framework, the dichotomy in-group/out-group is a pivotal element. According to the Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974), a person, in order to derive good levels of self-esteem from his group membership, is inclined to:

- Valorize his/her social group;
- Favor the in-group and discriminate the out-group;
- Perceive all the members of the out-group as homogeneous.

Within prosocial behavior studies, this theoretical thesis was partially confirmed because findings showed an unexpected complexity, with in-group members equally helping their fellow members or out-group members (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010a). The authors explain these results arguing that “due to prevalent egalitarian norms and moral beliefs in modern societies, the expression of discrimination against out-groupers has generally become more subtle” (p. 34).

As stated by Stürmer and Simon (2010b) discussing the lack of inquiry of prosocial behaviors, namely helping behavior, within group processes:

“ Within this tradition, when helping behavior has been studied in the domain of intergroup research, it typically has been in the context of intergroup discrimination, with helping behavior serving simply as an outcome variable to

demonstrate the negative effects of in-group/ out-group categorizations on social behavior (i.e. discrimination against out-group members in helping). Thus, critically important phenomena of helping across boundaries or solidarity between groups have been largely ignored” (p. 4).

As described in the previous paragraph, the issue of helping behavior a disadvantaged out-group has been approached by collective action scholars (Iyer & Leach, 2010).

3.4 Introduction to Study 3: A new model of collective action (MoCA)

Most theories and studies on helping behaviour dealt with individual engagement in pro-social actions towards members of the in-group or with disadvantaged groups trying to change an unjust status quo through collective action (Iyer & Leach, 2010).

Within this literature, EMSICA model represents a breaking point because it unveils the process leading to a collective action in favor of a disadvantaged out-groups.

As described previously (see par. 3.2), people engaging in these type of collective actions need to restructure moral boundaries of their group to including members of the out-group as beneficiaries of the collective action. The process of moral inclusion is a fundamental component of pro-social disobedience, and is necessary to pursue social justice, because, through self-categorization, allows people to include members of the out-group in their own social group (S. Reicher et al., 2006).

Because of a superordinate categorization considering all the social groups as one, pro-social disobeyers aim to benefit the whole society. Thus, pro-social disobedience can be considered as a fundamental prerequisite of collective action and become effective only within a collective action process (Morselli, 2008). Moreover, pro-social disobedience is strictly connected to action because its aim is to effectively change the status quo in a way that is publicly approved and shared (Rawls, 1971).

According to Lefkowitz (2007), citizens have the moral right to disobey only in cases of violations of universal issues such as human rights. Further, pro-social disobedience is morally acceptable because it recognizes the role of the authority but it opposes to some specific issues.

Furthermore, in the previous theoretical paragraphs the link between pro-social disobedience and democratic values have been highlighted. Recent reflections (Thomas & Louis, 2013) on social movements and democracy bind these two subjects: “Participating in

protest and other forms of collective action is the primary means (apart from voting) that ordinary people have of participating in the democratic process in Western liberalized democracies” (p. 174).

Thus, accordingly to the theoretical introduction developed in the previous paragraphs, this study aims to enrich EMSICA with pro-social disobedience literature (Passini & Morselli, 2009) and prosocial behavior literature (Penner, 2002b), and specifically test the impact of the pro-social disobedience variable from the authority relationship literature (Passini & Morselli, 2009) and the engagement values and moral reasoning variables from the Sustained Volunteerism Model by Penner (2002), as predictors within the EMSICA model in favor of a disadvantaged out-group (see Figure 3).

From now on, pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values will be referred to as *pro-social behavior variables*.

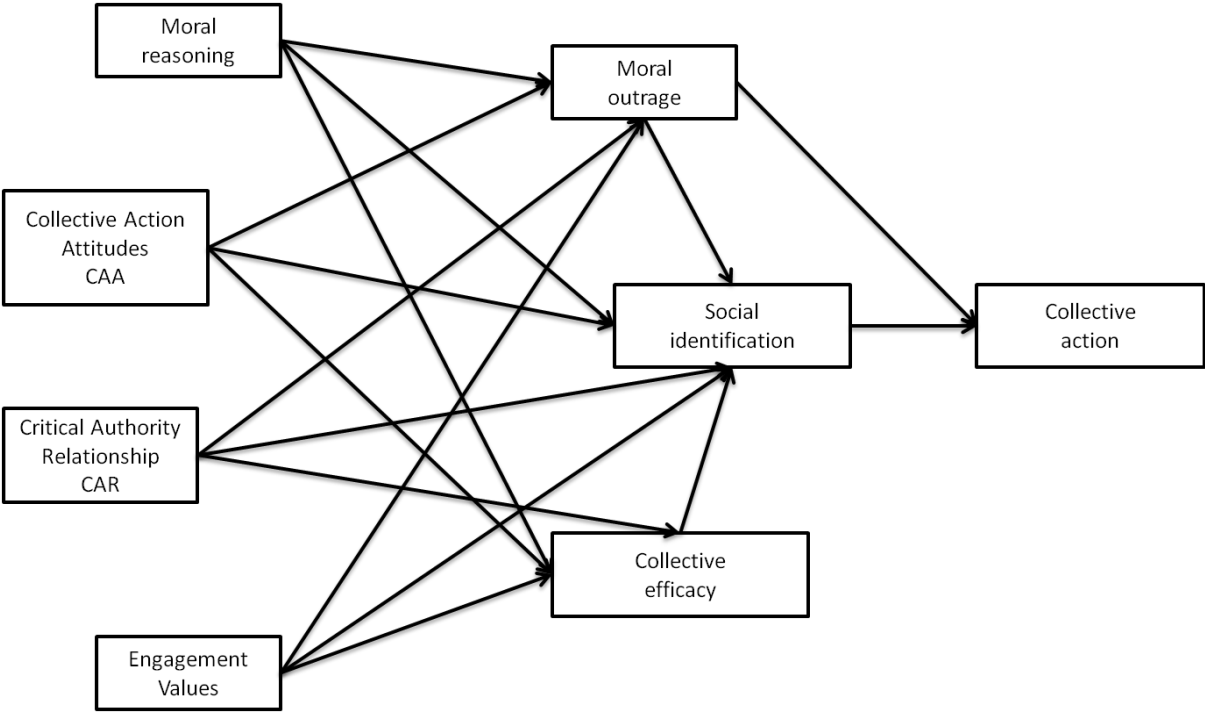


Figure 3 - Theoretical structure of the new *Model of Collective Action* (MoCA)

3.5 Method

To reach the research aims, the hypothesis of the prosocial behavior variables as predicting variables of the EMSICA model was tested. This hypothesis was tested through structural equation modeling, specifically path analysis, run with Amos v.21.

Structural equations modeling (SEM) (Byrne, 2001) is a statistical technique “used for specifying and estimating models of linear relationships among variables” (Maccallum & Austin, 2000, p. 202). Both a confirmatory and exploratory technique, it can be used to confirm a factorial structure of observed variables and to assess the goodness of structural relations between latent variables through multiple regressions (Byrne, 2010). In this study, SEM was used for statistical confirmation of the theoretical model integrating Prosocial behavior variables within the EMSICA model.

3.5.1 Participants

A self-report questionnaire was administered to 783 participants (551 females, 70.4%; 232 males, 39.6%). Sample mean age was 23.18 (DS = 3,189; range 16-30; 1 missing data). 443 (56%) were university students, 137 (17.5%) workers, 99 (12.6%) student-workers and the remaining 102 (13%) described themselves as currently doing, respectively, “other” (44, 5.6%) and searching for jobs (58, 7.4%). Participants were recruited according to a convenience sampling procedure in the Milan area (Lombardy - North Italy) and Lecce (Puglia - South Italy). Specifically, 486 participants (62.1%) reported that they were born in South Italy, 252 (32.2%) in Northern Italy and 37 (4.7%) in Central Italy (8 missing data). All the participants completed the questionnaire on a voluntary basis after having signed a participation consent.

3.5.2 Research design

The task was inspired by Thomas et al. (2011) procedure. Participants were asked to respond to a self-report questionnaire regarding “Active citizenship” and were firstly evaluated on the following social action variables: *Pro-social disobedience attitude*, *moral reasoning* and *engagement values*. After that, the participants read a call for action inspired by a real Amnesty International campaign aiming to help third world country people living in poverty. Then they were asked if they supported this campaign or not. The participants ticking “Yes” self-categorized themselves into an opinion-based group and were then considered eligible for the analysis: “Mackie et al. (2000) found this was sufficient to elicit group-based

emotions in their research with groups based on opinions about social issues” (Thomas et al., 2011, p. 80). Then the instruments assessing the EMSICA variables, namely *Social identification*, *Moral outrage*, *Group efficacy* and *Collective action intentions* was administered.

3.5.3 Measures

Pro-social disobedience attitude scale (PSDA scale). Pro-social disobedience attitude was measured with an instrument recently validated in the Italian context (Fattori, Pozzi, & Mannarini, *under review at EJSP*). This scale comprised 8 items and 2 factors (4 items for each factor): *Collective action attitudes (CAA)* and *Critical authority relationship (CAR)*. The former addressed an evaluation of pro-social disobedience; an example is, "I appreciate people who protest for their rights". The latter dealt with the cognitive aspects of pro-social disobedience, an example is, "I think I must always respect the laws created by an institution". These two factors, due to their low correlation ($r = .253$; $p < .001$) were considered separately during the analysis. CAA Cronbach's alpha was .81, while CAR Cronbach's alpha was .79.

Moral reasoning (MR). A sub-scale from Penner's Pro-social Personality Battery (1995), validated in the Italian context (Marzana et al., 2012a) was used. The factorial analysis confirmed its mono-factorial structure and the eight items ranged from 1 ("totally disagree") to 5 ("totally agree"). An example item is: "My decisions are based on an equal and fair way of behaving". Cronbach's alpha was .80.

Engagement values (EV). A 7-item scale ranging from 1 ("not important") to 5 ("very important") was administered. Its mono-factorial structure has been recently validated in the Italian context (Marzana et al., 2012b). An example item is: "For me, it is important to do something to improve society". Cronbach's alpha was .76.

Social identification (SI). Seven items by Thomas et al., 2011 were used to measure the degree of identification with the opinion-based group (an example is: "I am confident that being a supporter of this campaign really reflects my values and beliefs"). Cronbach's alpha was .92.

Moral outrage (MO). This scale measured the level of emotional activation related to the campaign and the issue of poverty in general. It was composed of three items (an example is: "I feel outraged when I think about people living in poverty") (Thomas et al., 2011) and

Cronbach's alpha was .80. This scale was taken from Thomas et al. (2011) and translated into Italian.

Collective efficacy (CE). This scale assessed whether the participants believed in the usefulness of the collective efforts to address the campaign's goals. It was a 3-item scale (an example is: "I believe that this campaign can help poor people improve their conditions") by Thomas et al. (2011) and Cronbach's alpha was .84.

Collective action intentions (CAI). This scale evaluated the outcome of the model, that is, the degree of intention a person had for joining forms of collective action (i.e. sign a petition, attend a rally, make a donation and so on). It included eight items (an example is: "I would join a movement supporting this campaign") (Thomas et al., 2011) and its Cronbach's alpha was .91.

All four scales from EMSICA model (SI, MO, CE, CAI) ranged from 1 ("Totally disagree") to 9 ("Totally agree").

3.6 Results

3.6.1 Testing pro-social behavior variables within EMSICA

Amos v. 21 was used to test the hypothesis of unity between prosocial behavior variables (i.e. Pro-social disobedience attitude, Moral reasoning and Engagement values) and EMSICA. The hypothesis was that EMSICA variables, specifically moral outrage, collective efficacy and social identification, mediate between pro-social behavior variables and collective action intentions (Figure 3).

The initial hypothesis did not fit the data ($X^2(df) = 108.62/5$; $p = .000$; $RMSEA = .163$ (.137 – .191); $TLI = .597$; $CFI = .928$), thus an exploratory logic of analysis was implemented. According to modification indices, an adequate fit was obtained, tested running the bootstrap procedure with 5000 samples. Bootstrap is a re-sampling procedure that allows the researcher to estimate the indirect effects and therefore to assess partial or full mediation (Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

The indices' values were the following: $X^2(df) = 27.025(9)$, $p = .001$; $RMSEA = .051$ (.029 – .073); $TLI = .961$; $CFI = .987$. Further, the final model (Figure 4 - MoCA) accounted for the 54% of the total explained variance. The weights of the paths are indicated in Table 14.

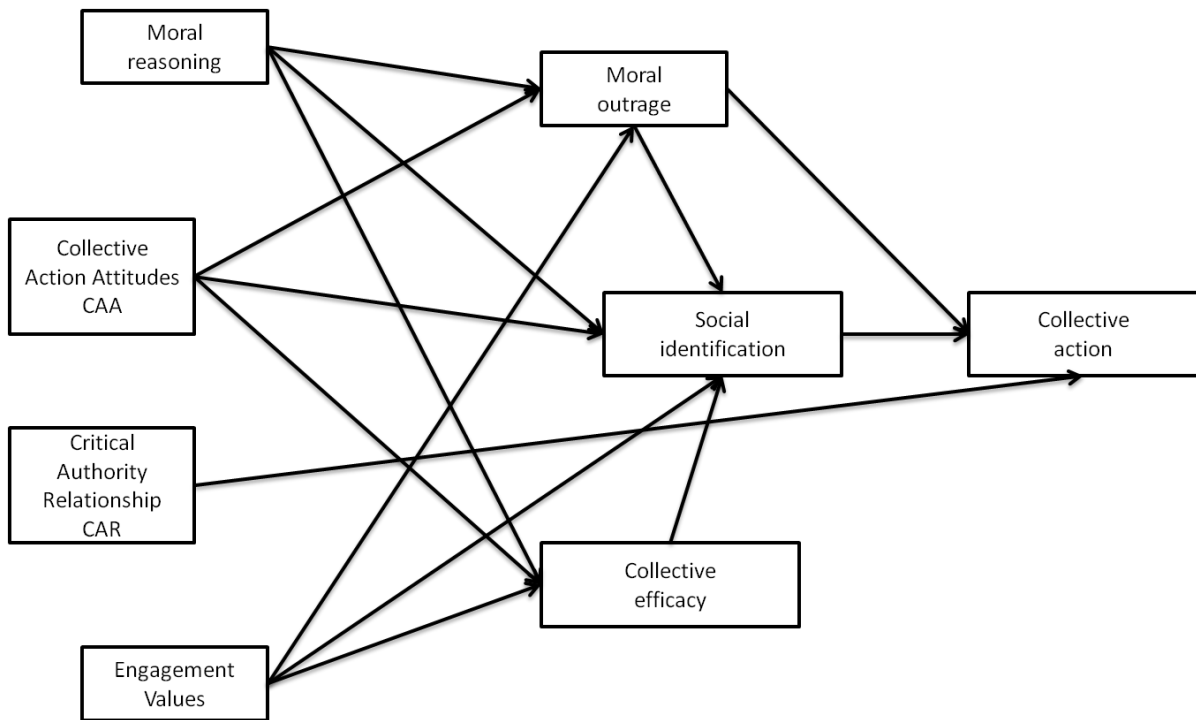


Figure 4 - Statistical MoCA

This analysis revealed that social identification, moral outrage and collective efficacy fully mediate CAA, moral reasoning and engagement values, as significant indirect effects resulted (see Table 15). As expected, the pro-social disobedience factor CAA correlates significantly with moral reasoning ($r = .149$; $p = .000$), engagement values ($r = .288$; $p = .000$) and with CAR ($r = .270$; $p = .000$). Moreover a positive correlation between engagement values and moral reasoning was found ($r = .279$; $p = .000$).

These results gave statistical proof of the accuracy of the theoretical hypothesis, confirming once again the goodness of the EMSICA model structure and the accuracy of its methodological procedure.

Table 14 - MoCA Standardized Regression Weights

Ind. Var.	Dip. Var.	Estimate	p
EV	MO	.242	***
MR	CE	.182	***
CAA	CE	.086	.016
CAA	MO	.129	***
MR	MO	.175	***
EV	CE	.174	***
MO	SI	.096	.003
CAA	SI	.134	***
MR	SI	.077	.011
EV	SI	.114	***
CE	SI	.448	***
SI	CAI	.540	***
CE	CAI	.266	***
CAR	CAI	.098	***

*** = $p < .001$;

MO (Moral outrage); EV (Engagement values); MR (Moral reasoning); CE (Collective efficacy); CAA (Collective action tendencies); CAR (Critical authority relationship); SI (Social identification); CAI (Collective action tendencies).

Table 15 - Indirect and direct effects significance

Standardized Indirect Effects - Two Tailed Significance							
	CAR	MR	EV	CAA	CE	MO	IS
CE
MO
IS	...	,000	,000	,004	...	...	...
CAI	...	,000	,000	,001	,000	,006	...

Standardized Direct Effects - Two Tailed Significance							
	CAR	MR	EV	CAA	CE	MO	IS
CE	...	,000	,000	,017	...	...	...
MO	...	,000	,001	,001	...	...	...
IS	...	,045	,002	,000	,000	,006	...
CAI	,000	...	...	...	,001	...	,000

3.6.2 Multigroup comparison

The invariance of the new MoCA across different samples was tested through multigroup comparison with Amos v.21. Multigroup comparison is a statistical procedure that compare the fit of a specific model (MoCA in this case) across different samples (Byrne, 2010). Specifically, Amos estimates the chosen model constraining equal the structural configuration and the factor loadings and then uses the fit of this model as indicator of invariance across the samples (Byrne, 2010).

According to Bentler (1995) and Byrne (2010), in order to assess invariance across the samples, once assessed the goodness of the fit, it is accepted and sufficient to verify a) the non significant difference between the X^2 of the models (e.g. males model VS females model comparison); and b) the invariance of factor loadings.

The hypothesis leading this comparison is that the model is invariant for the following variables: *Gender*, *Volunteering*, *Religious* and *Political orientation*.

Invariance is expected because of the superordinate identification in an opinion-based group intervening within the task. According to Bliuc et al. (2007) processes of identification with activist groups (as in this case) are more relevant to action than broad social categories such as gender, religiousness and political orientation.

3.6.2.1 Variable 1 – Gender

Classical studies on the authority relationship such as Milgram's (1974) and its replications (Blass, 2000) found no differences between males and females in responding with destructive obedience to an harmful request of the authority.

Moreover, being collective action explicative models based on “a well-established link between membership of a social category and commitment to action on behalf of that category” (Thomas et al., 2009a, p. 197), men and women differentiate their engagement in collective action according to their own gender membership (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995).

Prosocial behavior studies, especially studies on volunteerism (Marta & Pozzi, 2013), report that gender is a variable that discriminate the type but not the amount of volunteerism activities. Furthermore, within MoCA model, people identified with a superordinate category (i.e. human rights social movement), setting aside their gender membership. For all these reasons MoCA model is hypothesized as invariant across males and females samples.

3.6.2.1.1 Results

The model fit was very good (X^2 (df) = 47,777 (18); $X^2/df = 2.654$; $p = .000$; RMSEA = .046 (.031 - .062); TLI = .936; CFI = .979) but the model comparison table revealed a significant difference between the two models ($p = .005$). Thus, once individuated the main differences between the unstandardized regression weights of men and women, the paths connecting Moral reasoning with Group efficacy and Moral outrage were unconstrained.

This procedure brought to a better fit (X^2 (df) = 67,528 (30); $X^2/df = 2.251$; $p = .000$; RMSEA = .040 (.027 - .053); TLI = .952; CFI = .974) and to a non significant difference between the two models ($p = .072$).

Thus, it is possible to conclude that MoCA was invariant across men and women except for the paths connecting Moral reasoning with Group efficacy and Moral outrage.

3.6.2.2 Variable 2 – Volunteering

In the author's knowledge no studies have tested the differences between volunteers and non volunteers within collective action literature. According to common sense it would be reasonable to expect results confirming the idea that people who volunteers are more incline to engage in collective actions in favor of a disadvantaged out-group. This hypothesis lies in the attribution of pro-social personality traits such as empathy and habit to help to volunteers.

Thus, no differences are expected between volunteers and non volunteers according to the process of superordinate identification explained previously. Volunteerism variable was assessed asking to the participants if they spent at least 3 hours per week in a (non) political activity of volunteerism.

3.6.2.2.1 Results

The model fit was very good (X^2 (df) = 41,253 (18); $X^2/df = 2,292$; $p = .001$; RMSEA = .041 (.024 - .057); TLI = .951; CFI = .984) and a non significant difference was found between volunteers and non volunteers ($p = .103$). Therefore, MoCA model is invariant for both the samples.

3.6.2.3 Variable 3 – Religious orientation

Religion has always been connected to authority relationship, promoting obedience and autonomy according to the different religious orientation (e.g. Catholic or Protestant) (Sieben & Halman, 2014). The different approach to authority relationship depends on the values conveyed by the specific orientations. For example, if compared to Catholics, Protestants are

less attentive to promote obedience due to their rationalistic and individualist view of life (Lenski, 1961). Reflections on authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 2004) revealed that authoritarian and obedient people show high levels of religiousness. But religiousness can also be a feature of disobedient people. In fact “some devout individuals believe that acts of violence that seek to change or punish the political community, or to prevent others from violating what they take to be God’s law, are morally justified” (Clayton & Stevens, 2014, p. 66).

Within religious sacred text there are many references to prosocial behaviors and studies found a positive correlation between religiosity and volunteerism (Penner, 2002a).

Again, despite of these premises and according to the opinion-based group induction, the hypothesis for this multigroup comparison between samples of believer and non believer is that the model is invariant.

3.6.2.3.1 Results

The model fit was very good (X^2 (df) = 35,167 (18); $X^2/df = 1,954$; $p = .009$; RMSEA = .049 (.024 - .072); TLI = .936; CFI = .979) and the model comparison reported a non significant difference between the samples ($p = .229$) confirming the hypothesis of no differences between religious and non religious people in helping disadvantaged out-groups.

3.6.2.4 Variable 4 – Political orientation

As described previously (par. 2.2), authoritarian personality was studied as connected to a right-wing orientation. One of the main component of authoritarian personality are strong ethnocentrism and prone to submission towards authority. Nonetheless, both right and left wing people are associated with collective participation in societal issues (Amnå, 2012). Civic engagement and volunteerism is higher among post-materialistic and left-wing people (Bekkers, 2005) as well as concern for human rights, which is lowered by authoritarianism and ethnocentrism (McFarland & Mathews, 2005).

Again, despite of these premises, because of the process of self-categorization in an opinion-based group, invariance between the two samples is expected.

3.6.2.4.1 Results

The model fit was excellent (X^2 (df) = 26,344 (18); $X^2/df = 1,954$; $p = .092$; RMSEA = .038 (.000 - .067); TLI = .954; CFI = .985) and the model comparison reported a non significant difference between the samples ($p = .421$) confirming the hypothesis of no differences between leftist and right-wing people in helping disadvantaged out-groups.

3.7 Discussion of the results

This study integrated pro-social behavior variables within a collective action process. The results had a two-fold theoretical and methodological implication: a) statistical proof of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values as predictors of positive collective actions; within these results the assessment of pro-social disobedience, both as pertinent social action variables and as predictor of actions expressing global citizenship, is noticeable for the first time in authority relationship literature; b) cross-cultural validation (in the Italian context) of the methodological procedure run by Thomas et al. (2011).

The results highlighted the role of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values as reliable and consistent predictors of a process of engagement in a positive collective action. It was proved that the more positive attitudes a person has towards pro-social disobedience, positive levels of moral reasoning and engagement values, the more he/she will be willing to engage in a process (EMSICA) leading to collective actions that benefit the whole society. Moreover, results showed that pro-social disobedience, namely CAA, has positive correlations with two fundamental variables predicting social action: moral reasoning and engagement values (Marzana et al., 2012b). These results statistically support the theoretical thesis of pro-social disobedience as an instrument of global citizenship (Passini & Morselli, 2011), and introduce moral reasoning and engagement values as relevant predictors of a out-group-oriented collective action. Moreover, results confirm that social identification with like-minded people completely mediates between moral outrage and collective action, and partially mediates between collective efficacy and collective action. These results confirm the strength of the hypothesis that moral outrage and belief in collective efficacy precede and contribute to the formation of a social identification within an opinion-based group (Thomas et al., 2009b). The relevance of this evidence lies in its capacity to be suitable for different social issues, from Water for Life (Thomas et al., 2011) to an anti-poverty campaign by Amnesty (Study 3).

Furthermore, despite of the limits of invoking a superordinate social category to improve commitment in collective actions (Thomas et al., 2009a), multigroup comparison showed that MoCA is a reliable model across many categories and social groups. These results are relevant to the extent that the process underlying the engagement in this type of pro-social collective action is equally effective for leftist or right-wing people, men and women, volunteers and non volunteers.

From a methodological standpoint, this study corroborates the assumptions made by Mackie et al. (2000) about the self-categorization into an opinion-based group. This specific categorization, induced by an affirmative answer to the question “Do you support this campaign?” could be, with good levels of reliability, considered sufficient to elicit emotions regarding social issues.

3.8 Conclusions and limitations

The current emergencies (e.g. Ebola) and the unstable socio-political situation continually require more people, mainly in the Western world countries, to engage in global social issues, in order to overcome social inequalities and to create social wellbeing. These specific social actions can be labeled theoretically within *global citizenship*, including in this definition all those citizens outraged by social injustice who are both willing and able to act in order to change an unjust local or global status quo (Davies, 2006). Recent reflections concerning the authority relationship (Passini & Morselli, 2009) defined pro-social disobedience as an important instrument to address relevant social issues, a tool of global citizenship, considering it as the most effective technique to promote and support a social change benefitting the whole society. This paper provides a statistical confirmation of the theoretical assumption assuming pro-social disobedience as an instrument of *global citizenship*. Assuming the EMSICA model by Thomas et al. (2011) as explicative of the engagement process leading a person to help disadvantaged out-groups, pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values were tested as predictors of this model. As stated by Saab et al. (2014), to study predictors of solidarity-based collective action is particularly relevant: “In an era characterized by unprecedented interconnectedness among nations, where global networks of communication offer new opportunities for world opinion to influence intergroup struggles” (p. 18).

These findings could lead to important applications, to the extent that pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values are considered, socially and scientifically, to be characteristics that every citizen needs to have and apply in action. More specifically, these insights could possibly hint to policy makers that they should foster these characteristics within global citizenship education programs (Pigozzi, 2006). This study also strengthens the rising branch of research considering disobedience as a positive phenomenon (Bocchiaro et al., 2012). Thus, disobedience, often socially represented as a destructive behavior (Fattori, Pozzi, Quartiroli, Alfieri, *under review at JPS*) can find social

legitimization if enacted for positive global social changes, thus being a recognized and effective tool for improving life conditions of marginalized social groups.

One limitation of this study concerns its cross-sectional nature. A one-time data collection based on correlational data was implemented, making the causality relations between the antecedents and the dependent variables less consistent. Another limitation is the relationship between action and action intentions, a common issue within studies addressing social movements and protests (van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008). In this study collective action intentions were measured, aware of the theoretical relationship between action and action intentions (Ajzen, 1991). Similarly, it was not possible to measure pro-social disobedience as a behavior, but only its attitudinal component.

Future research could deepen the analysis of pro-social disobedience, both at a theoretical and empirical level. Firstly, research could assess pro-social disobedience and social action variables within real groups of pro-social activists, simultaneously solving the limitations of assessing behavioral intentions, and offering the possibility to evaluate real collective actions. Furthermore, considering the contribution of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values in fostering global citizenship highlighted in these pages, it could be particularly interesting to test their efficacy if integrated in global citizenship education programs (Yamashita, 2006).

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

As social scientists, our objective is to give pragmatic answers and solutions to actual social issues. The current socio-political scenario is characterized by the worst economic crises since 1929 and its consequences affect the life of millions of people. Together with this “new” victims of the economic collapse, there are all those social groups struggling and fighting for human and civil rights since many decades.

Thus, in such a critical scenario, how is it possible to foster the engagement of privileged bystanders in helping collective behaviors in favor of disadvantaged out-groups?

This research project aimed to answer this question enriching the growing literature on solidarity-based collective action (Saab, Tausch, Spears, & Cheung, 2014), proving and testing the impact of pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning, and engagement values as predictors of the *Encapsulated model of social identity* in collective action (EMSICA) (Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2011).

The entire process of research was conceived to be functional to the test of the main research question and then articulated in three sequential studies given below.

Whereas the lack of a psychometric instrument assessing pro-social disobedience, it was necessary to create and validate a scale assessing pro-social disobedience attitudes (Study 2), but in order to properly conduct this process (Chiorri, 2011), bottom-up definitions of this social object were required (Study 1).

Study 1 also moved from the lack of inquiry within the psycho-social literature, from a qualitative and societal standpoint, of obedience and disobedience phenomena (Morselli & Passini, 2011). Indeed, social scientists have analyzed authority relationship in its forms of obedience and disobedience, mainly through an experimental methodology, inquiring a specific type of obedience: destructive obedience (Blass, 2012; Milgram, 1974).

Only recently, the focus shifted to disobedience as research object, but the predominance of an experimental methodology still remained unchanged (Bocchiaro, Zimbardo, & Van Lange, 2012). The need for bottom-up definitions and the gap in literature have been addressed by adopting precise and adequate paradigmatic lenses, namely *Structuralist approach* (Abric & Tafani, 2009) from the *Social representation theory* (Moscovici, 1961), consequently considering obedience and disobedience as social representations objects.

Moreover, this study was conceived and implemented as a cross-cultural comparison between three Western World countries: Italy, Austria and U.S. This choice, and the choices

of the countries, stemmed from the theoretical reflections and empirical findings connecting authority relationship (i.e. obedience and disobedience) to democracy and post-materialist values (freedom of speech and political freedom). Indeed, democratic and post-materialist values are connected to a precise conception of authority relationship, recognizing obedience when the authority's actions are perceived legitimates but also willing to implement disobedience to preserve democracy from authoritarian tendencies (Morselli & Passini, 2012). Accordingly, being European countries different from U.S. according to post-materialism and democratic values indexes (World Values Survey and European Values Study data) , some differences in the conception of the authority relationship was expected.

Therefore, Study 1 had a three-fold objective:

- a) To unveil the main components of social representations of obedience and disobedience;
- b) To define with a completely bottom-up methodology obedience and disobedience;
- c) To compare the social representations of obedience and disobedience between Italy, Austria and U.S.

Results highlighted a strong similarity between the Italian and the Austrian representation of obedience and disobedience. Obedience was defined as a behavior of respect to norms and orders given by an individual or institutional authority, while disobedience as a choice of autonomy, enacted by disrespecting different types of norms given by the authority.

U.S. results instead, differentiated from the European ones for representing obedience as primarily linked to a personal respect shaped by loyalty towards the authority and as mainly always positive. Within U.S. participants, disobedience evoked a negative behavior and a personal failure of the disobedient.

This first study is relevant to the extent that it followed and enriched the recent reflections assuming the relationship between common sense, social knowledge and political behavior (Morselli & Passini, 2011; Staerklé, 2009). Moreover, citizens, included in specific social groups and political culture, influence and are influenced by a system of beliefs, ideologies and social values that are shared and that contribute to shape social behavior. This study contributed to give relevance to the societal level of analysis, breaking with the tradition of experimental paradigms deputed to study obedience and disobedience (Elcheroth, Doise, & Reicher, 2011; Morselli & Passini, 2011). Furthermore, Study 1 overcame the traditional focus that the aseptic laboratory setting reserved for studying individuals behaviors of obedience and disobedience and brought to the fore the relational and ideological level (Doise, 1986), giving new hints for the comprehension of the dynamics occurring within an

authority relationship and of the current real obedience and disobedience phenomena. Moreover, Study 1 proved the goodness of the structural approach methodology (Abric, 2003) in coherently and adequately address the analysis of such a changing and complex phenomenon as authority relationship.

Study 1 was necessary to fund the structure of Study 2, that consisted in the creation and validation within the Italian context of the Pro-social disobedience attitude scale (PSDA). Indeed, Italian data from Study 1 provided the researcher with bottom-up quotes from the participants defining disobedience, fundamental elements to create a new scale, according to psychometric literature (Chiorri, 2011; DeVellis, 2011). The validation process yielded a two-factor scale (8 items, 4 for each factor), formed by *Collective action attitudes* factor (CAA) and *Critical authority relationship* factor (CAR).

The former addresses the behavioral intention component of disobedience, while the latter reflects the cognitive component of pro-social disobedience (Fennis & Aarts, 2012). The necessity of this study lies in the possibility to include and test the contribute of pro-social disobedience within an explicative model of a collective action aiming to benefit a disadvantaged out-group.

Moreover, the existence of this new instrument could allow future researches to better comprehend the role of pro-social disobedience within socio-political phenomena, demonstrating a positive role of disobedience within social change processes.

Study 3 moved from a transversal review of the literature that highlighted the possibility to integrate three main branches of research: *Authority relationship studies* (Passini & Morselli, 2009), *Psychology of prosocial behavior* (Batson, 1998; Dovidio & Penner, 2001; Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, & Penner, 2006) and *Social psychology of collective action* (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Smith, Thomas, & McGarty, 2014; van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012).

The assumption sustaining this integration was that, in order to enact collective actions benefitting a disadvantaged out-group, persons should have positive attitudes towards pro-social disobedience and good levels of moral reasoning and engagement values. This assumption moved from different premises. Firstly, theories and findings showed the coherent matching between the components of pro-social disobedience, *moral inclusion* and *social responsibility*, and the outcome of EMSICA model, an intention to act in favor of a disadvantaged out-group. This hypothesis was based on the theoretical premise that to engage in such actions requires a superordinate categorizations leading to the inclusion of out-group

members within one's own moral boundaries, namely, a moral inclusion process (Sonnentag & McDaniel, 2013; Vilas & Sabucedo, 2012).

Similarly, it is coherent consider EMSICA as a model explaining a type of prosocial behavior (Iyer & Leach, 2010; Stürmer & Snyder, 2010), defining with this theoretical label all the behaviors aiming to benefit other people and other groups. The broad literature on prosocial behavior, specifically on volunteering (Marzana, Marta, & Pozzi, 2012; Marzana, 2011; Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, & Freifeld, 1995), suggested two personal attributes potentially fostering the helping behavior in favor of a disadvantaged out-group: *moral reasoning* and *engagement values*. The former reflect the ability to behave in a way that respect ethical standards and other's persons freedom and rights, while the latter regard the levels of interest and importance attributed to *political* issues (Marzana et al., 2012).

Results indicated that the new *Model of Collective Action* (MoCA) derived from the hypothesis of integration between the three theoretical frameworks cited above, proved that pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values are reliable and effective predictors of a solidarity-based collective action.

Further, these insights have several relevant applications to the extent that they can be read as hints for social policy makers. Indeed, results of Study 3 indicated that MoCA is an adequate explicative model of what is labeled *Global citizenship*, because it shows the process leading all those citizens outraged by social injustice to act in order to change an unjust local or global status quo (Davies, 2006). In addition to the perception of injustice and beliefs of collective efficacy (EMSICA variables), enlarging moral boundaries and feel a sense of social responsibility can lead people to enact as global citizen, challenging global injustices.

Fostering global citizenship could surely be a winning strategy to try to overcome current social issues, as witnessed by the growing number of institutions (e.g. University College of London, The United Nations, Oxfam Italy, etc.) that promote global citizenship formation programs.

Globalization, from a relational standpoint, brought interconnections and interdependency between countries and people, facilitating exchange processes and reciprocal knowledge, but also increased everyone's social responsibility. Thus, being able to consider themselves as members of an enlarged global in-group could be a pivotal factor leading to improve global social conditions because it can elicit feelings of moral outrage.

In addition to what has been said so far, it is important underlining that a superordinate identification (e.g. as members of the "human being" group or identification with a disadvantaged out-group) is not sufficient alone to elicit engagement in collective action

(Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009). Indeed, “identification with a social movement is a much stronger predictor of action intention than is identification with a disadvantaged social category” (ibidem, p. 199). Results from this project confirm this trend showing that opinion-based group identification (e.g. in a social movement fighting for human rights) is a strong predictor and mediator between the variables cited above and the intention to act collectively. The strength of this variable derives also from the multi-group comparison results. In fact, multi-group analysis showed no significant differences between different social groups such as a) men and women; b) leftist and right-wing; c) volunteers and non volunteers; d) religious and non religious.

In sum, findings from this research project suggest that fostering pro-social disobedience, moral reasoning and engagement values is important to promote social justice improving life conditions of marginalized and deprivated social groups.

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Appendix section

Appendix A

Social Representations Of Obedience And Disobedience **GUIDELINES FOR FILE PREPARATION AND DATA ANALYSIS**

Intro

Following the approach of Abric (1994), Social Representations (SRs) are composed by 2 parts: a) Content of the SRs and b) Structure of the SRs.

a) Content is collected through the open question (see part I) and b) Structure is collected with the free association technique (see part II).

Guidelines:

The required passages to prepare and analyze data according to this approach are here summarized around the following steps:

Part I

- Step 1: how to prepare data from **open question answers**
- Step 2: how to analyze open questions answers

Part II

- Step 3: how to prepare data from **free association task**
- Step 4: how to create the files to be used for Evoc2000 with the disambiguation process.

At the end of the file, please find the codebook. The codebook will be useful for the free association data preparation.

You can either choose to begin in analyzing the open question or the free association.

I. OPEN QUESTION

Step 1 – OPEN QUESTION ANSWERS – DATA PREPARATION

1. Take all the open question answers (*data corpus*)
2. Create 2 Word files named Open_Obedience and Open_Disobedience.

In Open_Obedience collect the *data set* regarding the question: “Nowadays we hear **Obedience** talked about a lot. In your opinion, what is **Obedience**?”. In Open_Disobedience collect the *data set* regarding the question: “Nowadays we hear **Disobedience** talked about a lot. In your opinion, what is **Disobedience**?”

Below an example of how the file concerning the data with the open answers on disobedience might look like (see the first three columns of file 1 here below “Example of data preparation on Disobedience open answer”).

Example of data preparation on Disobedience open answer

Identification Number	GENDER	Answer
1	M	Disobedience means not to share
2	F	It is going against the rules
3	F	It has to do with alternative action
...

Step 2 – OPEN QUESTION ANSWERS - DATA ANALYSIS

1. Select 3 or more independent judges. At each level: (i) every judge will provide his/her own independent analysis; (ii) thereafter, all 3 judges will compare together their results and discuss discordant cases with the aim of finding a consensus on them.
2. Every judge has to perform a thematic analysis²⁵ (Roulston, 2001) on **each single data set** (Open_Obedience and Open_Disobedience). The aim is to provide some *labels* which refer to the collected open answers (1 level-coding), identify groups of labels which have similar meaning and clustering them into *themes* (2 level-coding), and to identify the relationships among the themes into a coherently organized small narrative (3 level-coding) which “connects” the different themes emerged and explain their relationship. All three levels of coding must be realized with reference to something important in the data with regard of the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set. Thus, themes will be identified in an inductive or ‘bottom- up’ way. Please refer to the following procedure:
 - a) Read several time the data set.
 - b) Level 1-coding: *Labeling*.
 - Find a labels for each open answer. This label must refer in a “condensed” way to the content of the open answer [see **Table 1 here below**].

²⁵ Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data.

Table 1 - Example Level-1 Coding

Identification Number	Gender	Answer	Level 1 Coding
9	F	Disobedience is the non-observance of rules and dictates	Non observance of rules
10	F	Disobedience indicates not to follow the rules. This does not mean that disobey is necessarily a negative act. There may be unfair or wrong rules	1. Do not follow rules 2. Not necessarily negative act

c) Level 2-coding: *Identifying themes*.

- Cluster together the labels (level 1-codings) which share a core meaning; this will lead to groups of labels which will identify a theme (2-level coding) [see **Table 2 here below**].
- You need at least 3 labels which share some meaning in order to consider them to form a Theme. Labels that are present less than 3 times do not compose a theme. They remain unassigned.
- All three judges must agree in (i) considering those (at least) 3 labels to share something which could constitute a Theme, and (ii) the name to give to that Theme (Braun, 2003).

Table 2 - Example Level-2 Coding (*Themes*)

Identification Number	Gender	Answer	Level 1 Coding	Themes
9	F	Disobedience is the non-observance of rules and dictates	Non observance of rules	Non respect of rules and norms
10	F	Disobedience indicates not to follow the rules. This does not mean that disobey is necessarily a negative act. There may be unfair or	3. Do not follow rules 4. Not necessarily negative act ²⁶	Non respect of rules and norms Evaluation

²⁶ There is only one example for “blue” and “green” labels for reason of space. Please remember you need at least 3 labels to produce a theme.

		wrong rules		
15	M	disobedience is breaking the rules that may be given by many things / people. You can disobey to your parents, to a partner, to the authorities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To break rules Disobedience to parents, to a partner, to the authorities 	<p>Non respect of rules and norms</p> <p>Type of authority</p>

d) Level 3-coding: *Relationships among the themes.*

- Organize the themes emerged into a paragraph, i.e., a “piece” of text with a narrative structure ranging from about 25 to 35 lines
- The aim of this narrative is to organize the different emerged themes into a whole in order to report the most salient theme (level-2 coding) which can be identified among them (the open answers). This must be done keeping in mind the research question and reporting the themes in italic.
- All identified themes need to be referred to. Sentences of example (1 – or maximum 2 if necessary – for each theme) need to be provided within the narrative you are creating, together with the ID of the subject who provided it (see example below). These sentences must be the most representative of that theme, and must be reported in their original formulation.
- In producing the narrative please start from the most important theme. With most important theme we mean the one that has been produced with the largest number of labels. The rationale is that a theme with many labels has a very important role in the representation. According to this rationale, please continue your narrative from the most important theme (the one with the largest number of labels) to the least one (the one with the smallest number of labels).
- Below you have an example. In Italic and Bold the themes identified at the Level-2 coding.

This is an example of what resulted from the thematic analysis (Study 1) (*Disobedience*):

Disobedience is seen as the ***non-respect of rules and norms***, "infringement of social and moral rules" (Participant 2) or as a lack of respect for social norms - ways of thinking shared and accepted by people belonging to a social group (Levin & Moreland, 1990). This thought is expressed by the majority of subjects and it is well summarized by the participant 20: "For me, disobedience is the transgression of norms, rules and laws globally established." ***The type of authority*** to which subjects relate can take several forms: person, institution, society. This aspect is exemplified by some participants: "you can disobey your parents, your partner, the authorities" (participant 16); "disobedience was non-compliance of the rules

imposed or agreed at family, organizational or community level" (participant 19), "for example, a child may disobey his/her parents, a citizen can disobey the State '(participant 30). Referring to the **evaluation**, the concept of disobedience is inextricably linked to the context: in fact, many participants claim that the disobedient behaviour is neither good nor bad per se, but should be qualified according to the broken rules and considering the context in which it is implemented: "Disobeying can be risky or not, useful or just stupid, something positive and something new or wrong, depending on the circumstances and on the contexts "(participant 45). But there is also a large segment of participants who stays in a neutral territory, which stops at the description without expressing any evaluation of disobedience.

Do not forget to follow this procedure for Obedience and Disobedience separately.

II. FREE ASSOCIATION

Step 3 – FREE ASSOCIATION – DATA PREPARATION

1. Download from your Gmail database²⁷ (or the one you used to collect data) 2 excel files: Raw_Obedience_File and Raw_Disobedience_File, or create them from the paper questionnaire according to the file 2 example. These files need to be kept as a raw database in order not to lose any data.
2. The next step is to separate nouns and adjectives in separate files. From these 2 files create 4 Excel files named:
 - raw_obedience_nouns
 - raw_obedience_adjectives
 - raw_disobedience_nouns
 - raw_disobedience_adjectives

These 4 files will be obtained following these next steps:

- a) Move the socio demographic variables from the last column to the first ones (See the **code book** at the end of this file and change them as indicated).
- b) **Prepare the file with the proper ranking.** The nouns (or the adjectives) (**necessary for Evoc2000!**) need to be put in order as ranked by the participants. On this file you can delete all other columns.
- c) Now work on this file to change terms according to the disambiguation process. This disambiguation procedure will be described below here.

²⁷ The online questionnaire to retrieve social representations have been created with the application Google Docs from Gmail.

Step 4 – FREE ASSOCIATION – FILE PREPARATION FOR EVOC2000 with Disambiguation process

1) Rename the previous 4 files as:

- Evoc_obedience_nouns
- Evoc_obedience_adjectives
- Evoc_disobedience_nouns
- Evoc_disobedience_adjectives

These will be the clean file to be run with EVOC2000.

2) For every file you have to:

- 1) Delete variables **V3** and **V4**
- 2) Disambiguate the nouns and adjectives as follow:

2a) Create 4 Word file including the explanations to every noun and adjective

- obedience_nouns_why
- obedience_adjective_why
- disobedience_nouns_why
- disobedience_adjective_why

In these files you have:

- Obedience_nouns_why = all the nouns referring to Obedience with the corresponding explanation (the answer to the question: “Why have you chosen X”).
- Obedience_adjective_why = all the adjectives referring to Obedience, with the corresponding explanation (the answer to the question: “Why have you chosen X?”).
- Disobedience_nouns_why = all the nouns referring to Disobedience with the corresponding explanation (the answer to the question: “Why have you chosen X”).
- Disobedience_adjectives_why = all the adjectives referring to Disobedience with the corresponding explanation (the answer to the question: “Why have you chosen X”).

2b) After creating the why file try to find which nouns/adjective can be put together because they have the same meaning or which nouns/adjective have to be distinguished (renamed) because are the same but the explanations are different. See the next table for examples. This operation is done because we need to clean the file for evoc2000.

Options you can have **within** your participants answers:

Same nouns (or adjective)	Same meaning	Nothing has to be disambiguated
Same nouns	Different meaning	Change the noun with as many labels as the number of meanings. For example, if 2 participants wrote the term “Order” giving different meanings: P1: <i>Order as social order, a situation where there</i>

		<i>is no chaos</i> P2: <i>When my boss gives me an order, an instruction</i> In this case the term “order” has doubtless two different meanings and you have to proceed changing, where appropriate, the term <i>Order</i> with the two labels: <i>Order-social</i> and <i>Order-instruction</i> .
Different nouns	Same meaning	Change the noun according to what you think it is appropriate*(see suggestion below)
Different nouns	Different meaning	Nothing has to be disambiguated

Pay attention to the possible switch from singular to plural and viceversa!

Example: **law** and **laws** → if these 2 words mean the same thing, you can create the label **law** and substitute all the words “laws” with the label **law**.

*SUGGESTION: In changing nouns you can keep both of them as an inclusive label

Example

In the Word file *disobedience_nouns_why*:

Weapon

Why? Because it is something used to injure

Gun

Why? Because it is an object used to hurt

Firearm

Why? Because shoots and wounds

In this case you can create the label **weapon_gun_firearm** usable for Evoc2000 analysis. (need to substitute all of the previous nouns in the file data)

SUBSTITUTE the terms in the 4 files previously created:

- Evoc_obedience_nouns
- Evoc_obedience_adjectives
- Evoc_disobedience_nouns
- Evoc_disobedience_adjectives

And provide a list of nouns and adjectives you changed.

The disambiguation procedure has to be made **separately** for every file.

You must not associate Disobedience nouns with Obedience nouns or with Disobedience adjectives. The only associations allowed are between the nouns, or the adjectives, within every specific file.

Appendix B

Pro-social disobedience attitude scale (PSDA) - final form

1. I would be proud to take part in a demonstration against unjust political decisions
2. I would be proud to take part in a demonstration against an unjust law
3. I would attend a demonstration against an incompetent government
4. I appreciate the people who protest for their rights
5. The laws must always be obeyed ®
6. I always obey the laws of the State ®
7. I believe that the laws established by the institutions should always be respected ®
8. I feel I must respect the institutions, even if their decisions seem unfair to me ®

1-4 *Collective action attitudes (CAA) Factor*

5-8 *Critical authority relationship (CAR) Factor (all reverse-coded items)*