

Dual Routes from Social Identity to Collective Opposition against Criminal Organisations: Intracultural Appropriation Theory and the roles of Honour Codes and Social Change Beliefs

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Citation:

Travaglino, G. A., Abrams, D., & Russo, G. (2016). Dual Routes from Social Identity to Collective Opposition against Criminal Organisations: Intracultural Appropriation Theory and the roles of Honour Codes and Social Change Beliefs. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.1177/1368430216682351

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Abstract

Italian criminal organisations (COs) are a serious global threat. Intracultural Appropriation Theory (ICAT) holds that such groups exploit cultural codes of masculinity and honour to legitimise and lower resistance to their actions. Such codes are an important feature of Southern Italian group membership. A large survey ($N = 1173$) investigated the role of two previously under-examined facets of honour cultures – personal concerns for reputation, and female honour ideology. In addition, drawing on social identity theory, and testing a dual route hypothesis, this research investigated the role of beliefs about the necessity of social change in the articulation between identification, honour, and collective action intentions. Consistent with ICAT, and with previous research, male-honour related values uniquely predicted collective action intentions against criminal organisations. In addition, consistent with the dual route hypothesis: a) regional identification positively predicted social change beliefs which in turn explained *stronger* intentions to oppose COs collectively, and, b) regional identification was also positively associated with masculine honour which in turn predicted *weaker* intentions to oppose COs. The evidence supports the idea that social identity can have opposing effects on collective action in the same context, depending on which beliefs are mobilised.

Keywords: collective action, facets of honour, masculine honour, omertà, reputation, social change beliefs

“Things will have to change, if we want things to stay the same”
(Tancredi, in ‘The Leopard’)

What is the role of culture in predicting individuals’ beliefs about social change? As illustrated in the above statement from the famous Italian novel ‘The Leopard’ (Tomasi, 1960), in both literary and academic writing Southern Italians have been characterised as bearers of a set of cultural beliefs that make them unable to act collectively to change their situation (Banfield, 1958; see Schneider, 1998).

Where such inability would be especially evident is in the context of criminal organisations (COs), such as Camorra or Mafia. These groups originated in Southern Italy and are a serious threat to the economic, social and political fabric of the areas in which they operate (Albanese & Marinelli, 2013). Yet, local communities seem to display little support for social change (Cayli, 2014; Pipyrrou, 2014). Reflecting *The Leopard’s* narrative theme, this state of affairs is often explained by referring to an essentialised Southern Italian ethos of passivity (Banfield, 1958; Putnam, 1994; cf. Foschi & Lauriola, 2016).

Recently, in a series of studies Travaglino and colleagues challenged the cultural determinism inherent in this idea (Travaglino, Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Russo, 2014; Travaglino, Abrams, Randsley de Moura, and Russo (2015). Specifically, Travaglino and colleagues adopted a definition of culture as a dynamic set of beliefs, ideologies and practices which may be endorsed (or contested) to different degrees within a society. They focused on honour-related ideology about masculinity, which are appropriated and embraced by COs, and demonstrated that individuals’ endorsement of such ideology is related to their perception of greater legitimacy of, and lower collective resistance against COs. They also found that identification with a Southern Italian regional group membership (i.e., Campania in

Southern Italy) is positively with the endorsement of such ideology, indicating its importance for Southern Italian social identity (Travaglino et al, 2015).

The specific features of honour cultures that may drive views of COs, and the alternative role that Southern Italian social identity may have in promoting belief about the necessity for social change in the context of COs now require more extensive investigation. In particular, new theory is offered for the present research to connect the distinctive contribution of different features related to honour cultures, and the articulation between identity, cultural beliefs and social change beliefs in explaining intentions to oppose COs.

Italian Criminal Organisations, Masculinity, and Omertà

Italian COs are secretive, illegal bodies that pursue lucrative objectives. However, COs do not limit their activities to economic accumulation, and are better understood as entities characterised by a multiplicity of different goals and functions (Paoli, 2003). Central among these goals are the acquisition of status and respect, as well as the exercise of power (Toros & Mavelli, 2013). Importantly, COs' influence extends well beyond the underworld to large strata of the local population, from which they exact extortion money, mediate disputes and enforce social norms.

COs sustain social control and legitimacy by portraying themselves as groups of 'men of honour', able to reciprocate favours and retaliate against lack of respect (Schneider & Schneider 2003). Some affiliates of the Sicilian mafia, trace the origins of the organisation to the 'Blessed Paulists', a mythical secret group of heroic outlaws, ostensibly employing retributive justice to rectify social wrongs and protect the weak (Schneider & Schneider, 1994). Similar origin myths are also used by different organised crime groups to legitimise their existence (Paoli, 2003). Such myths promote ideals of male potency and self-reliance, while at the same time

providing a gloss of legitimacy to the otherwise blatantly predatory actions of COs (Blok, 1972).

We propose a theory of intracultural appropriation which holds that, where such beliefs and ideals may be shared by sections of the population, they may also function as ideological devices that justify COs (or other actors) and hence limit opposition against them. In line with this idea, Travaglino, et al. (2014) demonstrated that young Italians who endorsed masculine honour-related ideology were less likely to intend to oppose COs, a phenomenon known as *omertà*. This linkage was mediated by more positive attitudes towards COs, lower endorsement of the goal of a mobilisation against COs (Klandermans, 1984), and higher perceived threat about interacting with the police. In addition, Travaglino et al. (2015) showed that participants' identification with their region (Campania in Southern Italy) positively predicted their endorsement of masculine ideology, suggesting that those values are intertwined with regional identity.

Intracultural appropriation theory (ICAT) holds that COs' emphasis on masculine values is embedded in a broader cultural context that strongly emphasises the importance of honour and reputation more generally. In this paper, we investigate the distinctive roles *different aspects* of honour culture have in predicting intentions to oppose COs collectively. In particular we test hypotheses that beliefs about social change explain the linkage between honour culture and intentions to oppose COs.

Honour

Honour is a polysemantic cultural concept (Peristiany & Pitt-Rivers, 1992; Rodriguez Mosquera, 2016). Some even question the suitability of this general term for capturing the variety of its particular usages and local applications (see Herzfeld, 1980). Broadly, honour refers to an individuals' worth as judged by themselves and

others (Pitt-Rivers, 1966). In one of its connotations, honour reflects virtues such as honesty and loyalty (Cross, et al, 2014; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002).

Another aspect of honour refers to defence of status, reputation, and right to precedence. In a society of competing near-equals, possessing honour indicates the capacity to uphold one's own, and one's family's prestige in the eyes of others. This quasi moral mandate is expressed through a variety of different codes and social prescriptions whose manifestations vary depending on several factors. For instance, *feminine honour* means that women are expected to show sexual modesty and loyalty. In contrast, *masculine honour* means that men are expected to be able to retaliate rapidly, with violence if necessary, against offences to reputation, family and property (Barnes, Brown, & Osterman, 2012).

Like other cultural ideals, honour culture encompasses both a self-descriptive and an ideological level. Self-descriptive (personal) honour values are subjectively internalised and refer to individuals' own concern with reputation. Such values affect the way in which individuals respond to insults and other threats to their social image (Rodriguez Mosquera, Fischer, Manstead, Zaalberg, 2008). Honour values may also constitute an ideology that prescribes how men (Barnes, et al, 2012) or women (see Barnes, Brown, Lenes, Bosson, & Carvallo, 2014) should behave in general. Whereas endorsement of self-descriptive honour values imply conformity to different behavioural norms depending on one's own gender, endorsement of honour values at the ideological level reflects individuals' prescriptions about male and female behaviour regardless of one's gender (see Barnes, et al., 2012).

In this paper, for the first time we investigate the role of three different facets of honour culture in predicting young people's intention to oppose COs collectively.

Specifically, we investigate the role of two ideologies, *masculine honour ideology* (Barnes et al., 2012), and *feminine honour ideology* (Barnes et al., 2014), and of *self-descriptive (personal) concerns for reputation* (Rodriguez Mosquera, et al., 2008).

It could be argued that the relationship between masculine honour ideology and intentions to oppose COs is the by-product of a more general linkage between honour culture as a whole and intentions to oppose COs. This would imply that other facets of honour, including feminine honour ideology and self-descriptive concerns for reputation should similarly explain part of the variance in intentions to oppose COs collectively (H1).

In contrast to this *generalised honour* assumption, ICAT holds that it is masculine honour that should be the critical facet in predicting individuals' intentions to oppose COs (H2). This is because COs appeal to values such as masculinity and self-reliance to affirm *omertà*, which prevents people from reporting information and crimes to institutional authorities (Schneider & Schneider, 1994). Thus, masculine honour ideology should be the specific facet of honour culture that inhibits negative perception of, and intentions to oppose, COs (H2_a). Feminine honour values should play no role.

If the ICAT is correct, the relationship between participants' self-descriptive concerns for reputation and collective action intentions should be moderated by gender. Specifically, men's personal honour more closely matches ideological representations of masculinity, whereas women's personal honour matches more closely those of femininity. Consequently, if COs are specifically legitimised by male honour-related values, the self-descriptive (personal) concerns for reputation should be associated with lower collective action intentions to oppose COs among men, but not women (H2_b).

Social Change Beliefs

Social change is a central concept in social psychology (see Abrams & Grant, 2012; Sweetman, Leach, Spears, Pratto & Saab, 2013; Tajfel, 1978). It may refer to structural and systemic changes in institutions, in socio-economic arrangements or in the relationships among groups (Louis, 2009). In the present paper we draw on social identity theory's account of the role of *social change beliefs* in mobilising collective action (Tajfel, 1978; Abrams, 1990; Abrams & Grant, 2012).

Social change beliefs refers to individuals' beliefs that radical change is necessary to improve the group's standing (Abrams & Grant, 2012). This structure of beliefs may develop when group members believe that their group's status is illegitimate but stable. The emergence of such structure of beliefs in a group means that identification with the group should mobilise members toward radical collective action to overthrow the dominant group (Tajfel, 1978). Translated to the context of COs, people who identify with their region should be more likely to perceive the problems facing them as being due to the illegitimate but stable presence of COs. They should therefore conclude that changing the social structure is *necessary* and consequently they should be motivated to collectively oppose COs.

Until recently researchers had not directly measured social change beliefs, however this has now been recognised as a critical element of social identity theory and is increasingly being regarded as a crucial mediator of other variables (Abrams & Grant, 2012; Grant, Abrams, Robertson, & Garay, 2015). For instance, Abrams (1990; see Abrams & Grant, 2012) first empirically demonstrated that beliefs about the necessity of social change mediated the relationship between group identification and radical voting intentions, in the context of Scottish nationalism.

Here, we extend Abrams and Grant's approach to consider the articulation between identity, masculine honour ideology, and social change beliefs in the context of opposition to COs. Some theorists have posited that Southern Italians may be culturally or dispositionally incapable of pursuing social change (Banfield, 1958; Putnam, 1994). It is timely, therefore, to test this proposition with evidence about drivers and implications of social change beliefs in that context.

Based on ICAT and social identity theory we predict a *dual route* between social identification as *Campani* and individuals' intentions to oppose COs collectively (H3). Stronger group identification accentuates the relevance of a group problem for the self (van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, 2012). This should motivate stronger social change beliefs and, in turn, stronger collective action intentions. Thus, following Abrams and Grant (2012), we expect to find a *positive* indirect effect of regional identity as a Southern Italian on collective action intentions via social change beliefs (H3_a).

However, Travaglino et al (2015) demonstrated that regional identification as Southern Italian was linked to ideological values promoting masculine honour. This in turn exerted a negative indirect effect of regional identity on intentions to oppose COs collectively. Thus, in line with Travaglino, et al. (2015) and ICAT we also predict a *negative* indirect effect of regional identity via masculine honour ideology on collective action intentions (H3_b). These two *contrasting* routes from identity to collective action intentions are tested in the present study.

Finally, previous research has shown that individuals who endorse masculine honour ideology also report more positive attitudes towards COs, and express lower intentions to oppose these groups collectively (Travaglino, et al., 2014). We therefore predict that individuals' endorsement of masculine honour ideology is related to lower

propensity to advocate social change. Social change beliefs should in turn mediate the linkage between masculine honour ideology and intentions to oppose COs collectively (H4). The hypothesised indirect effects tested in this paper are summarised in Figure 1.

The Present Study

To summarise, this study has two objectives. The first is to establish the role played by three different facets of the honour culture (masculine and feminine ideologies, and self-descriptive concerns for reputation) in explaining individuals' intentions to oppose COs (H1 and H2_a - H2_b). The second is to investigate the articulation between identity, social change beliefs and masculine honour ideology (H3_a, H3_b - H4).

In this study, we also control for alternative constructs that may explain participants' perception of, and intentions to oppose COs. Specifically, because COs use violence and intimidation against those who oppose them, we measure participants' perceived risk in opposing these groups. In addition, because participants' beliefs about the fairness of the current social system, and their general attitudes toward inequality and group hierarchies may be alternative explanations for their intentions to oppose COs, we measure system justification (Kay & Jost, 2003), and social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 2013) to control for these variables.

Method

Participants and Procedure

One thousand one hundred seventy-three participants from several different high schools in a southern Italian region (Campania) took part in this research (643 were male and 514 females, 16 participants did not report their gender; $M_{age} = 16.69$, $SD = 1.10$). The schools were from areas with a high density of criminal organisations

(known as Camorra in this region). The study was part of a larger project aimed at enhancing young people's mobilising potential in areas affected by criminal organisations. Pupils were asked to take part in a study on "social issues and local groups". They were informed that participation was voluntary and it was emphasised that responses were anonymous and confidential. Participants were asked to generate a personal code to allow them to withdraw their questionnaire in the future. Following data collection, the researchers held workshops and discussions with groups of classes about the emergence, presence, and persistence of criminal organisations in Italy.

Material

Questionnaires were in Italian. Throughout the questionnaire COs were referred as Camorra (the local mafia). Except where indicated otherwise, scales were measured on a 7-point scale (1 = *completely disagree* and 7 = *completely agree*). For each construct, a mean score was computed by averaging the relevant items. Scales previously published in English were translated and adapted to the Italian context¹.

Regional Identification. To measure participants' endorsement of their social identity as *Campani* we used four items (Travaglino, et al, 2014), "I am pleased to think of myself as Campano," "I am proud I am Campano," and "I Identify with other people who live in Campania," "I feel a sense of belonging to Campania" ($\alpha = .81$).

Honour Ideology for Manhood Scale (HIM). The HIM scale (Barnes et al., 2012) was used to measure participants' endorsement of masculine honour values. HIM consists of 16 items tapping both endorsement of qualities which define a real man (e.g., "A real man never leaves a score unsettled") and endorsement of men's right to use violence in honour related domains such as defence of reputation, family, and property (e.g., A man has the right to act with physical aggression toward another

man who vandalizes his home) ($\alpha = .83$). The scale measures ideological (rather than subjective) endorsement and can be answered by both male and female participants (Barnes et al., 2012).

Honour Ideology for Womanhood (HIW). The HIW scale includes 12 items tapping ideal prescriptions pertaining women's social behaviour in honour culture (Barnes et al., 2014). Sample items are: "A respectable woman knows that what she does reflects on her family name," "A respectable woman never betrays her husband," and "A good woman teaches her children the importance of family traditions" ($\alpha = .83$). As with HIM, HIW measures endorsement at the ideological (rather than subjective) level. Items can therefore be answered by both male and female participants.

Honour Values Scale (HVS). HVS includes 5 items measuring participants' concerns with their own and their family's reputation, a central element of honour cultures (Rodriguez Mosquera, et al., 2008). Sample items are: "It is important to me that others see me as someone who deserves respect," "How others think of my family is important to me," and "Caring about the implications of my actions for my family's social image is important to me" ($\alpha = .72$). Unlike HIM and HIW, items in this scale measure individuals' personal concern and are therefore likely to assume different meaning for male and female participants.

System Justification Scale (SJS). Participants' perception of the legitimacy of the national system was measured using a reduced version of Kay's and Jost's (2003) system justification scale (e.g., "Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness in Italy"; $\alpha = .79$).

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). Participants' levels of SDO (Pratto et al., 1994) were measured using 4 items, e.g. "Superior groups should dominate inferior groups" ($\alpha = .75$).

Attitudes towards COs. Participants' attitudes towards COs were measured with 4 items (see Travaglino, et al., 2015). Items were "Actions of Camorra deserve respect," "Actions of Camorra deserve admiration," "Some of Camorra's aims are legitimate," "Some actions of Camorra may have positive direct or indirect consequences for the area where you live" ($\alpha = .87$).

Social Change Beliefs. To measure participants' social change beliefs vis-à-vis COs, we used 3 items adapted from Abrams and Grant (2012) and an additional item created specifically for this study. These items tapped participants' perception that radical change is necessary in order to resolve COs' issues in the region. Items were: "The situation in Campania can improve only if the Camorra is defeated completely", "It is important for Campania to retake control of its territories and resources from the presence of the Camorra", "People in Campania will only improve their situation if the Camorra is completely eliminated" and "Without the presence of the Camorra, things in Campania would be worse" (reversed item) ($\alpha = .78$).

Collective Action Intentions. To assess participants' intentions to oppose COs collectively, and in line with previous research (e.g., Travaglino, et al., 2015) we asked how likely they were to take part in each of the following antimafia activities ($1 = \text{Not at All Likely}$ and $7 = \text{Completely Likely}$): "Sign a petition against Camorra," "Take part to a public demonstration against Camorra," "Become part of an association against Camorra," "Convince other people to take part in demonstrations against Camorra" ($\alpha = .87$).

Perceived Risk. As in previous research we measured participants' perceived risk in opposing COs. Specifically, participants were asked to rate to what extent engaging in each of the previous activities could represent a risk for them (1 = *Not at All Risky* and 7 = *Completely Risky*) ($\alpha = .87$).

Results

Preliminary Analyses: The association between Facets of Honour and Gender

Table 1 shows mean, standard deviations, and correlations for the variables. Bivariate positive correlations between HIM, HIW, and HVS ($r > .26, p < .001$) indicated that the different facets of honour were linked with each other. Gender was related to HIM, HIW, and HVS ($r > -.36, p < .002$). To explore further the relationship between gender and the different facets of honour, we performed a 2 (Gender = Male and Female) x 3 (Facet = Masculine, Feminine, Personal) Mixed Model ANOVA with repeated measures on the Facet factor. The Mauchly's test of sphericity revealed that the assumption of compound symmetry was significantly violated, thus the Greenhouse-Geisser correction was applied to degrees of freedom. There was a small, albeit significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 1149) = 7.87, p = .005, \eta_p^2 = .005$. Overall, male participants ($M = 4.89, SE = .028$) reported endorsing honour-related beliefs more than female participants ($M = 4.77, SE = .028$). There was also a significant main effect of Facet, $F(1.90, 2184.753) = 1694.863, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .60$. Interestingly, regardless of gender, HIW ($M = 5.41, SE = .025$) was endorsed significantly more strongly than both HIM ($M = 3.82, SE = .028, p < .001$), and HVS ($M = 5.26, SE = .028, p < .001$). HVS was endorsed more strongly than HIM, $p < .001$. This seems to suggest that in the Southern Italian context, the culture of honour means that both males and females attach high importance to female virtue.

Main effects were further qualified by significant Gender x Facet interaction, $F(1.90, 2184.753) = 164.416, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$, consistent with the idea that the each gender privileges the form of honour that matches their gender. The simple effects of Gender within Facet revealed that while male participants endorsed HIM more strongly ($M = 4.20, SE = .038$) than female participants ($M = 3.45, SE = .042$), $F(1, 1149) = 170.55, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$, female participants endorsed HIW more strongly ($M = 5.48, SE = .037$) than male participants ($M = 5.33, SE = .033$), $F(1, 1149) = 9.27, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .01$. Female participants also endorsed HVS more strongly ($M = 5.39, SE = .04$) than did male participants ($M = 5.14, SE = .037$), $F(1, 1149) = 19.32, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .02$.

Testing the Relationships between Facets of Honour, Gender and Collective Action Intentions (H1-H2)

In line with previous studies (Travaglino, et al., 2014), there was a significant negative correlation between HIM and intentions to oppose COs collectively. In support of the idea that *omertà* is based on beliefs about masculinity and self-reliance, the correlation between HIW and collective action intentions was not significant (see Table 1). Thus, this pattern of results is consistent with the hypothesised specificity of male honour-related values in negatively predicting intentions to oppose COs collectively. Results support the *masculine honour* primacy hypotheses (H2 and H2_a) – but not the *generalised honour assumption* (H1).

There was also a significant relationship between HVS and intentions to oppose COs. H2_b contends that the relationship between HVS and collective action intentions may be moderated by gender, particularly if there is a specificity of male honour-related values in predicting intentions to oppose COs. This is because male participants' personal concerns about reputation are more closely matched by HIM,

whereas female participants' personal concerns about reputation are more closely matched by HIW. To test this hypothesis we used the PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013). Specifically, we tested a model where Gender moderated the relationship between HVS and collective action intentions (Model 1; 5000 bootstraps). The model was significant, $F(3, 1148) = 7.74, p < .001$. Those who reported stronger concern for their reputation were also less likely to express collective action intentions to oppose COs, $b = -.35, SE = .12, t = -2.88, p = .004$. The relationship between gender and collective action intentions was not significant $b = -.60, SE = .45, t = -1.31, p = .19$. There was a marginal Gender x HVS interaction, $b = .16, SE = .08, t = -1.93, p = .054$. As predicted by H2b, an inspection of the conditional indirect effects of HVS within Gender revealed that the relationship between HVS and collective action intentions was significant for male, $b = -.18, SE = .051, t = -3.71, p = .002$, but not female participants, $b = -.03, SE = .07, t = -.39, p = .70$. In addition, a test of the difference between independent betas revealed a significantly stronger relationship for male ($\beta = -0.14, SE = .039$) compared to female ($\beta = -0.02, SE = .044$) participants, $z_{diff} = -2.11, p = .035$. These analyses support the idea that the relationship between honour-related values and intentions to oppose COs collectively is limited to ideological prescriptions about masculinity (H2). In the following analyses, measures of HIW and HVS are added as covariates in the model².

Testing the Dual Route Hypothesis (H3-H4)

Using the R software and the Lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012), we estimated a structural equation model in which social change beliefs mediate the relationship between HIM and collective action intentions. Based on ICAT, attitudes towards COs was located as a mediator of the relationship between HIM and COs (Travaglino, et al., 2014). Regional Identification was included as a predictor of HIM (Travaglino, et

al., 2015). Based on Abrams & Grant's model of social change beliefs (2012), we estimated a direct as well as an indirect path from Regional Identification to Social Change beliefs. Covariates in the model were SDO, SJS, HIW, HVS, age, and gender. The two mediators were allowed to covary as recommended by Preacher and Hayes (2008), in order to gauge systematic co-variation between these variables not explained by the predictor.

Items for the HIM (16) and the HIW (12) scales were parcelled in 4 and 3 parcels respectively, each composed of 4 items. Parcelling refers to "taking two or more items and averaging them together" as manifest indicator of the latent construct (Little, 2013, p. 20). According to Little (2013, p. 22), using parcels has a series of advantages over using single items, particularly for longer scale. These advantages include higher reliability and lower likelihood of distributional violations while also allowing estimating fewer parameters (see Little, 2013; Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). The parcels were constructed using the item-to-construct balance method (Little, et al., 2002) in which a single construct model is specified. The items with the highest item-to-construct loadings were averaged with items with lowest item-to-construct loadings. This allows for the creation of balanced parcels.³ Because of non-normality of some variables, analyses below use the Satorra-Bentler correction with robust standard errors. All the indexes reported below are scaled.

Figure 2 presents a simplified version of the model. Parameter estimates for the parcelled model are summarised in the Appendix (Table A). Given the large sample size, Chi-square was significant, $\chi^2(788, N = 1173) = 1952.846, p < .001$. The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) indicated adequate fit, CFI = .94, the Adjusted Goodness of Fit (AGFI) indicated good fit, AGFI = .99. The standardised root mean square residual (SRMR), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) both

indicated good fit, SRMS = 0.05, and RMSEA = .037 (90% CI = 0.035 to 0.039, $p = 1.00$).

HIM significantly and negatively predicted social change beliefs, $\beta = -.17$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$ and attitudes towards COs, $\beta = .31$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$. Collective action intentions were significantly predicted by social change beliefs, $\beta = .41$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, attitudes towards COs, $\beta = -.10$, $SE = .05$, $p = .03$, and HIM, $\beta = -.16$, $SE = .05$, $p < .001$. Finally, regional identification significantly predicted HIM, $\beta = .15$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$. Consistent with Abrams and Grant (2012), social change beliefs were significantly predicted by regional identification, $\beta = .09$, $SE = .05$, $p = .02$. Among the covariates, only perceived risk, $\beta = -.10$, $SE = .03$, $p = .007$, and SDO, $\beta = -.15$, $SE = .04$, $p = .001$, significantly predicted collective action intentions. Consistent with H2, other facets of honour were not significantly related to collective action intentions ($ps > .80$).

We then proceeded to test the indirect effects using 5000 bootstraps. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Travaglino, Abrams, & Randsley de Moura, 2014) the indirect effects of HIM through attitudes towards COs was significant, $\beta = -.03$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI = -0.062 to -0.002. Consistent with ICAT and Travaglino et al. (2015), the indirect effect of regional identification on collective action intentions through HIM was significant and negative, $\beta = -.24$, $SE = .01$, 95% CI = -0.046 to -0.008. Consistent with Abrams and Grant (2012), the indirect effect of regional identification on collective action intentions through social change beliefs was significant and positive, $\beta = .04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI = 0.006 to 0.072. These analyses are consistent with H3 and its two corollaries. Results supported the idea that social identity has opposing effects on collective action intentions according to type of beliefs taken into consideration. Specifically, identification as members of a Southern

Italian region (Campania) may increase individuals' willingness to engage in collective action by highlighting the need for radical social change (H3_a). On the other hand, Southern Italian group membership is linked to masculine honour-related values and norms that may justify COs' actions, and thus lowering individuals' intentions to oppose these groups (H3_b). Finally, consistent with H4, the indirect effect of HIM on collective action intentions through social change beliefs was significant, $\beta = -.08$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI = -0.115 to -0.038.

Discussion

There were two main aims of this study. The first was to examine the articulation between different facets of honour and collective action intentions. Specifically, we tested the two contrasting hypotheses of whether the relationship between masculine honour ideology was a by-product of a more generalised relationship between cultural honour and intentions to oppose COs collectively (H1), or, the Intracultural Appropriation Theory prediction that masculine honour-related values play a distinct role in inhibiting opposition to COs (H2). On the basis of the notion of *omertà*, and its dictates about masculinity and self-reliance, we predicted that masculine honour ideology would distinctively and uniquely predict collective action intentions. The present study supported H2.

Second, we tested the idea that, in the context of opposition to COs, identification as southern Italians could have independent and contrasting indirect effects on individuals' collective action intentions (H3). Specifically, this dual route hypothesis was based on discrete predictions from Abrams and Grant's social change model and from ICAT. Based on the social change model we predicted that regional identification should have a positive indirect effect on collective action intentions through social change beliefs (H3_a). Based on ICAT we predicted it should have a

negative indirect effect through masculine honour ideology (H3_b). Drawing on theorising about *omertà* (Travaglino, et al., 2014), criminal organisations (e.g., Paoli, 2003), and honour (Barnes et al., 2012; Rodriguez Mosquera et al., 2008), we predicted that stronger endorsement of masculine honour values would be related to lower endorsement of social change beliefs (H4).

Honour Cultural Codes and Collective Action to Oppose COs

This study clarifies an important aspect of the relationship between culture of honour and perception of criminal organisations. Specifically, in line with H2 (but *contra* H1) masculine honour ideology significantly predicted collective action intentions to oppose COs, independently from other facets of honour. This suggests a distinctive role for male-based values in promoting *omertà*.

Importantly, the relationship between HIM and collective action intentions was not moderated by gender (see footnote 2). HIM taps ideological prescriptions about manhood in honour cultures (Barnes et al., 2012). Such ideology may be shared among both male and female participants. Indeed, although men may endorse a masculine ideology to a greater extent than women, women still play an important role in the socialisation of this cultural code to children and may still endorse – in some circumstances – precepts about male self-reliance, violence, and reputation (Travaglino, et al., 2014).

However, consonant with H2_b, gender moderated the relationship between HVS and collective action intentions. Specifically, this relationship was significant for men but not for women. This further support the idea that *omertà* is rooted in constructions of masculinity and self-reliance. In particular, young males who are more strongly concerned with issues of reputation and respect may also express

stronger admiration for criminal organisations, and therefore be less likely to express opposition against these groups.

Identity, Social Change Beliefs and Masculine Honour

This study also demonstrated that social change beliefs played an important role in explaining intentions to oppose COs. Of particular interest is the evidence regarding the interplay between identification, social change beliefs and masculine honour ideology. Abrams and Grant (2012) hypothesised and found that the more strongly people identified with their groups the more likely they were to advocate the pursuit of radical change to advance the group's interest. In apparent contrast, Travaglino et al. (2015) demonstrated that individuals' identification with a Southern Italian region was related to stronger endorsement of masculine honour beliefs which in turn was linked to *lower* intentions to engage in collective mobilisation against COs. In line with both set of findings, in this study we found that regional identification positively indirectly predicted individuals intentions to oppose COs through stronger social change beliefs (supporting H3_a), while at the same time identification negatively indirectly predicted individuals' collective action intentions through masculine honour ideology (supporting H3_b). In line with H4, we also found evidence for the idea that social change beliefs mediate the relationship between masculine honour ideology and collective action intentions.

This evidence supports the hypothesised dual route between identity and social change beliefs. Specifically, the findings are in line with the idea that the relationship between group identification and collective mobilisation depends on the type of identity content that is mobilised by group membership (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; Travaglino et al., 2015; Turner-Zwinkels, van Zomeren, & Postmes, 2015). In the case of opposition to COs,

and in the Southern Italian context, it is clear that regional identification presents something of a paradox for people – it bolsters masculine honour values which inhibits resistance to COs, but it also increases the relevance of a collective problem for the self, hence increasing mobilisation potential against COs. Future research should test experimentally the conditions under which different identity contents become salient and therefore which motivation prevails and when.

This evidence also provides important insights into how cultural ideologies and beliefs may increase individuals' support for the status quo, and lower pursuit of social change. Research using a system justification approach has investigated how adherence to ideas about the fairness and legitimacy of the system may legitimise unfair intergroup relations or inequality and dampen collective participation (e.g., Jost et al., 2012). Intracultural Appropriation Theory complements this approach by emphasising the importance of the cultural content of such ideologies. ICAT contends that groups can appropriate and exploit strategically cultural values and meanings that are shared by sections of the population to obtain legitimacy and lower opposition against them. In the specific case of opposition to COs, our evidence supports the proposition that endorsement of masculine honour ideology legitimises the status quo vis-à-vis the presence of COs in the region, hence lowering people's intentions to oppose these groups. Future research is needed to explore the relationship between sets of cultural beliefs and collective action in greater depth by testing ICAT in different settings, contexts, and using different types of groups. Moreover, it is important to consider the strength of moral conviction that people may feel, either in support of or to resist social change (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2012; Zaal, van Laar, Ståhl, Ellemers, & Derks, 2011) as well as the basis on which they arrive that these convictions (Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell, & Pelletier, 2008).

Limitation and Directions for Future Research

In this research, for the first time, we presented evidence of the distinctive role of masculine honour ideology (*vis-à-vis* other facets of honour) in predicting individuals' collective action intentions. This study therefore clarifies important aspects of the relationship between culture and legitimisation of criminal organisations in the Southern Italian context, and provides support for the ICAT account of culture and collective opposition to organised crime (Travaglino, et al., 2014). Furthermore, this research also demonstrates that regional identification as Southern Italian has opposing indirect effects on collective action intentions against COs. Regional identification positively predicted collective action intentions through social change beliefs, and negatively through masculine honour ideology. Social change beliefs is a new variable and conceptualisation in the field of opposition to COs and therefore adds substantively to existing understanding

This research is affected by some limitations. Strong causal inferences cannot be made from a correlational survey, so some of the paths hypothesised and investigated here, should be examined experimentally. For instance, future research could manipulate the salience of regional identity and see whether this affects social change beliefs. Alternatively, future research could manipulate individuals' level of identification (*i.e.*, regional vs. national) in order to examine its impact on people's intentions to pursue change and oppose COs collectively.

Another limitation is that we measured only one form of social change beliefs. Specifically, we focussed on the idea that radical change is necessary in order to improve the group's collective situation (see Abrams & Grant, 2002). However, social change can be a multifaceted concept that may be represented psychologically as a variety of different (regressive or progressive) goals (Sweetman, et al., 2013).

Future research should investigate the relationship with honour values and different types of social change goals. Future research may also investigate the relationship between group efficacy, social change beliefs and culture (see Grant, et al., 2015).

Future research should also investigate the relationship between masculine honour and collective opposition to other types of criminal or quasi-legal actors (Travaglino, et al., 2014). In other (sub-)cultures emphasising the importance of respect and reputation, groups such as gangs may use and amplify male-honour related values to gain legitimacy and power. Indeed, research suggests that gangs may satisfy needs for reputation and status, especially among youth (Wood, 2014). Therefore, they may exercise a particular attraction to those who endorse values of masculinity and honour more strongly.

Finally, future research should aim to replicate these findings with different samples and in other contexts. For instance, future research may investigate whether these findings may be replicated with participants from other age groups (i.e., adults) or in other comparable regions.

Conclusions

Putnam (1994) and Banfield (1958) have argued that the Southern Italian people may be inherently passive because of some essential feature of the population, such as biology, history, and culture (Schneider & Schneider, 2005; Wolf, 1982). Yet it has been argued that such attributions – which may encourage self-confirming policies and which are also applied to other populations that appear to comply with corrupt regimes – may open that population to different forms of exploitations and subjugation (Schneider, 1994).

However, as this study demonstrates, social change is a contested concept. Its psychological representation is open to negotiation, because social change may be

endorsed to a different degree by different groups and individuals. Most importantly, while cultural values and ideologies play an important role in affecting individuals' intentions to pursue change, such beliefs should not be conceptualised as generalised ethos of passivity. Rather, as assumed by ICAT, they are best seen as dynamic set of codes and ideas that may be exploited in different ways by groups to achieve legitimacy and sustain their privileged social standings. In the context of COs, it may be that educators and activists who wish to promote social change will need to focus on ways of influencing and challenging ideologies about masculinity and reputation.

1. Additional variables were also measured in this study. These included, Precarious Manhood, Collective Motive, interest in discussing organised crime with friends and family, and degree of religiosity. When accounted for, these variables do not alter the conclusions of this paper.

2. Note that the relationship between HIM and collective action intentions is not moderated by gender, as revealed by a non-significant Gender*HIM interaction, $b = -.09$, $SE = .08$, $t = -1.20$, $p = .23$. In line with H2, only the association between self-descriptive concerns for reputation and collective action intentions is moderated by gender.

³ When items are not parcellised, the overall patterns of relationships between variables is the same as the one reported here. Specifically, direct paths and indirect effects are not altered when a non parcellised scale is used. An acceptable fit is obtained after allowing some of the items within scales to correlate $CFI = .91$, $RMSEA = .034$ (90% CI = 0.033 to 0.036, $p = 1.00$). There were no significant cross-scale correlations between items, according to the modification indexes. Parameters estimated for the non parcellised model and correlations between items are summarised in the Appendix (Table B).

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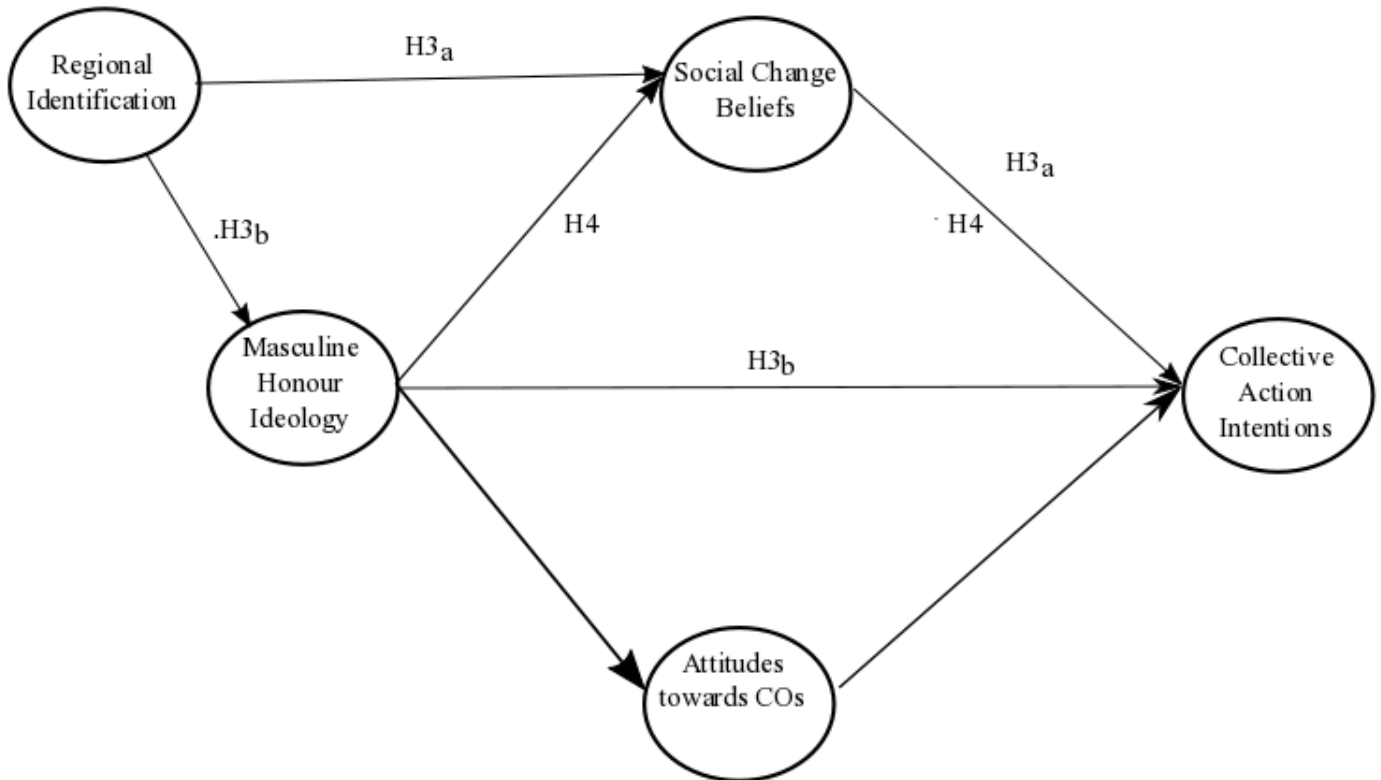
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Table 1. Inter-Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations for Variables in the Present Study

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Regional Identification (1)</i>	-											
<i>Honour Ideology for Manhood (2)</i>	.15***	-										
<i>Honour Ideology for Womanhood (3)</i>	.28***	.26***	-									
<i>Honour Value Scale (4)</i>	.21***	.28***	.50***	-								
<i>System Justification Scale (5)</i>	.18***	.07*	.11***	.15***	-							
<i>Social Dominance Orientation (6)</i>	.07*	.32***	.19***	.13***	.25***	-						
<i>Attitudes towards Cos (7)</i>	.13***	.36***	.03	.13***	.13***	.30***	-					
<i>Social Change Beliefs (8)</i>	-.034	-.16***	.10***	.037	-.085**	-.17***	-.50***	-				
<i>Collective Action Intentions (9)</i>	-.006	-.29***	-.05	-.07**	-.049	-.28***	-.36***	.44***	-			
<i>Perceived Risk (10)</i>	-.014	.06*	.15***	.13***	-.04	.04	-.037	.053	-.08**	-		
<i>Age (11)</i>	-.21***	-.10***	-.15***	-.08**	-.09**	-.05	-.005	-.016	-.045	-.007	-	
<i>Gender (12)</i>	-.046	-.36***	.09**	.13***	.02	-.07*	-.17***	.12***	.09**	.14***	.013	-
<i>M</i>	4.84	3.87	5.40	5.26	2.30	2.51	1.74	5.63	4.90	4.11	16.70	-
<i>SD</i>	1.19	1.03	.83	.94	1.02	1.16	1.01	.99	1.30	1.29	1.10	-

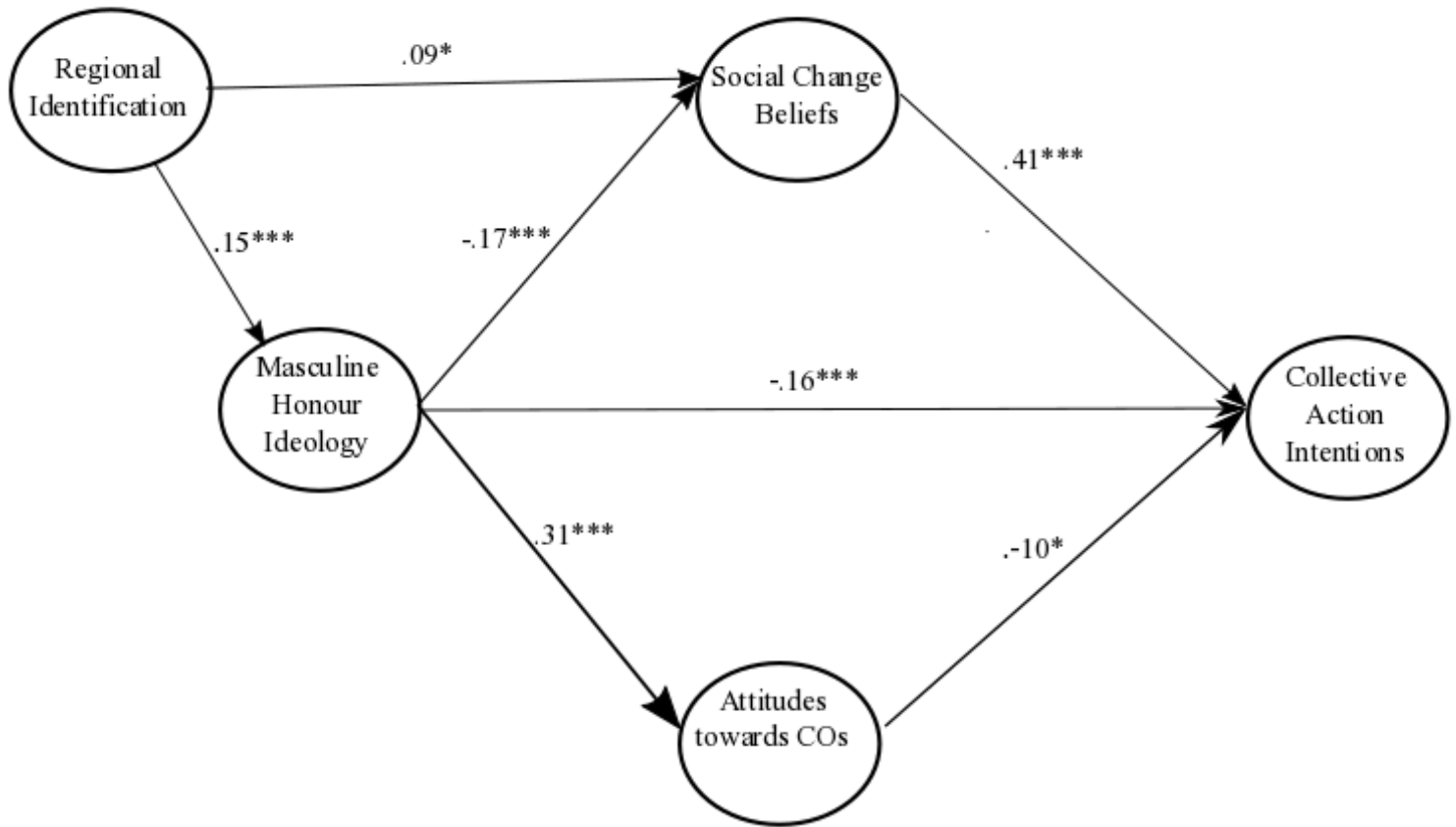
Note: * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$. Gender: 1 = Male, 2 = Female

Figure 1. The structural equation model with latent variables with the new hypothesised indirect effects.



Note: $H3_a$: indirect effect of Regional Identity on Collective Action Intentions through Social Change Beliefs; $H3_b$: indirect effect of Regional Identity on Collective Action Intentions through Masculine Honour Ideology; $H4$: indirect effect of Masculine Honour Ideology on Collective Action Intentions through Social Change Beliefs.

Figure 2. Latent variables model predicting the effects of Regional Identification and Masculine honour ideology on Collective Action Intentions through Social Change Beliefs.



Note: * $p \leq .05$, *** $p \leq .001$. Honour Values Scale, Honour Ideology for Womanhood, Social Dominance Orientation, System Justification Scale, Gender and Age are covariates in the model.

Table A. Parameter estimates, Standard Error (SE), and p-value for parcelled model.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Regional Identification			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	1.20	.05	***
Item 3	0.93	.06	***
Item 4	1.29	.08	***
Masculine Honour Ideology			
Parcel 1	1	-	-
Parcel 2	.97	.03	***
Parcel 3	1.03	.03	***
Parcel 4	1.04	.03	***
Social Change Beliefs			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	.72	.04	***
Item 3	.94	.04	***
Item 4	-.49	.05	***
Attitudes towards COs			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	1.05	.07	***
Item 3	1.12	.06	***
Item 4	.91	.06	***
Collective Action Intentions			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	1.20	.05	***
Item 3	1.24	.06	***
Item 4	1.19	.06	***

Note: *** $p \leq .001$. Honour Values Scale, Honour Ideology for Womanhood, Social Dominance Orientation, System Justification Scale, Gender and Age are covariates in the model.

Table B. Parameter estimates, Standard Error (SE), and p-value for non-parcelled model.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p-value</i>
Regional Identification			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	1.23	.06	***
Item 3	0.93	.07	***
Item 4	1.31	.08	***
Masculine Honour Ideology			
Item 1 _a	1	-	-
Item 2 _b	.67	.06	***
Item 3 _a	1.45	.07	***
Item 4 _c	.35	.06	***
Item 5	1.76	.10	***
Item 6 _b	.67	.06	***
Item 7	1.45	.08	***
Item 8 _c	.29	.06	***
Item 9	1.48	.10	***
Item 10	1.09	.07	***
Item 11 _d	1.48	.09	***
Item 12 _d	.83	.08	***
Item 13	1.61	.10	***
Item 14	.88	.07	***
Item 15	1.67	.09	***
Item 16	.91	.07	***
Social Change Beliefs			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	.70	.04	***
Item 3	.93	.04	***
Item 4	-.49	.05	***
Attitudes towards COs			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	1.04	.08	***
Item 3 _a	.99	.05	***
Item 4 _a	.78	.06	***
Collective Action Intentions			
Item 1	1	-	-
Item 2	1.23	.06	***
Item 3 _a	1.15	.06	***
Item 4 _a	1.09	.07	***

Note: *** $p \leq .001$. Honour Values Scale, Honour Ideology for Womanhood, Social Dominance Orientation, System Justification Scale, Gender and Age are covariates in the model. Items within scales that share a subscript were allowed to covary.