



INSTITUTO
UNIVERSITÁRIO
DE LISBOA

Understanding the Role of Descriptive Norms for Participation in Collective Action: The Case of the Housing Movement in Portugal

Joana Cidades

Master (MSc) in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

Supervisor: P.h.D. Sven Waldzus, Full Professor, ISCTE-IUL

October, 2024

Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

Understanding the Role of Descriptive Norms for Participation in
Collective Action: The Case of the Housing Movement in Portugal

Joana Cidades

Master (MSc) in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

Supervisor: P.h.D. Sven Waldzus, Full Professor, ISCTE-IUL

October, 2024

For the right to housing

Acknowledgments

My academic journey has made me realize how passionate I am about research. Despite the unexpected events along the way I am delighted about where this process has brought me.

First, I would like to thank my amazing supervisor Dr. Sven Waldzus for the guidance and availability throughout this last two years, as well as for all the trust, learning experiences and opportunities provided, and for keeping my feet on the ground and allowing me to dream big at the same time.

To my work team: Dra. Alice Ramos and Dr. Diogo Dinis, thank you for taking a little bit of weight of my shoulders in the finishing line, for adjusting our working tasks and meetings to allow me to focus on this dissertation. I've learned a lot while working with you, both personally and professionally in this past year.

To my incredible family, especially my parents and grandparents that joined their efforts which allowed me to continue my studies, thank you for believing in me and in my education. A special thank you to my mother and father who were always there for me, and to my grandmother who began this journey with me, but unfortunately will not see me finish. This is for you- I still don't drive, but I made it! I hope you are proud.

To all my friends. Thank you for supporting me in the best and most challenging year of my life. Without your patience, love and advices I would not have done it. I am lucky enough to have a strong social network and I would need to have an appendix to cite you all, but a special thank you to Marisa, Maria, João, Manel, Sofia, Lota, Matilde, Pedro, Laura, Inês, Maria and Tiago. You had a direct impact in this dissertation.

I also want to extend my appreciation to the MAIP students, Lena, Kyler, Bruna, Bruna, Leonardo, Gonçalo and Francisco who collaborated on this project with me for an entire semester, as well as to all the participants that took a little bit of their time to respond to the surveys and contribute to this work.

Last but not least, I would like to thank myself, and to all those who, although no longer in my life, have contributed to this journey. To all the music artists that made me company throughout this journey, specially to Mário Cotrim and Benito, and to the walls of every place that heard me thinking out loud.

Resumo

A Ação Coletiva (AC) é um motor fundamental para a mudança social. Investigações anteriores estabeleceram a identificação, a eficácia, a injustiça e a moralidade como preditores motivacionais das intenções de AC. Contudo, o papel da influência social e da adesão às normas sociais é pouco claro. Em duas experiências, adotando uma abordagem de métodos mistos e uma técnica de auto-persuasão, normas descritivas da participação no movimento pela habitação em Portugal foram manipuladas (Experiência 1: alta vs. baixa, N=235; Experiência 2: alta vs. controlo vs. baixa, N=330) e várias intenções de AC (geral, convencional, não normativa e violenta) foram medidas. Hipotetizamos que normas de participação mais elevadas conduzem a intenções de AC mais fortes e que esta relação é mediada pelos preditores do Modelo de Identidade Social da AC (SIMCA). Contrariamente ao esperado, não se registou um efeito total das normas descritivas nas intenções de participação; ainda assim, o efeito indireto global foi significativo em todas as medidas de AC e em ambos os estudos. Supreendentemente, evidenciaram-se efeitos indiretos específicos diferentes através da identificação com os ativistas na Experiência 1 e convicções morais na Experiência 2. A eficácia e a injustiça tiveram o efeitos fracos nas intenções de AC no contexto estudado. Uma vez que o grupo de referência afetado pelo problema da habitação diferiu entre os dois estudos, concluímos que o papel das normas descritivas no desencadeamento de preditores SIMCA específicos, que motivam a AC, pode depender do significado específico do contexto de pertença a grupos relevantes.

Palavras-Chave: Ação Coletiva, Normas Descritivas, *Dual-Chamber SIMCA Model*, Habitação, Portugal

Abstract

Collective Action (CA) has been considered a fundamental driver of social change starting at a grassroots level. Previous research established identification, efficacy, injustice, and morality as core motivational predictors of CA intentions. However, the role of social influence and social norm-adherence is less clear. In two experiments, using a mixed-method approach and a self-persuasion technique, we manipulated descriptive norms of participation in the housing movement in Portugal (Experiment 1: high vs low, N = 235; Experiment 2: high vs. control vs. low, N = 330), and measured several forms of CA intentions (i.e., general, conventional, non-normative and violent). We hypothesized that higher participation norms should lead to stronger CA intentions and that this relation is mediated by predictors of CA proposed by the Social Identity Model of CA (SIMCA). Contrary to our hypothesis, there was no total effect of descriptive norms on intentions to participate. However, the overall indirect effect was significant on all measures of CA in both studies. Surprisingly, different specific indirect effects were found via politicized identification with the movement's activists in Experiment 1 and via moral convictions in Experiment 2. Moreover, efficacy and injustice yielded weak effects on CA intentions in the studied context. As the reference group affected by shared grievance differed between the two studies, we conclude that the role of descriptive norms in triggering specific SIMCA factors motivating CA might depend on the context specific meaning of relevant group memberships.

Keywords: Collective Action, Descriptive Norms, Dual-Chamber SIMCA Model, Housing, Portugal

Index

Acknowledgments	iii
Resumo	v
Abstract	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Literature Review	3
1.1. Collective Action	3
1.2. Normative Influence in Collective Action	4
1.2.1. Descriptive Norms	5
1.3. Predictors of Collective Action- SIMCA Model	9
1.3.1. Identity	9
1.3.2. Morality	11
1.3.3. Injustice	12
1.3.4. Efficacy	12
1.3.4. Dual-Chamber Model	13
1.4. The Role of the Dual-Chamber Model in Normative Influence of CA	14
1.5. Portuguese Context	17
1.6. Current Study	19
1.7. Pilot Study	19
Chapter 2. Methods	23
2.1. Design	23
2.2. Participants	23
2.3. Procedure	25
2.4. Materials and Measures	26
2.4.1. Manipulation	28
2.4.2. Manipulation Check	28
2.4.3. Identification	28
2.4.4. Perceived Efficacy	28
2.4.5. Perceived Injustice	28
2.4.6. Moral Convictions	29

2.6.7.	Collective Action	29
2.6.8.	Normativity and Violence	29
2.6.9.	Control and Covariates	30
Chapter 3. Results		31
3.1.	Preliminary Quantitative Analysis	31
3.1.1.	Missing Data Imputation	31
3.1.2.	Descriptive Overview- Collective Action and SIMCA	31
3.1.3.	Normativity and Violent Character of Collective Action Behaviors	32
3.1.4.	Factor Analysis	33
3.1.5.	Manipulation Check	34
3.1.6.	Demographic Distributions	34
3.1.7.	Bivariate Correlations	34
3.2.	Mediation Model	35
3.3.	Preliminary Qualitative Analysis	39
3.3.1	High-Participation Norm	41
3.3.2	Low-Participation Norm	41
3.4.	Discussion Pilot Study	42
3.5.	Main Study	46
Chapter 4. Methods- Main Study		47
4.1.	Design	47
4.2.	Participants	47
4.3.	Procedure	47
4.4.	Materials and Adjusted Measures	48
4.4.1.	Manipulation	50
4.4.2.	Identification	50
4.4.3.	Perceived Efficacy	50
4.4.4.	Manipulation Check	50
Chapter 5. Results- Main Study		51
5.1.	Preliminary Quantitative Analysis	51
5.1.1.	Missing Data Imputation	51
5.1.2.	Descriptive Overview- Collective Action and SIMCA	51
5.1.3.	Factor Analysis	51

5.1.4.	Manipulation Check	52
5.1.5.	Demographic Distributions	52
5.1.6	Bivariate Correlations	53
5.2.	Mediation Model	54
5.2.1.	Exploratory Analysis of Efficacy as a Direct Mediator	57
5.3.	Preliminary Qualitative Analysis	58
5.3.1.	High-Participation Norm	58
5.3.2.	Low-Participation Norm	59
5.4.	Discussion Main Study	59
Chapter 6.	Discussion	61
6.2.	Limitation and Moving Forward	73
6.3.	Conclusion	77
References		80

Introduction

Even with the right to adequate housing guaranteed since 1976 with Art. 65. of the constitution, people that live in Portugal still face situations that violate this basic human right (Antunes, 2019). According to Pordata (2021), 25.2% of the Portuguese population still live under a roof that has inadequate conditions. Additionally, rents all over Portugal have increased on average by 50% since 2019 (INE, 2022) and people, in general, are having difficulties renting a house. Portugal is one of the countries in the European Union where the younger generation leaves their parents' homes the latest (Eurostat, 2023). Consequently, the housing movement demands the creation of public policies to ensure that everyone has access to decent and affordable habitation (Casa para Viver, n.d.).

One of the most effective instruments for social change is engaging in protest movements (Mannarini et al., 2009) and collective action (Selvanathan & Jetten, 2020). The global rise in social protests over the last decades (Leach et al., 2024; Ortiz et al., 2021) has compelled scholars across disciplines in developing theoretical and practical models in explaining why people participate and mobilize (Uluğ et al., 2022). Across the world, individuals participate in grassroots movements to fight for an issue that is relevant to them, and they feel that action must be taken (e.g., Sunflower Movement) (Hsiao, 2018), which can contemplate different tactics (e.g., pacific protests or violent protests) (Uysal et al., 2024).

The research presented in this dissertation has the goal to broaden the understanding of the engagement and intentions to participate in CA by examining the role of the typical behavior of others (i.e., descriptive social norms) in engagement in the housing movement that is currently happening in Portugal. Whereas the impact of several factors on CA, such as identification with groups of people that are affected by shared grievances, their perceived efficacy, perceived injustice, and moral convictions, is well established in the literature of CA (e.g., Agostini and van Zomeren, 2021), the influence of what we perceive others are doing, has in general been neglected so far and largely gone underexamined as a core factor for mobilization (e.g., Bamberg et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2021; Wallis & Loy, 2020).

The current research aims at addressing this gap. It proposes a more comprehensive framework combining the usually studied psychological motivations to engage in CA with social influence and social-norm adherence. The two studies (Pilot study and Main study) use an experimental mixed methodology (i.e., both qualitative and quantitative) to explain distinct forms of participation in the housing movement, analysing actions that range from conventional to violent behaviours.

CHAPTER 1

Literature Review

1.1. Collective Action

We are watching a rise in social movement participation and protests across the globe (Leach et al., 2024; Ortiz et al., 2021). Protests like those of the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) in the United States of America triggered by the murder of George Floyd (2020) or the student protest in Bangladesh against the government (2024) are only some examples of movements where people join to make their voices heard. Understanding the social-psychological conditions that lead people to engage in such action clarifies how mobilization affects not only national, but also international dynamics of the drive for social change (Uluğ et al., 2022).

In Social Psychology, an action undertaken by a group of individuals to achieve a common goal, improve, maintain or change the position of their own group (Wright et al., 1990; Wright, 2009) or outgroup (Radke et al., 2020) is called Collective Action (CA). Behaviors like attending protests, participating in public gatherings, or signing a petition can be categorized as such (Craig et al., 2020; van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). In the literature, we may encounter the differentiation between distinct forms of actions and behaviors within the scope of CA. Some authors define conventional actions as those that are peaceful and accepted constitutionally. Non-normative actions are those that might not follow what society considers acceptable, but that are not necessarily violent (e.g., occupying an empty building). Violent actions as those that encompass some form of violence and that may be extraconstitutional (e.g., setting a private building on fire). (Becker et al., 2011; Tausch et al., 2011). However, this distinction is not objective but rather partially subjective (Wright & Tropp, 2001). What a society or a group considers normative might differ according to the rules and norms established socially (Becker et al., 2011) and change according to the specific context, movement (Louis et al., 2020), and culture (Saavedra, 2020). Only recently, scholars started to consider how non-normative and more violent behaviors can arise within movements, even with the existence of a general societal norm that implicitly or explicitly implies that all forms of protests should be pacific to be legitimate (e.g., Saavedra & Drury, 2022, 2024). According to Uysal and colleagues (2024) individuals are prone to engage in those forms of actions especially when there are power imbalances between authorities and its participants, which has been reflecting the Portuguese reality in public manifestations (Soares et al., 2018).

Although significant progress has been made in social psychological theories related to CA over the past decade (see Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021), most of the existing literature focuses on conventional forms of action (Uysal et al., 2024), such as peaceful protests or signing petitions. However, there is the need to understand what potentiates a broader scope of actions in general in CA literature. Therefore, in the current study the measures of CA intentions cover all forms of CA, including general, conventional, non-normative and violent behaviors. Furthermore, this analysis gains relevancy because it contemplates how actors perceive and evaluate distinct actions in the Portuguese context within the housing movement, instead of just taking the *priori* definition of different behaviors.

1.2. Normative Influence in Collective Action

The role of social norms in influencing behavior is well-established in Social Psychology. Theoretical frameworks like Social Norms Theory (Cialdini et al., 1990; Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986; Sherif, 1936) and Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991) propose that the actions of members of relevant social groups provide guidelines for the appropriate behaviors and attitudes of ingroup members, impacting how individuals may behave. Therefore, explicitly or implicitly people are influenced by social norms that reduce uncertainty, ambiguity and regulate relationships (e.g., Cialdini et al., 1991). The literature on social influence predominantly conceptualizes and distinguishes two types of norms: descriptive (i.e., perceptions of others' typical behavior) and injunctive (i.e., perceptions of others' approval of behavior). Both have been found to predict diverse behaviors and attitudes that range from more mundane such as towel reuse (Bohner & Schluter, 2014) to more complex such as alcohol consumption (Lac & Donaldson, 2020; Rathbone et al., 2023), vegetable intake (Stok et al., 2014) or pro-environmental decisions (Collado et al., 2019). As some authors argue that injunctive norms have a stronger effect than descriptive norms in influencing behavior and attitudes (e.g., Smith & Louis, 2008), research on collective action has been focusing mostly on the former (Smith et al., 2021) if not disregarding norms in general. For instance, a recent meta-analysis and systematic review of social movements (SM) and collective behavior at large, including CA (e.g., riots) and crowd behaviors (e.g., festival gatherings), found that authors focus on different factors that influence participation in SMs (e.g., relative deprivation, efficacy, identity, emotions, moral beliefs and ideology) (da Costa et al., 2023), however only a few studies incorporated the role of descriptive norms.

Additionally, the systematic review conducted by Uysal and colleagues (2024) on distinct predictors of collective action revealed five recurring themes: identity, efficacy, injustice, emotions and norms. The last theme was strictly associated with moral norms, a concept also usually known as injunctive norms, demonstrating the strong interdependence between morality and injunctive norms in the CA literature. For instance, Rhee and colleagues (2019) in a theoretical paper described that morality and injunctive norms are indeed related to each other. Thus, the role of injunctive norms has partially been covered already by research on the impact of morality, but descriptive norms have not found a comparable interest in CA research. Therefore, we argue that the literature would benefit from analyzing CA with a focus on descriptive norms.

1.2.1. Descriptive Norms

Prior classical research has shown that, in a group situation, individuals have the tendency to look at others to know how to feel and act (Leyens & Yzerbyt, 2004; Sherif, 1951). Descriptive norms produce conformity (Cialdini et al., 2006), which generates perceptions of similarity and helps to reinforce group connections (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). Through the adherence to group norms, individuals get closer to the group prototype (i.e., the best example of the group membership category) (Haslam et al., 1995; Hogg & Reid, 2006), and feelings of resemblance and identification with the group are enhanced (Cárdenas & Verkuyten, 2020). Additionally, norm adherence allows to build strong ties and cooperation within the group (Irwin & Simpson, 2013; Rathbone et al., 2023), potentially satisfying one of the three important psychological needs (i.e., need for belonging and relatedness) that according to Deci and Ryan (2015) have to be satisfied to be intrinsically motivated.

The Self-Categorization Theory (Hogg & Reid, 2006; Turner et al., 1987) focuses on the condition in which people identify with groups, categorize themselves and manifest group behaviors. First, individuals need to perceive distinct categories in their environment that accentuate similarities within their group and differences between groups. By perceiving an ingroup norm individuals acquire information about the suitable form of conduct within their group, as well as infer information about a comparison group (Haslam et al., 1995). Therefore, group norms can be implied through behavioral regularities that are observed within distinct contexts (Pereira & Costa-Lopes, 2012). Turner and colleagues (1987) argue that the group norms correspond to the prototypes that establish expectations about the characteristics of group members and their normative fit within the category (Hogg & Reid, 2006). According to Pinto and colleagues (2012), a low normative fit arises, for example, when individuals do

not follow prototypical group behaviors, which may undermine the group membership. Moreover, when the identity of an individual becomes salient, this may activate a process of interdependence with the ingroup which increases the motivation to follow ingroup's norms (Pinto et al., 2012). Therefore, by aligning themselves with the prototype of their ingroup, individuals reinforce their sense of belonging and identity (Hogg, 2016). Additionally, to make sense of the world, individuals adjust their actions by maintaining a level of coherence with the group's values and expectations. By following the typical behavior of the group prototype, intragroup similarities are accentuated and, conversely, intergroup differences are contrasted (Spears, 2021), which signals membership in the group and social identity (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Furthermore, through this process of intergroup differentiation, group members that do not follow prototypical group behaviors can be evaluated negatively by their ingroup members (Marques & Paez, 1994).

According to Rimal and Real (2005) humans are influenced by the common behavior of others, specifically of those others who are similar to themselves, as they might see them as a reference to guide to their own actions (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), particularly in ambiguous and threatening situations (e.g., violent uprising in a protest). Social psychologists have found that as a norm becomes more salient, norm-consistent behavior increases (Cialdini and Goldstein 2004; Reno et al., 1993). In the context of our research that means that if people believe that participation in CA, such as those of the housing movement, is prototypical for a reference group with which they identify and if that self-categorization is salient, people should tend to participate more themselves.

As Smith and colleagues (2021) stated “As people see those around them take the streets, they may begin to view an action as worthwhile, and later take to the streets themselves” (p. 2). For instance, research on descriptive social norms suggests that emphasizing “that many do” is an effective message in political behaviors such as increasing voting intentions of infrequent or occasional voters (Gerber & Rogers, 2009). Mannarini and colleagues (2009) conducted interviews with activists and non-activists in Italy to assert what influences individuals to become protesters against the building of new railroads. Regarding social influence, two important unpredicted factors emerged: social embeddedness and social pressure exerted by the majority. Activists described how social networks constituted a channel of influence, reporting that people that they knew and were in direct contact with were involved in the mobilization. Conversely, the non-activists mentioned the lack of bonds within the movement. Additionally, it seemed that there existed some pressure to conform to the majority position about what the movement was defending, turning, therefore, protests into a desirable

behavior. Even though a subsequent quantitative study demonstrated that its effect was not that strong, the perception of the majority attitudes increased the probability of protesting. Moreover, Wallis and Loy (2021) in a correlational study analyzed the frequency of participation in the Fridays for Future project and suggested that perceived pro-environmental activism of friends was one of the strongest predictors of adolescents' pro-environmental activism. More recently, in a longitudinal study, Smith and colleagues (2021) illustrated that the frequency of participation of close social networks, such as friends and family, in social movements was positively related to change in social-movement participation across time. However, those authors only accessed collective action participation with a one item-measure, which may not be the most suitable to evaluate a multitude of behavioral expressions (Allen et al., 2022) such as the different forms of involvement that collective action protests may encompass.

The studies mentioned above provide preliminary evidence about the possible influence of descriptive norms on behavioral intentions to participate in future conventional collective action.

Furthermore, recent research started to consider a range of different behaviors (Uysal et al., 2024). In fact, two other studies conducted in Chile, which examined the role of intergenerational transmission of protest behaviors, asserted that conversations about politics in the family (Cornejo et al., 2021) and perceived descriptive norms of the family (Gonzalez et al., 2021), shape indirectly children's participation in actions that may include violence or are non-normative, via children's knowledge of parents' involvement and the perception that parents valued such participation.

Therefore, highlighting a descriptive high-participation norm (i.e., participation as commonly done behavior), compared to a descriptive low-participation norm (i.e., participation as uncommon behavior) may be instrumental in leading people to become more supportive and prompt to act using several strategies.

Social psychologists have been manipulating social norms for a long time. Overall, experimental studies on descriptive norms have been showing a "noticeable dispersion of effects" (Bergquist & Ejelöv, 2022, p.1). Results are quite widespread ranging from yielding positive effects of descriptive norms (Stok et al., 2014), to negative effects (e.g., Hassel & Wyler, 2019) to non-significant effects (Mollen et al., 2023; Rinscheid et al., 2021). In many of these studies descriptive norms were experimentally manipulated by providing participants with information about what similar others or prototypical group members are like or do. For instance, Stok and colleagues (2014) manipulated descriptive norms of peer vegetables

consumption demonstrating how the perceived behaviors of a reference group may directly influence individual eating habits.

Moreover, following the reasoning of Self-Categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), such manipulation could be even more effective if the self-categorization is made salient by presenting additional information that contrasts the ingroup from a relevant comparison outgroup (Haslam et al., 1995) (i.e., your group does this and the other group does not). Additionally, Bergquist and Elejöv (2022) found a stronger effect of descriptive norms when they were coupled with a self-persuasion technique (i.e., when participants, before making their own choice between two fabric softeners, had to provide explanations and arguments for choices that others had allegedly made before), compared to when participants were only informed about the descriptive norm. Adding a self-persuasive technique may be particularly effective because asking participants to provide their own arguments of a phenomenon may result in a self-persuasion process where participants convince themselves of what was stated through self-generated arguments that potentially match their own values (Petty & Cacciopo, 1986) and “tailor the information themselves” (Bergquist & Elejöv, 2022, p. 3). Besides, such technique has advantages not only because it might produce a stronger effect of the manipulation, but also because it provides additional relevant qualitative information. Uluğ and colleagues (2022), in a recent synthesis conducted to address the conceptual and methodological gaps in the field of CA research, encouraged scholars to incorporate both qualitative and quantitative analysis to enhance results robustness and uncovering potentially more complex and heterogeneous interpretations of different antecedents in CA.

We reasoned that such a methodology could also be used in the current research on the housing movement in Portugal. For instance, providing information that there exists a norm in a relevant reference group (e.g., nationality or age group, Dovidio et al., 2007) to fight for improvement in housing issues may increase individuals' intention to behave accordingly to that norm, an effect that may be enhanced with a self-persuasion technique. Moreover, the arguments produced by participants in the self-persuasion manipulation allow us to gather relevant qualitative information by uncovering participants' perceptions and reasonings around the housing movement.

To sum up this section, the social influence of descriptive norms on engagement in social movements has mainly been overlooked in the research, and the sparse existing research shows inconsistent results. Thus, testing the effect of descriptive norms on CA is necessary and should use improved techniques in the experimental manipulation, such as self-persuasion.

Also, to the best of our knowledge, there is no experimental psychological research examining the effect of descriptive high-participation norms on engagement in social movements related to housing problems, neither internationally nor in Portugal. Yet, understanding what motivates mobilization in the context of incidental or situation-based disadvantage (van Zomeren et al., 2008), such as the housing situation, is particularly important not only theoretically, but also in practical terms, because unlike structural disadvantages that often mobilize only affected minorities and their allies, incidental disadvantage has the potential to prompt a broader group of individuals to act (Kutlaca et al., 2016).

Therefore, we aim at filling both a theoretical and methodological gap by clarifying the role of descriptive social norms in distinct forms of action and testing a potential causal relationship.

1.3. Predictors of Collective Action- SIMCA model

The current research does not only intend to test the effect of descriptive norms on collective action but also intends to elaborate on the underlying processes that are mediating such a relation. Several theoretical models have been proposed to explain participation in CA (e.g., Klandermans, 1997; Thomas et al., 2009.). The one that is most cited and provides a comprehensive explanatory framework is called the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA) (van Zomeren 2008; Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). Evidence supporting the model is consistent across different cultural (e.g., not only in WEIRD countries, Henrich et al., 2010), political (i.e., both in democratic and non-democratic societies) and social (e.g., environmental movement) contexts (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; Uluğ et al., 2022). The SIMCA model has evolved over time and currently (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021) describes four predictors that have an effect on CA intentions: 1) Identity (e.g., identification with a movement and its actors, 2) Perceived Efficacy (e.g., the belief that together members of a group can achieve its goals in joint action), 3) Perceived Injustice (e.g., injustice appraisals and feelings such as anger about some shared grievance), and 4) Morality (e.g., that the societal structures or acts of powerful agents that make group members suffer violate the individual's core beliefs).

1.3.1. Identity

According to the Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), instead of acting as isolated individuals, people who identify with a group, in a context where that specific identity is meaningful and salient, align their behaviors and perceive themselves as members of that

group. Such consistency, in turn, contributes to emergent psychological group formation and enhances group members' identification (Hogg, 2016). Classical literature posits that members of a lower status or disadvantaged group need to perceive their relative status as illegitimate to internalize this group identity (Ellemers, 1993) and engage in CA behaviors to change this difference (i.e., social competition; Mummendey et al., 1999). Therefore, the concept of identification, a proxy of identity, (van Zomeren et al., 2018) has across the literature been considered an essential condition for individuals to engage in CA (van Zomeren et al., 2008; Agostini & van Zomeren., 2021). In SIMCA, identity is often conceptualized as politicized identification (i.e., identification with the movement activists) and non-politicized identification (i.e., identification with group affected by the shared grievance) (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). The former appears as the strongest predictor of CA (da Costa et al., 2023; Simon & Klandermans 2001; van Zomeren, 2008).

Most studies report that across different contexts and forms of actions, politicized identification positively influences participation in CA (Uysal et al., 2024; da Costa et al., 2023), although there is also empirical evidence (e.g., see Jimenez-Moya et al., 2015) of a negative association between identification and confrontational actions (i.e., non-normative and violent), presumably since those forms of action might potentially harm the image of the group and compromise what has already been accomplished. Nevertheless, we suggest that in the context of the current research individuals that have a high politicized identification around the movement and its actors will have higher intentions to participate across all housing movement expressions of behaviour. In the Portuguese context, authorities' retaliation is a reality in public protests (Soares et al., 2018). For instance, the politicization of the collective identity intensify engagement in hostile behaviour when a perceived outgroup turn into opponents (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). In the housing movement in particular, reported events demonstrated that the police has been responding with violent tactics, engaging in physical confrontations with some groups of protesters in the public manifestations (Santos & Neves, 2023). These tactics can influence the intensity of protests (Saavedra & Drury, 2019; Zúñiga et al., 2021) and participants may themselves resort to non-normative and violent escalation (Ayanian & Tausch, 2016). Therefore, we argue that identification with activists predicts all forms of collective action behaviours.

Even though non-politicized identification has usually a weaker association with CA intentions than politicized identification (van Zomeren et al., 2008), we would expect such an association in the context of the housing situation in Portugal, which we consider an incidental or a situation-based disadvantage (van Zomeren et al., 2008) that is affecting the whole country. If individuals identify themselves with the group that has been suffering the shared grievance (i.e., Portuguese people that cannot afford paying housing rents) or with the group represented by the person who is affected (i.e., a friend that lives in a house that does not have the adequate living conditions) there is reason to assume that they may have intentions to act to attenuate the suffering.

1.3.2. Morality

Some authors started to consider the role of advantaged groups in challenging social inequality through CA (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2011) which paved the way for the recent integration of morality in the SIMCA model, and, more specifically, moral convictions (Agostini and Van Zomeren, 2021), as a key psychological and one of the strongest predictors of CA (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2018). Moral convictions are conceptualized as one's attitudes on an issue that reflects one's own strong and absolute stance core beliefs (Skitka et al., 2005). These emotionally charged attitudes possess distinct characteristics, including objectivity, universality, motivational character and the status of being undeniable truths for individuals (Skitka, 2010). If people have moral convictions about an issue and these convictions are threatened, it is reasonable to assume that the perceived violation of these moral beliefs and principles might motivate them to engage in action to defend those core beliefs (Agostini and van Zomeren, 2021). Scholars started to consider systematically the role of morality (i.e., what individuals stand for, even if not directly affected by the grievance) (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2018) in analyzing how members of higher status groups can also identify with lower status groups. For instance, individuals that belong to an advantaged group in society engage in behaviors on behalf of the disadvantaged groups (Klavina & van Zomeren, 2018) and act in solidarity (e.g., Craig et al., 2020; Reimer et al., 2017) to protect what they stand for (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). Additionally, when individuals belonging to higher status groups perceive a particular advantage as immoral, this can elicit guilt which enhances their motivations to mobilize (Leach et al., 2006).

Furthermore, most of the research has found that increased moralization around an issue is an important antecedent of endorsement of both conventional and more confrontational CA (e.g., Pauls et al., 2021, Sabucedo et al., 2019; Louis et al., 2020). For the current research the

implication is that if people have moral convictions about housing problems or/and housing as a fundamental and universal human right and these convictions are threatened (e.g., when a government does not sufficiently control the renting prices), individuals may want to engage in CA within the housing movement to stand for those beliefs. Thus, the perceived violation of these moral beliefs and principles might motivate them to engage in CA of the housing movement.

1.3.3. Injustice

The classic Relative Deprivation theory proposed by Runciman in the 60s (Runciman, 1966) has highlighted the concept of shared grievances and disparities between groups or individuals and how they move to try to close the gap between what they have and believe they should have (Louis et al., 2020). Evidence across literature is consistent with the positive association between injustice and collective action, in general (see Sabucedo et al., 2019; Karampampas et al., 2020). Perceived injustice can arise from subjective experiences of group-based deprivation, a more material and instrumental conceptualization (e.g., the housing in Portugal is only accessible to people of higher status) and from the experience of anger because of this illegitimate unfair privilege, a more emotional pathway (e.g., feelings of outrage) (van Zomeren et al., 2008). This last affective dimension of injustice has a stronger effect on willingness to participate in CA (van Zomeren et al., 2008). However, it may be the case that, since the housing issue can be perpetrated as a matter of material and symbolic deprivation (Antunes, 2019), the non-affective path of perceived injustice (i.e., more instrumental motives) is equally relevant as the affective one, in explaining participation intentions in the Housing Movement.

1.3.4. Efficacy

Based on the classic theory of resource mobilization (e.g., McCarthy & Zald, 1977), the efficacy concept arises from the instrumental explanation that actors calculate the “gains” and “costs” before engaging in some kind of behavior (see Expectancy-value theory, Klandermans 1984). This perspective assumes that the individual is rational, and that CA is based on the aggregate of several individuals’ inputs, that perceive that they will get benefits from participating. In our research, efficacy, in predicting actions taken on behalf of the group or social movement itself, was conceptualized as group efficacy (Hsiao, 2018), instead of efficacy on a more individual level. That is, efficacy incorporates a group’s shared beliefs (Mummendey et al., 1999) and not only an individual belief in the organization and execution of an action

(Hamann et al., 2024). The impact of efficacy has yielded consistent results, regarding normative and non-violent CA (e.g. da Costa et al., 2023), being one of the strongest predictors of CA intentions. Perceiving the group as successful in achieving its goals (e.g., forcing the government to apply a law for maximum value for rent) motivates individuals to participate in conjoint conventional actions. However, how efficacy perceptions affect intentions to engage in violent and non-normative actions is less clear and sometimes results are even contradictory (Uysal et al., 2024).

In the present research, we expect to find a strong relationship between group efficacy and collective action intentions in general and conventional forms of behavior and pretend to empirically test the relationship between efficacy and other forms of action in this specific context.

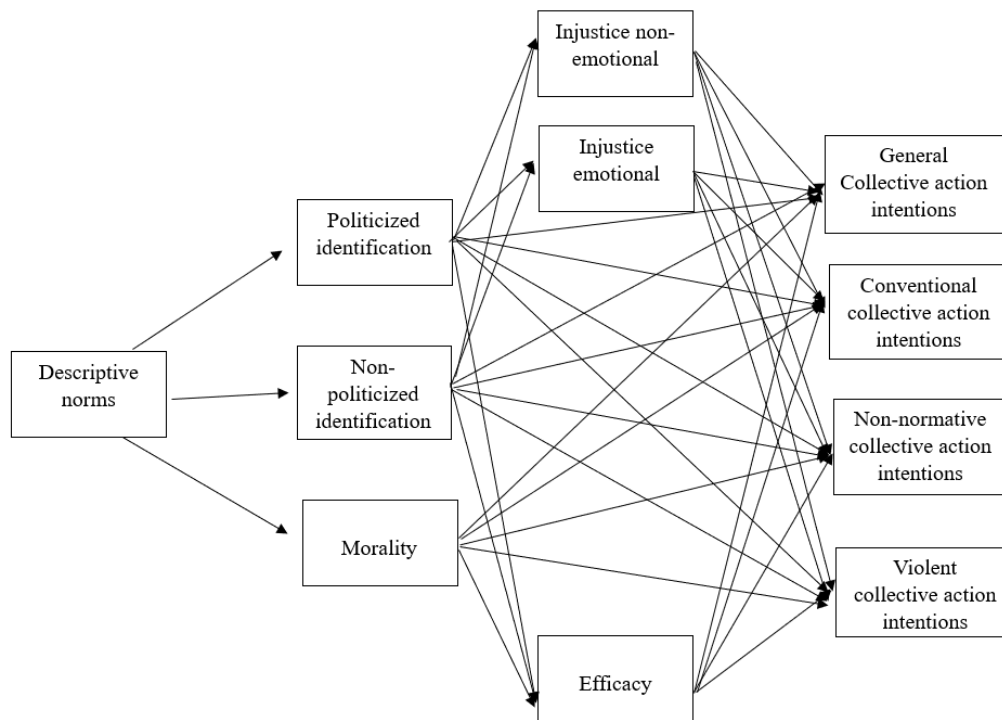
1.3.5. Dual-Chamber SIMCA Model

In 2008, Van Zomeren and colleagues established a theoretical model that was central to explain CA intentions in Social Psychology literature since then. As demonstrated in the previous section, the SIMCA model claims that identity, efficacy and injustice are core motivational antecedents' of CA behaviors, identification being the most relevant one. Those authors revealed that both efficacy and injustice can directly predict collective action intentions, as well as being mediators of the relationship between identification and CA readiness (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Later, the role of morality started being considered as another relevant dimension (van Zomeren et al., 2011, 2018) and several adaptations of the original three predictor-SIMCA model started to incorporate this concept. Most recently, Agostini and van Zomeren (2021), after a thorough metanalysis of quantitative studies in the literature, proposed defining morality and identity as the “protester’s beating heart” (p.3) and the core engine that fosters instrumental perceptions of efficacy and injustice that in turn facilitates CA intentions.

Specifically, those authors argued that identification and moral convictions were strongly related with each other, and that individuals may engage in CA because they considered not only what they are, but what they stand for (van Zomeren et al., 2018). Therefore, the most recently proposed SIMCA model (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021) – the Dual-Chamber Model - accounts for the variables described above, where high identification with a group and high moral convictions trigger injustice and efficacy perceptions, which in turn predict behavioral intentions to engage in CA. This model will serve as the base for the integration of descriptive norms in the collective action field (see Figure 1).

Figure 1.1

Conceptual Model



1.4. The Role of the Dual-Chamber Model in Normative Influence of Collective Action

Based on the theoretically and empirically robust Dual-Chamber Model of CA, we argue for the integration of descriptive norms, as a generally overlooked core antecedent.

It is well established that as people identify more strongly with a group, rather than as unique individuals, they become more motivated to act in line with the ingroup's norms (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Numerous studies examined how social identity influences normative adherence, through higher identification with the group (e.g., Hogg, 2016). For instance, Bamberg and colleagues (2018) summarized research on CA in the environmental domain and demonstrated how perception of social norms followed a strong social identity. However, the opposite influence (i.e., norms on identity) is less known. Postmes and colleagues (2005) demonstrated that, in small groups, identities can influence group processes and that these group processes (e.g., interaction and communication between members) can also play a role in structuring social identity. We believe that this may also happen in large crowds, such as protests for housing, where the interaction between individuals can foster a sense of shared

identity, which leads individuals to strongly identify with the group (Rathbone et al., 2023). On the other hand, if the individual perceives that a lot of people of their ingroup do some form of action (e.g., fighting constantly in protests for reducing rents) this may become the group prototype and the prototypical behavior to assume (Hogg & Reid, 2006) which can lead to the internalization of this identity and participating in CA becomes part of their social identity (Turner et al., 1987) in the public sphere, at least (Hogg & Vaugh, 2017). Recently, Rathbone and colleagues (2023), in a longitudinal study analyzing descriptive alcohol norms among peers in a mass gathering, established that greater norm adherence from participants peers affects group members' identification and that this relationship is context dependent and evolves over time. Considering that the housing movement in Portugal has been publicly active, we propose the same process. Additionally, Stok and colleagues (2014) suggested that providing information that a majority of people consumes vegetables, in comparison to a minority norm condition, increased the vegetable intake intentions of participants, a relationship that was mediated by self-identification. Whereas these results were obtained for individual level behavior (e.g., vegetable intake), analyzing this effect with regard to behavior in behalf of groups is valuable and informative for the CA literature. For instance, Irwin and Simpson (2013), in a social dilemma study with minimal groups asserted that individuals that were exposed to strong descriptive norms identified more with members of the group than the individuals that were exposed to weak descriptive norms. Therefore, we argue that the same effects occurs in a real-context where individuals join to fight for a common goal.

Because, according to the Dual Chamber Model (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021) identification should increase efficacy and injustice perceptions, we argue that the perceived typical behavior of others triggers a chain of effects via identification, efficacy and injustice on housing movement participation intentions. In addition, we propose that a similar effect occurs with moral convictions.

Despite the fact that in the moral norms' literature moral convictions are assumed to be perpetrated as stable, non-modifiable and consistent over time (Graham et al., 2011), some authors argue that under specific conditions individuals may alter their initial moral convictions. Lindström and colleagues (2018) have studied the stability and change of those norms and how they develop and change, demonstrating that they can be influenced by the commonness of an observed behavior. This entails that humans have the tendency to infer a moral value from the relative frequency of certain behavior. As moralization can be typically understood as the transformation of descriptive information into injunctive norms (i.e., most people do it, therefore it is the corrected behavior to do) (Morris & Liu, 2015), according to Rhee and colleagues (2019) receiving information regarding behaviors that constitute the descriptive norm may have a powerful effect on the degree to which they are perceived as moral. Eriksson and colleagues (2015) showed that frequency information influences individuals' own moral judgements and that an automatic association exists between "common" and "moral values". After the moralization of the movement, one might assume that strong and absolute stances on the moral issue (Skitka, 2010) arise and develop. In the context of the current research, for instance, receiving information that most of the young Portuguese are participating in the housing movement may trigger the moral status of the movement and its demands. Those processes may occur through behavioral conformity (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). If individuals identify and perceive themselves as similar to the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), but do not act accordingly, the perception of dissonance between the individual's behavior and their own attitudes and beliefs, which are shaped by the ingroup's prototype (Hogg & Smith, 2008), that is, something that is indeed felt like an undeniable truth for that specific social identity, they will adjust their behavior in order to reduce this dissonance and to fit to the group's moral beliefs and values (Turner et al., 1987) and, thus, behave like what is commonplace in their group (Monroe et al., 2018). Moreover, for the purpose of protecting the group's identity, group members may monitor compliance to its moral standards of acting (Ellemers et al., 2013) and evaluate negatively ingroup members that deviates the groups' norms to protect ingroup uniformity and coherence (Marques & Paez, 1994). However, Deutchmann and colleagues (2023) recently found that people update their own moral beliefs only to a small extent after receiving descriptive norms information, although they believe that others' moral beliefs are more readily influenced than their own. Only in one of five studies participants updated their own personal moral beliefs after receiving a strong descriptive norm. Nevertheless, we suspect that this weak effect of descriptive norms on moral beliefs may have occurred because the researchers did not use a reference group that

participants could potentially identify with in the manipulation. Instead, they addressed to the general population as, for example, in sentences like “80% of people are quiet in a library”. Therefore, we posit that this effect is enhanced by adding a reference group that participants can identify with. Moreover, adding a self-persuasion technique may strengthen the effect even further.

The links between morality and perceived injustice and efficacy are less studied compared to those of identification.

We propose a positive association also for morality. Strong moral convictions can amplify negative emotional reactions (Skitka, 2010), such as outrage, if challenged, because individuals deeply hold and protect core values and beliefs (Kutlaca et al., 2016; Mazzoni et al., 2015). Moreover, given that moral convictions are undeniable truths (Skitka et al., 2005), defending those convictions may foster a sense efficacy (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021).

This study explores the potential association between descriptive norms, the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model and CA intentions. Our aim is to unveil a potential causal pathway through which individuals reach different psychological motivations. Therefore, descriptive norms are conceptualized as a potential force of social influence that fuels and precedes the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model. This approach allow us to rely upon new variables that have been overlooked in the CA literature, as well as providing a bridge between different theoretical frameworks (i.e., social norm adherence, social influence and the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model).

Descriptive norms may trigger the “protester’s beating heart, both in terms of who “we” are and what “we” stand for” (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021, p. 22), that spurs emotional and instrumental motivations resulting in higher intentions to engage in CA in the housing context.

1.5. Portuguese Context

In general, Portugal has a long history of public conventional protesting and the social movement for housing is not a new one. Sociologists, Political Scientists and Historians have been studying Portugal’s unique culture and political characteristics related to the development of grassroot mobilization within this movement (e.g., Tulumelo et al., 2023; Tulumelo & Mendes, 2024).

Portugal was under an authoritarian regime until 1974. The fall of this regime was made possible with a peaceful non-bloody bottom-up movement facilitated by a military coup (Varela, 2019). Some authors also argue that the organization of informal clandestine student groups to fight for democracy (Accornero, 2021) and adequate housing, for the many people that lived in slums at that time (Ramos Pinto, 2015), ignite the overthrow of the dictatorship in Portugal. The urban rights movement, related to public space and housing, was central for creating collective identities of these groups to fight for several demands before and after the revolution of 1974 (Ramos Pinto, 2015; Accornero, 2021).

Later, another protest peak was between 2010 and 2012 after the implementation of austerity measures as a response to the financial crisis, which deeply affected not only housing, but several other sectors and policies in Portugal in general (Soeiro, 2014). One of those public protests counted with the participation of approximately 500.000 people (5% of the population in Portugal) and is considered the second largest (pacific) protest in Portugal after the carnation revolution (Baumgarten, 2013). One can say that activism and public protesting is considered as relatively safe in a democratic country, such as Portugal today, comparing with other countries (Ayanian et al., 2021). It is therefore not surprising that, since the time around the revolution, Portugal is marked by a tradition of engagement public protests and social movements. Most of the time, like in the examples mentioned above, these protests are peaceful. Nevertheless, more recently violence escalation and non-normative actions were reported from the two largest housing protests that occurred in Lisbon, where incidents and physical confrontations with the police occurred (Santos & Neves, 2023) and some protesters vandalized real estate agencies (Ferreira & Antunes, 2023). The housing movement still organizes public protests, the most recent one happened on 28th of September 2024 in 22 cities in Portugal and was mainly peaceful (Lusa, 2024).

Those events reported from Portugal's history are just some of the examples of the population's participation and the civil society's role in the active promotion of social change through group behavior. As demonstrated, the housing problem in Portugal is a long-standing issue; and it is still a pressing one today, albeit people engage with it with different nuances and forms of expression. Even so, despite being so present in the national reality, to the best of our knowledge there is no perspective from the point of view of the Social Psychology of CA that analyses what has fueled the social movement for housing.

Collective action, which may incorporate different forms, continues to be a relevant feature of political and social life. Therefore, explaining the mechanisms of grassroots in social change and understanding the psychological antecedents of protesters' behavior is relevant. Given that those behaviors may range from non-violent to violent or from non-normative to normative, what makes individuals' engage in the housing movement in Portugal has not only theoretical but practical importance.

1.6. Current Study

The current research seeks to investigate the link between descriptive social norms and collective action while considering the factors predicting CA participation that are proposed by the Dual-Chamber model, an updated version of the SIMCA model, as potential mediators. Specifically, we quantitatively analyzed the effects of an experimental manipulation of descriptive norms on the intentions of participation in general, conventional, non-normative and violent actions within the housing movement in Portugal. The manipulation used the presentation of false information combined with a self-persuasion technique. Moreover, we examined whether moral convictions and identification with the affected group or with activists mediate the effect of descriptive norms on collective action intentions (parallel mediation) and, whether this effect is additionally mediated also by efficacy and perceived injustice (three path sequential and parallel mediation). Lastly, we explored participants written responses from the self-persuasion task qualitatively. The research plan consisted of two different studies: a Pilot study and a Main study.

1.7. Pilot Study

In the Pilot study, we pretended to test if adding a self-persuasion technique (see Bergquist & Ejelöv, 2022) to information about descriptive norms proved effective in the manipulation, the suitability of the measures translated into Portuguese and to analyze in detail how participants evaluated the normativity and violence of different behaviors. In light of the evidence reported in the literature review section (e.g., Uysal et al., 2024) and several events that occurred within public protests in Portugal (e.g., police confrontation and vandalization of real estate buildings), it is crucial to grasp how Portuguese individuals may see different behaviours inside the housing movement, since what is conventional in one context, or to one group, can be seen as violent or non-normative in another, and vice versa (Louis et al., 2020).

Another objective of the Pilot Study was also a first test of the hypotheses of the current research. The concept that positive descriptive norms may have an impact on the participation in the housing movement and that this relation is mediated by the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model resulted in the following hypotheses:

Total effect of descriptive norms on collective action

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Providing information about descriptive high-participation norms, comparing to low-participation norms, predicts more engagement intentions in all different forms of participation in the housing movement (i.e., general (H1a), conventional (H1b), non-normative (H1c) and violent (H1d)).

Effect of descriptive norms on SIMCA-predictors

Considering the SIMCA model as a combination of several components (i.e., instrumental and emotional) (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2018) and the high correlation among them reported in the literature (e.g., Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021), we tested whether the combination of all components of the SIMCA model was affected by descriptive norms:

Hypothesis 2 (H2): The effect of providing information about descriptive high-participation norms, comparing to low participation norms, on the different forms of collective action intentions is mediated by the combination of predictors of collective action proposed by the SIMCA model.

Apart from this general hypothesis of a combined mediation by all SIMCA-factors, the current research also had to take into account that the Dual-Chamber model of collective action (i.e., the more recent version of the SIMCA-model, Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021) attributes different roles to the different SIMCA factors in a mediation chain. We therefore also tested specific hypotheses for each of the SIMCA factors. More precisely, to ascertain the individual impact of the variables that compose the SIMCA-model we hypothesized a specific pathway for each of them.

In light of recent empirical evidence (e.g., Rathbone et al., 2023; Lindström et al., 2018) regarding the potential effect of descriptives norms on identity and morality, we proposed that:

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Descriptive high-participation norms activate more politicized (H3a) and non-politicized (H3b) identification, as well as higher levels of moral convictions (H3c).

Simple mediation effects

As recent research results imply that morality and identity have the biggest influence on collective action intentions (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021), we believe that those are first level mediators of the effects of descriptive norms on collective action:

Hypothesis 4 (H4): Providing descriptive high-participation norms, comparing to low-participation norms, leads to stronger politicized identification (H3a), which in turn leads to more participation intentions in the housing movement. Thus, the effects predicted in H1a, b, c and d should be partially mediated by politicized identification.

Hypothesis 5 (H5): Providing descriptive high-participation norms, comparing to low-participation norms, increases non-politicized identification (H3b), which in turn leads to more participation intentions in the housing movement. Thus, the effects predicted in H1a, b, c and d should also be partially mediated by non-politicized identification.

Hypothesis 6 (H6): Providing descriptive high-participation norms, comparing to low-participation norms, increases moral convictions (H3c), which in turn lead to more participation intentions in the housing movement. Thus, the effects predicted in H1a, b, c and d should also be partially mediated by moral convictions.

Chain mediation effects

Furthermore, following the logic of the SIMCA-model (e.g., Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; van Zomeren et al., 2008) we hypothesize that the effects predicted in H3, H4 and H5 are themselves partially mediated by injustice appraisals, injustice emotions and efficacy perceptions:

Hypothesis 7 (H7): It is expected that descriptive high-participation norms activate stronger politicized identification (H3a) which in turn results in higher levels of perceived non-emotional injustice, injustice emotions and efficacy perceptions. Each of the latter three variables should lead to stronger intentions to participate in the housing movement. Thus, H7

predicts overall 12 possible chain mediations, four via non-emotional injustice, four via injustice emotions and four via efficacy perceptions.

Hypotheses 8 (H8) and 9 (H9) predict similar effects as those predicted in H7, with the only difference that the first step in the chains is a mediation by non-politicized identification (H8) and moral convictions (H9) instead of politicized identification.

Although these hypotheses can all be logically derived from the SIMCA model in combination with plausible effects of descriptive norms, with 40 predicted simple effects, resulting in 57 simple mediations and 36 chain mediations, this model is obviously very complex and would require that (1) descriptive norms are equally relevant for the three first-step mediators and (2) that all five SIMCA factors relate to each other as predicted in theory and are all relevant for predicting collective action in the studied context and (3) that effects are more or less similar for all four forms of collective action. As this is rather unlikely, the study has also an explorative character in the sense that it aims at testing which of the proposed hypotheses will be supported and which will not, for collective action participation in the housing movement in Portugal.

CHAPTER 2

Methods

2.1. Design

An experimental between-subjects design was used, where participants were randomly assigned to two distinct conditions: High-participation norm vs. Low-participation norm.

2.2. Participants

The adequate sample size for our analysis was previously calculated using Qin's (2023) shiny app, with the Monte Carlo confidence interval method, which revealed that to get a power of 0.8 a sample of 379 would be required. For that analysis, a small effect size (0.14) was considered between descriptive norms and collective action intentions (i.e., effect of X on Y) and descriptive norms on politicized identification, non-politicized identification and moral convictions (i.e., effect of X on M1), given the small amount of research in the area. A medium size effect (0.4) was estimated for the relationship between SIMCA variables and collective action intentions (i.e., effect of M1 and M2 on Y). The variance explained both in the mediators (i.e., politicized identification, non-politicized identification and moral convictions) and collective action intentions was estimated as 7%. No interaction between X and the mediators was assumed (0.00). The four covariates were accounted for in the calculations.¹

¹ Although the final model was slightly more complex, the model proposed in this power analysis was a mediation of the effect of a binary treatment variable (manipulation of descriptive norms) on one outcome variable (collective action tendencies) by all SIMCA variables. There was no easily available method to conduct power analysis for a three-step serial and parallel mediation with more than one dependent variable.

To respond to the study, participants needed to have at least 18 years and speak Portuguese. A total of 327 responses were collected. First, 62 participants responded to the questionnaire in a controlled environment, a psychology laboratory at ISCTE-IUL (LAPSO). The remaining participants responded to the questionnaire in an online setting and were recruited via snowball-sampling (n=265). For both the participants in LAPSO and the online participants the same Qualtrics software (2023) was used to collect the data. One participant did not accept to participate in the study. Except for some analyses using larger samples as explained in the results section (e.g., manipulation check), 92 participants were excluded, because they took less than four minutes (n=42) or more than two hours to respond (n=20),² or because they dropped out before responding to at least one item of the dependent variables (n=31). For those who responded to only some items in the collective action intentions measures, we opted to impute missing values at an item level (for more details see Results section). This resulted in a final sample of 235 participants. Two participants in manipulation wrote gibberish and random words. They were not excluded, given that they were exposed to the text information. Most of the participants identified as female, were young, highly educated (e.g., in this study no participant had an education level lower than high school) and with a perceived medium to high social status (see Table 2.1 for detailed overview of the sample).

² The minimum of four minutes was established when data were collected in the controlled environment of LAPSO, which allowed to establish the proper amount of time to complete the survey if participants were focused. The maximum time of two hours was chosen based on identification of outliers and assuming that after such a long time the manipulation cannot be expected to have any effect. For instance, according to Molden (2014) priming effects dissipate under distinct conditions and time between the cue given and the subsequent response influence the effect.

Table 1.1*Sociodemographic Characteristics*

	Total <i>N</i> = 235		Low norm condition <i>n</i> =107		High norm condition <i>n</i> =128	
Gender						
Female	159	67.7%	75	70.1%	84	65.6%
Male	69	29.4%	28	26.2%	41	32%
Non-Binary	4	1.7%	1	0.9%	3	2.3%
Other	1	0.4%	1	0.9%		
Prefer not say	2	0.8%	2	1.9%		
Age						
18 to 24 years	177	75.3%	80	74.8%	97	75.8%
25 to 34 years	29	12.3%	15	14%	14	10.9%
35 to 44 years	14	6%	6	5.6%	8	6.3%
45 to 54 years	8	3.4%	2	1.9%	6	4.7%
55 to 64 years	3	1.3%	1	0.9%	2	1.6%
+65 years	1	0.4%	1	0.9%		
Prefer not say	3	1.3%	2	1.8%	1	0.8%
Education						
Highschool	77	32.8%	36	33.6%	41	32%
Graduation	103	43.8%	46	43%	57	44.5%
Master's or PhD	50	21.3%	22	20.6%	28	21.9%
Other	1	0.4%			1	0.8%
Prefer not say	4	1.7%	3	2.8%	1	0.8%

2.3. Procedure

All materials were approved by ISCTE-IUL's ethics committee (125/2023). All the measures were translated to Portuguese, pretested among native Portuguese speakers and adapted to the housing movement. The data collection occurred first in LAPSO and then, two weeks later, the questionnaire was disseminated online. Participants were asked to read the research description carefully and to give their consent. No personal data was recorded, and the data collection assured confidentiality and anonymity (for details see Appendix A). Participation in the research was completely voluntary and LAPSO participants received course credits for their participation. The online participants did not receive any compensation. First, participants provided their demographic information and responded to the measures of potential covariates, such as perceived status, political orientation, trust in institutions and satisfaction with the country (for details see Appendix B). Then, they were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions: high-participation norm and low-participation norm and had to respond to an open question about a fictitious text that was different according to the condition. After that, participants responded to the manipulation

check and measures of the SIMCA variables (i.e., moral convictions, injustice grievances, emotional injustice, group efficacy, politicized identification and non-politicized identification), as well as collective action intention scales (for details see Appendix C to G). They were also asked to rate the behaviors listed in the measure of concrete collective action intentions in terms of their normativity and violent character (Appendix H). For each measure, except for the collective action intention scales and the sliders measuring normativity and violence, the order of the items was randomized. Finally, as a behavioral measure of collective action, participants were asked if they were interested in being volunteers for the housing movement and if so to provide their contact. In both options (clicking yes or no) participants were directed to the debriefing section (for details see Appendix J to K). No actual contact information was recorded. In the debriefing, all participants were informed that the text they read was false and that we had to create fictitious evidence for the experimental purpose of the study. Moreover, they were told that the questions they answered about behaviors considered illegal or violent do not imply that these behaviors are normative or acceptable. Finally, they were also informed that the study applied a deceiving technique and that we were only interested in understanding if they were ready to act. They were informed that there was no intention in actually collecting their personal contacts and that the study was independent of the housing movement (for details see Appendix K). After collecting the data, the software IBM SPSS 29 was used, as well as AMOS SPSS 29 and NVivo15.

2.4. Materials and Measures

Except where indicated, participants had to respond in 5-point Likert scale format that ranged from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree, composite variables were created using the mean of responses of the individual items and internal consistency analysis (see Table 2.2) were conducted given that all the measures were adapted not only to a different language, but also to a specific movement (see Appendix A-K). Except where indicated otherwise, all measures were adapted from the scales used in van Zomeren and colleagues (2012).

Table 2.2*Descriptive, correlations and internal consistency*

	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Descriptive norms	-	-	-															
2. Trust institutions	2.47	0.75	.05	(.78)														
3. Political orientation ³	6.59	2.28	-.05	-.10	-													
4. Perceived status	62.2	16	-.01	.12	.06	-												
5. Satisfaction	2.32	0.92	.07	.52**	.01	.12	(.64)											
6. Manipulation check	3.14	0.63	.13*	-.06	.25**	.08	-.11	(.75)										
7. Politicized identification	3.36	0.9	.13*	-.08	.41**	-.11	-.06	.43**	(.84)									
8. Non-politicized identification	3.19	0.94	.03	-.03	.13	-.14*	-.06	.18**	.51**	(.81)								
9. Morality	3.65	0.77	.10	-.09	.32**	-.07	-.06	.40**	.54**	.32**	(.79)							
10. Emotional injustice	4	0.94	.003	-.20**	.24**	-.06	-.26**	.24**	.39**	.25**	.43**	(.86)						
11. Non-emotional injustice	4.3	0.66	.04	-.14*	.35**	-.09	-.15*	.15*	.36**	.21**	.46**	.55**	(.65)					
12. Efficacy	3.75	0.79	.01	-.06	.29**	-.03	-.02	.13*	.29**	.14*	.27**	.19**	.22**	(.81)				
13. CA general	3.31	0.94	-.06	-.12	.33**	-.01	-.19**	.33**	.59**	.27**	.45**	.27**	.27**	.32**	(.84)			
14. CA conventional	3.39	0.9	-.06	-.08	.39**	-.01	-.14*	.33**	.63**	.34**	.50**	.42**	.33**	.30**	.72**	(.81)		
15. CA non-normative	1.97	1.01	-.01	-.30**	.37**	-.06	-.25**	.23**	.45**	.15*	.28**	.30**	.21**	.30**	.44**	.55**	(.88)	
16. CA violent	1.56	0.9	.01	-.33**	.33**	-.03	-.16*	.18**	.30**	.07	.21**	.21**	.13	.24**	.27**	.37**	.79**	(.88)

Note. Cronbach's Alpha in the diagonal. ³ (0-10) Higher values correspond to a more left-wing orientation.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

2.4.1. Manipulation

Participants were randomly assigned to two conditions. In the high-participation norm condition [low-participation norm condition], they were instructed to read carefully a text that introduced the housing situation in Portugal and stated that recent empirical evidence in the psychology literature has allegedly shown that young Portuguese people is one of the groups that is affected most by the housing situation and [but] that young people in Portugal are the most [less] active age group in the housing movement. All the texts were manufactured from scratch. After reading the text, participants were asked to type into an open text-field what were the reasons behind this higher [lower] participation, compared to the other group and why (see Appendix C and D for detail texts). Participants would have to write at least 100 characters to advance in the survey.

2.4.2. Manipulation Check

As a manipulation check, participants had to estimate their close online network's participation in the housing movement in five items (e.g., "I think that my online acquaintances actively participate in the housing movement") on a scale that ranged from 1=completely false to 5=completely true. We developed this scale based on descriptive norms literature (e.g., Glynn et al., 2009; Passy & Guigni, 2001; Smith et al., 2021) and anchoring bias in normative influence (e.g., Hysenbelli et al., 2013; Verhallen et al., 2018). All the items created were adapted for the housing context.

2.4.3. Identification

Identification was measured using two subscales: politicized identification and non-politicized identification to capture the identification with the movement and with the potentially affected group, respectively (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). Politicized identification was operationalized as an "activist identification" with the movement (e.g., "I see myself as an activist of the housing movement") and non-politicized identification was operationalized using the term *tenant* (e.g., "I identify with tenants"). Both scales had 4 items each.

2.4.4. Perceived Efficacy

Efficacy was measured with items that assessed group efficacy using four items (e.g., "As tenants I believe that we can change this situation together").

2.4.5. Perceived Injustice

Injustice was measured as an affective experience of injustice that included feelings of anger using three items (e.g., “I feel angry about the price of rents”), and non-affective perception of injustice, using four items (e.g., “The rise of rents is justified”, reversed coded). The latter was adapted from Tausch and colleagues (2011). High values correspond to high levels of injustice.

2.4.6. Moral Convictions

Adapted for housing issues, six moral conviction items covered the moralization of the inaccessibility and universal values of housing (e.g., “My opinion about increased rents in Portugal are an important part of my moral norms and values”).

2.4.7. Collective Action

To measure tendencies of future participation in the housing movement several measures were used. General forms of action were measured using four items (e.g., willingness to spend time with the movement) that were created based on literature of voluntary work (e.g., Jones, 2006; Lay et al., 2020). Additionally, adapted from Chan and colleagues (2017) and Tausch and colleagues (2011), intentions to engage in twelve concrete activities were measured, divided into three subscales: These activities comprehended five conventional actions (e.g., signing a petition), three violent behaviors (e.g., fighting with the police) and four non-violent but non-normative behaviors (e.g., occupy an empty building). Initially, those distinctions were based on previous literature (e.g., Tausch et al., 2011, Louis et al., 2020) and the specific behaviors were framed accordingly to actions related to housing and that occurred in housing protests in Portugal. A behavioral measure was also incorporated in the survey. Participants were asked in a dichotomic question if they had interest in sharing their contact information to volunteer and engage with the organizations that are part of the movement.

2.4.8. Normativity and Violence

Participants were asked to indicate the acceptance⁴ and violence of the twelve concrete behaviors shown in the collective action intentions scale on a slider (0-100%) and on a dichotomic scale (e.g., sharing a social media post 1=yes; 2=no; 3= does not apply).

⁴ Participants were asked to indicate if the actions demonstrated were [not] accepted socially. Given the definitions (e.g., Tausch et al., 2011) provided in the literature review section and that people may not know what the term “normative action” means, we believe that the concept of socially acceptable (used in the common sense) taps into what social scientists use in the scientific sense as normativity.

2.4.9. Control and Covariates

As control variables we measured gender (1=Female, 2=Male, 3=Non-binary, 4=Other), age, where participants had to choose among aggregated age groups (e.g., 18 to 24 years, 25 to 34 years), and education, which was operationalized as their highest achieved level (e.g., high school level). All control measures had a “Prefer not to say” option.

According to literature, political orientation (e.g., Kostelka & Ronvy, 2019), perceived social status (e.g., Nyambe et al., 2024), trust in institutions and satisfaction with the country (e.g., Portos & Masulo, 2017) are related to collective action intentions, and therefore were used as covariates. Political orientation was measured on a single item using a 11-point Likert scale where high values corresponded to a more left-wing orientation. Perceived status was operationalized as participants’ perceived social status. Participants had to evaluate on a continuous slider (ranging from 0 to 100%) their perceived situation, where 0 corresponded to people that are in the worst situation, have less money, less education and worst jobs. The last two measures were adopted from the source questionnaire of the European Social Survey (2023), where trust in institutions ranged from 1= no trust at all to 5= complete trust (e.g., in politicians) and satisfaction with the country measuring satisfaction with democracy and satisfactions with the government.

CHAPTER 3

Results

Statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS 29 and AMOS29. Before testing our hypotheses in the mediation model, we run preliminary tests, such as bivariate correlations between our main variables of interest, independent Student's t-tests, to verify the relationship between the behavioral measure and the other CA measures, as well as the SIMCA factors, efficacy of the manipulation and, to determine if the groups were demographically different between conditions. Except where indicated otherwise, all the analyses were conducted using bootstrapping method with 1000 bootstrap-samples and estimated 95% confidence intervals using percentile method to ensure more robustness and parametric testing (Hayes, 2009). Table 2.2 shows descriptive statistics (i.e., means and standard deviations), correlations and reliabilities for all variables of interest. An exploratory surface-level/preliminary qualitative analysis of written responses was performed using NVivo.

3.1. Preliminary Quantitative Analysis

3.1.1. Missing Data Imputation

After applying the filter-criteria described in the Participants section, the data were screened for missing values using SPSS 29. Including all available data in the analysis, Little's missing completely at random (MCAR) test (Little & Rubin, 2019) demonstrated that data was missing completely at random, as Little's MCAR test was not significant, $\chi^2(1121, N = 235) = 1158.78$, $p = .211$. As such, missing values were replaced using the Expectation Maximization method (EM) of SPSS, which maximizes the likelihood of the imputed value with a 2-step iterative model (Graham, 2009). Opting for a deletion-based treatment would have resulted in losing information of participants, which would have compromised the statistical validity and power analysis, if listwise deletion was used (Lang & Little, 2018) or yield interpretation problems, if pairwise deletion was used (Graham, 2009). Data was imputed at the item level.

3.1.2. Descriptive Overview- Collective Action

The overall sample reported higher levels of willingness to participate in conventional and general forms of action compared to non-normative and violent behaviors. Only 31.3% of participants wanted to provide their contact information for being volunteers in the housing movement. Nevertheless, participants who chose to provide their contacts reported

significantly higher values for all CA measures, namely general $t(182.77) = 10.80, p = <.001$, 95% $CI [0.90, 1.32]$, conventional $t(177.21) = 9.06, p = <.001$, 95% $CI [0.73, 1.60]$, non-normative $t(106.15) = 4.98, p = <.001$, 95% $CI [0.46, 1.10]$ and violent $t(108.58) = 2.96, p = .008$, 95% $CI [0.16, 0.71]$. These results speak for the validity of measuring behavioral intentions as a proxy for participation in CA. A Chi-square test suggested that there was no evidence of a difference on the behavioral measure between conditions, $\chi^2(1, N = 218) = 1.781, p = .182$. This implies that participants in the high-participation condition did not want to provide their contact information more than the participants in the low-participation condition. Moreover, student's t -test ($N=218$)⁵ were conducted to grasp its relationship with our other variables of interest (i.e., SIMCA model). Results suggested that participants that wanted to provide their contact information reported significantly higher levels of politicized identification ($t(216) = 5.86, p = <.001$, 95% $CI [0.49, 0.97]$), higher levels of moral conviction $t(216) = 3.37, p = .002$, 95% $CI [0.17, 0.60]$ and higher levels of both injustice appraisals $t(146.94) = 3.32, p = .002$, 95% $CI [0.11, 0.47]$ and emotional injustice $t(178.20) = 3.84, p = <.001$, 95% $CI [0.21, 0.69]$ compared to the participants that did not want to provide their contact information. There were no significant differences in the behavioral measure regarding non politicized identification ($t(216) = 1.91, p = 0.08$, 95% $CI [-0.03, 0.54]$). Nevertheless, we did not run mediation analysis on the behavioral measure, because on the one hand, the pattern of relations to the other variables corresponded to the pattern shown by the behavioral intention scales rendering such mediation analysis largely redundant and, on the other hand, calculating indirect effects on dichotomous outcome variables requires more difficult and complex analyses than the path analyses used in the current research.

Overall, the mean responses on the other measures were situated slightly above the mid-point of the scale, except for injustice where participants reported high levels, especially in non-emotional injustice, almost reaching the highest point in the scale (see Table 2.2). In this study, participants identified more with activists of the movement ($M = 3.36, SD = 0.90$) than with tenants ($M = 3.19, SD = 0.94$), $t(235) = 2.85, p = 0.007, CI [0.04, 0.28]$.

3.1.3. Normativity and Violent Character of Concrete Collective Action Behaviors

First, we conducted an exploratory analysis of the frequencies of responses participants provided about the evaluation of violence and normativity of the behaviors measured in the

⁵ Data imputation with this measure was not performed given the dichotomic nature of the behavioral measure. The analysis was conducted using a pair-wise deletion.

collective action willingness scale. In terms of normativity, participants made a clear distinction between conventional forms of action and other forms (i.e., non-normative and violent) which was in line with the original classification in the design of the measure, which was based on previous research (e.g., Chan et al., 2017; Tausch et al., 2011). On the other hand, there was a difference in the evaluation of the degree of violence between what we originally classified as non-normative behaviors and violent behaviors, demonstrating that in the housing movement participants evaluate and distinguish those actions. However, some nuances were found. Particularly, there was no agreement among participants about whether non-normative actions should be considered violent or not. For example, more than 30% of the participants considered occupying an empty building and 60%, counter protest as violent (see Appendix L for a detailed description). A similar pattern was found for the responses on the slider-measures (see Appendix M).

3.1.4. Factor Analysis

Both slider and dichotomic responses point towards the differentiation between conventional, non-normative and violent forms. However, an exploratory factor analysis of the intentions to engage in concrete collective actions in SPSS using the Maximum Likelihood Extraction method and Direct Oblimin rotation, revealed that the twelve items measured only two factors, based on scree-plot analysis and the Kaiser criterion. The first factor included items that covered non-normative and violent behaviors and explained 46.5% of the variance and the second factor, the items related to conventional forms of actions, explaining 12.4% of variance. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test indicated that the sample was adequate for conducting the factor analysis ($KMO = .89$; See appendix N for details).

Confronted with these contradictory results, we decided to conduct a confirmatory factor analysis in AMOS29 to uncover which model (i.e., two-factors or three-factors) fits the data better and to ascertain whether the structure that was found in the responses to the slider and dichotomic measures, namely three different types of actions, corresponded to the factor structure of the measures of the collective action tendencies. The results clearly showed that the three-factor solution ($\chi^2 = 137.6$, $df = 51$, $p < .001$; $CFI = .95$, $RMSEA = .085$) fitted the data much better ($\Delta\chi^2 = 60.2$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) than the two-factor solution ($\chi^2 = 197.8$, $df = 52$, $p < .001$; $CFI = .92$, $RMSEA = .109$). Thus, considering the evaluation of normativity and violence by the participants and the confirmatory factor analysis on the CA intentions, 3 subscales were created.

3.1.5. Manipulation Check

An independent sample t-test was run to test the effectiveness of the manipulation. First, mean differences in the experimental conditions were conducted with the final sample and the effect was only marginal, $t(199.35) = -1.81$, $p = .07$, 95% $CI [-0.32, 0.01]$, $\eta^2 = 0.014$, where participants in the high-participation norm condition ($M = 3.21$, $SD = 0.55$) estimated that their online network engages more in the housing movement, compared with participants in the low-participation norm condition ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 0.70$). Facing this result, we conducted the same analysis with all participants that provided written responses and that fully responded to the manipulation check scale ($N = 250$), given that the sample size we obtained did not reach the desired number estimated in the power-analysis. Even though, once again, the effect was very small, the results reached significance and indicated that participants in the high-participation norm condition ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.55$) estimated that their online acquaintances participate more in the housing movement, compared with participants in the low-participation norm condition ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 0.71$), $t(215.89) = -1.99$, $p = .043$, 95% $CI [-0.320, -0.002]$, $\eta^2 = .016$. Given that in manipulation checks Type II error is more of a concern than Type I error, and that the measure with its reference to participants' concrete social network implied a considerable conceptual distance to the manipulation itself, we concluded that the manipulation was effective.

3.1.6. Demographic distributions

T-tests were also performed to check for differences and distribution regarding demographic characteristics, such as age ($N = 232$) and education ($N = 231$). Results indicated that there were no significant statistical differences for age, $t(230) = -0.343$, $p = .732$, 95% $CI [-0.26, 0.18]$, or education, $t(229) = -0.485$, $p = .628$, 95% $CI [-0.24, 0.15]$, between the two experimental groups. A Chi-square test also suggested that there was no evidence of a different distribution of gender between conditions, $\chi^2(1, N = 228) = 0.844$, $p = .358$.⁶

3.1.7. Bivariate Correlations

⁶ The t-tests were performed after filtering out participants and before data imputation in demographic variables and therefore with different sample sizes because of different numbers of missing values. In addition, for simplification purposes the gender analysis only considered male and female responses, given the small number of participants that identified with other genders.

All SIMCA variables were moderately correlated among each other, and with some exceptions also with the measures of the collective action scales. Whereas the measure of descriptive norms in the online social circle (manipulation check) was significantly and positively correlated with all SIMCA and collective action measures, the manipulation of descriptive norms had only a significant positive correlation with politicized identification, which was significantly highly correlated with all the collective action willingness measures. Most importantly, correlation coefficients indicated that the manipulation of descriptive norms was not correlated with any of the collective action scales, which may indicate that there is no strong causal effect of descriptive norms on collective action behaviors in the housing movement. Finally, and important for the subsequent analyses, all four covariates were significantly correlated with several of the SIMCA and collective action measures, with strongest correlations shown by political orientation (Table 2.2). This result was expected, given the current social and political relevance of the housing question and the housing movement. It implies that there are significant interindividual differences that depend on the participants' social and political positioning, which are unlikely to be affected by the relatively subtle manipulation. Therefore, these covariates were statistically controlled in the subsequent model test.

3.2. Mediation Model

Path analysis was used to test the integration of descriptive norms into the model proposed by Agostini and van Zomeren (2021) on the data of the pilot study (see Figure 1). Using AMOS 29, our path model hypothesized that politicized and non-politicized identification, as well as moral convictions predict directly and indirectly, via efficacy and injustice, several forms of collective action tendencies. Both identification dimensions and moral convictions were hypothesized to be predicted by the descriptive norms manipulation. In addition to the estimation of the hypothesized effects, the model also estimated effects of all four covariates on all mediators and collective action measures (see Appendix O). Correlations between general, conventional, non-normative and violent forms of collective action were permitted, as were correlations between the two identification measures and of both of them with morality, between the two injustice measures and of both of them with efficacy, and among the four covariates. According to conventional criteria (e.g., Byrne, 2010), the model almost perfectly fitted the data ($\chi^2 = 2.33.88$, $df = 7$, $p = .94$; $CFI = 1$, $GFI = .999$, $RMSEA < .001$).

Total Effect of descriptive norms on collective action intentions

Contrary to the predictions, H1 was not supported, given that parameter estimates demonstrated that there was no total effect of descriptive norms on any of the measures of collective action intentions (Table 3.1). Nevertheless, we proceeded to test the indirect effects given that, according to Agler and De Boeck (2017), it is plausible to test an indirect effect in the absence of a total effect if there is an a priori hypothesis.

Table 3.1

Total effects of descriptive norms on collective action intentions (N=235)

Hypothesis	Paths between variables		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H1a	Descriptive norms	General CA	-0.06	0.12	[-0.31, 0.16]
H1b		Conventional CA	-0.05	0.10	[-0.27, 0.13]
H1c		Non-normative CA	0.04	0.12	[-0.20, 0.26]
H1d		Violent CA	0.06	0.11	[-0.19, 0.29]

Overall Indirect Effect

The overall indirect effects of descriptive norms on general ($B = 0.182$, $SE = 0.07$, CI [0.04, 0.32], $p = .008$), conventional ($B = 0.172$, $SE = 0.07$, CI [0.04, 0.31], $p = .01$), non-normative ($B = 0.113$, $SE = 0.05$, CI [0.02, 0.22], $p = .017$) and violent ($B = 0.059$, $SE = 0.03$, CI [0.00, 0.14], $p = .037$) collective action intentions via the combination of all factors proposed by the SIMCA model were significant, and, therefore, H2 was fully supported.

Direct Effects of Descriptive Norms on Identification and Morality

Additionally, consistent with hypothesis H3, the manipulation of descriptive norms influenced significantly politicized identification (H3a) and had a marginal effect on morality ($p = .053$) (H3c) in the predicted direction. Conversely, there was no significant effect on non-politicized identification (H3b) (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2

Direct effects of descriptive norms on identification and morality (N=235)

Hypothesis	Paths between variables		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H3a	Descriptive norms	Politicized	0.27*	0.11	[0.04, 0.48]
H3b		Non-Politicized	0.07	0.12	[-0.17, 0.31]
H3c		Morality	0.19	0.10	[-0.00, 0.39]

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Preliminary analysis of the SIMCA model and tests of chain mediations (H7-9)

Of all the measures of the SIMCA model, politicized identification was the only variable that predicted all four measures of collective action intentions. It also had a significant positive direct effect on emotional injustice, but not on non-emotional injustice grievances. Moreover, morality was associated with both forms of injustice and had a significant positive effect on general and conventional forms of collective action, but not on non-normative or violent collective action. Neither morality nor politicized identification predicted efficacy. Non-politicized identification was not significantly associated with any of the other SIMCA variables or with collective action intentions. Efficacy had weak but significant positive effects on general and non-normative collective action only, and none of the injustice measures was significantly related to collective action (Table 3.3). Preliminary tests of the indirect effects of morality, politicized and non-politicized identification via efficacy and injustice perceptions/emotions on the measures of collective action, which are predicted by the dual-chamber SIMCA model, showed that none of these indirect effects was significant (see Appendix P), presumably because of the weak effects of efficacy and injustice on the dependent variables. As a result, none of the predicted chain mediations (H7, 8 and 9) was significant either (see Appendix Q).

Table 3.3*SIMCA variable relationships*

Paths between variables		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Politicized identification	Emotional injustice	0.20**	0.08	[0.07, 0.36]
	Non-Emotional	0.05	0.05	[-0.07, 0.15]
	Efficacy	0.12	0.08	[-0.04, 0.27]
	General CA	0.53**	0.09	[0.35, 0.70]
	Conventional CA	0.44**	0.07	[0.29, 0.56]
	Non-normative CA	0.41**	0.08	[0.27, 0.56]
	Violent CA	0.21**	0.08	[0.36, 0.07]
Non-Politicized	Emotional injustice	0.05	0.05	[0.07, 0.73]
	Non-Emotional	0.02	0.06	[0.05, 0.48]
	Efficacy	-0.003	0.07	[-0.13, 0.13]
	General CA	-0.05	0.06	[-0.17, 0.09]
	Conventional CA	0.006	0.05	[-0.01, 0.11]
	Non-normative CA	-0.10	0.07	[-0.24, 0.04]
	Violent CA	-0.09	0.07	[-0.23, 0.06]
Moral	Emotional injustice	0.35**	0.08	[0.20, 0.51]
	Non-Emotional	0.30**	0.06	[0.17, 0.41]
	Efficacy	0.14	0.09	[-0.02, 0.32]
	General CA	0.23**	0.08	[0.08, 0.39]
	Conventional CA	0.20*	0.08	[0.05, 0.35]
	Non-normative CA	0.01	0.10	[-0.19, 0.18]
	Violent CA	0.04	0.09	[-0.14, 0.20]
Emotional injustice	General CA	-0.07	0.08	[-0.24, 0.09]
	Conventional CA	0.14	0.08	[-0.02, 0.29]
	Non-normative CA	0.09	0.07	[-0.07, 0.22]
	Violent CA	0.07	0.07	[-0.07, 0.20]
Non-emotional injustice	General CA	-0.02	0.11	[-0.21, 0.20]
	Conventional CA	-0.06	0.11	[-0.27, 0.17]
	Non-normative CA	-0.14	0.12	[-0.37, 0.10]
	Violent CA	-0.19	0.11	[-0.41, 0.05]
Efficacy	General CA	0.16*	0.07	[0.08, 0.29]
	Conventional CA	0.09	0.07	[-0.06, 0.21]
	Non-normative CA	0.17*	0.07	[0.02, 0.32]
	Violent CA	0.13	0.07	[-0.01, 0.25]

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Indirect Effects of Descriptive Norms

Moreover, we tested the predicted indirect effects of the descriptive norms manipulation on all forms of collective action, via politicized identification and via morality given the significant or marginal associations among these variables. The results had already shown that participants in the descriptive high-participation norm condition reported higher levels of politicized

identification, which in turn positively predicted all forms of collective action intentions. As a result, all four indirect effects of descriptive norms via politicized identification on the four measures of collective action were positive and significant, supporting H4 in general. The indirect effects of descriptive norms via morality were not significant, not even those on general ($p = .059$) and conventional ($p = .069$) collective action tendencies, and therefore, H6 was not supported (Table 3.4). H5 was not supported given the lack of the descriptive norms effect on non-politicized identification (see Appendix Q).

Furthermore, unexpectedly, we found significant negative direct effects of the descriptive norms manipulation on conventional ($B = -0.23$, $SE = 0.08$, $CI [-0.39, -0.07]$, $p = .002$) and general ($B = -0.25$, $SE = 0.09$, $CI [-0.43, -0.06]$, $p = .01$) collective action tendencies. Note, however, that these effects only occurred when statistically controlling all positive indirect effects via the mediators. These direct effects were not significant on non-normative ($B = -0.07$, $SE = 0.12$, $CI [-0.31, 0.14]$, $p = .529$) and violent forms of action ($B = 0.00$, $SE = 0.11$, $CI [-0.29, 0.22]$, $p = .999$).

All of these results were obtained while controlling trust in institutions, satisfaction with country, political orientation and perceived social status as covariates.

Table 3.4

Indirect effects of descriptive norms on collective action intentions via politicized identification and moral convictions (N=235)

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized Identification	0.14*	0.06	[0.02,0.26]
	->General CA			
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized Identification	0.12*	0.05	[0.02,0.22]
	->Conventional CA			
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized Identification	0.11*	0.05	[0.02,0.20]
	->Non-normative CA			
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized Identification	0.06*	0.03	[0.004,0.130]
	->Violent CA			
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->General CA	0.040	0.030	[-0.001,0.200]
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Conventional CA	0.040	0.030	[-0.002,0.100]
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Non-normative CA	0.001	0.020	[-0.040,0.050]
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Violent CA	0.01	0.02	[-0.03,0.05]

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

3.3. Preliminary Qualitative Analysis

Lastly, we explored the written responses to the open-ended questions in the manipulation to have a grasp of participants' perceptions about the housing movement. Participants were asked to provide arguments for the high or low participation of the young people in Portugal in comparison to an older generation. This methodological choice aimed to capture nuances and details that a quantitative analysis would not allow. However, the main objective of this study was not to provide a comprehensive qualitative analysis. Instead, this complementary analysis focused on exploring whether participants mentioned concepts already incorporated in the SIMCA model as well as to identify other valuable information that was not accounted for in the quantitative analysis.

Hence, we conducted both a content and thematic analysis, using NVivo15, a software that can serve as an organizational tool to support the coding and categorization of the data (Richard, 1999). According to Adu (2019), a thematic analysis is an inductive data driven method, where researchers generate codes based on the data, categorize them and then develop larger themes, grouping all the codes that can potentially belong to the same category, whereas content analysis is when we fit the data in a priori themes and, thus, is considered a deductive approach. Moreover, meaningful excerpts of the answers were coded, and different parts of the same answer could be categorized differently (i.e., participants tapped into different aspects relevant in the same answer) and the same expression could be coded into the different dimensions. Therefore, the coding of each example provided are not mutually exclusive. All the codes were created manually and based on the theoretical and conceptual framework existent in the collective action literature taking into account, as well, our dissertation aims.

First, we screened participants' responses to get familiarized with the data and tried to connect significant information with our interest variables (i.e., norms and SIMCA factors). Afterwards, we looked for other relevant information that could help us to make sense of the quantitative responses and created codes and then larger themes. It is important to note that all qualitative data was analyzed after the quantitative data, and that data triangulation was not a priori planned (Deacon et al., 1998). Therefore, the qualitative data analysis served to complement the discussion of the quantitative results, as well as to provide a more complete picture of the results (Choy, 2014).

Following the recommendations of Adu (2019), a description-focused coding was used, where the goal was to understand the data and describe what we have found (see Appendix R for details of themes definitions).

All the qualitative responses are available in a share paste, the link is provided in the Appendix R.

3.3.1. High-Participation Norm

Overall, in the high-participation norm condition, participants noted somehow to all the constructs measured by the scales. Social norms and, more specifically, descriptive norms were not directly mentioned as a reason for participants. Nevertheless, the shared identity dimension can tap indirectly into a possible notion of social-norm adherence. Additionally, activism of younger groups, political engagement and a sense of shared identity and ideology appeared as a manifestation of a politicized identification, being one of the reasons for housing movement engagement that was presented most frequently in the high participation condition. Housing perceived as a universal right and a basic necessity tapped into morality and core beliefs.

Additionally, individuals perceived the younger generation as the group that is most affected by the housing crisis in Portugal, potentially feeding a social identity linked to shared grievance, but also to a sense of fight for social justice, in general, encompassing perceptions of injustice. They also mentioned negative emotions, such as angry and contempt, in regard to the situation they are facing.

Furthermore, instrumental motives, such as lack of conditions and access to housing in Portugal, as well as the socio-political context participants were immersed in were relevant constructs as well. Lastly, we noticed that participants mentioned some positive emotions, such as solidarity towards other people in need (see Appendix S, Table S1 and S2 for details on the categories, themes, as well as examples of participants responses).

3.3.2. Low-Participation Norm

In the low-participation norm condition, participants mentioned that young people nowadays are not interested in defending ideals and are not interested in their political and civic life, which speaks to a lack of politicized identity. One of the dimensions that had the biggest impact in explaining low levels of participation among the younger generation was how there was nothing they could do to change what is happening in Portugal related to housing. This lack of efficacy was not only about the housing movement, but a more general perception and feeling in regard to bottom-up social change. Moreover, participants' responses entail that they either learnt this lack of efficacy by knowing about previous movements that did not yield any result

(e.g., *geração à rasca*⁷ in 2011) or conditioned by their own experience, where the participant themselves has tried and achieved nothing. This was also associated with a sense the hopelessness and powerlessness where participants' voices were consistently not listened to by political elites.

Moreover, some participants stated that it is not their problem and does not affect them yet, and therefore, they do not participate, which implies a lack of non-politicized identity with the group that is affected by the shared grievance. Furthermore, no reference was made to morality, that is, low participation was not explained by the idea that the problem was not moralized enough or was not that important.

We noticed that participants made a reference to the consequences of participating in protests, such as their professional life being affected or even fear of police retaliation.

Lastly, contextual (e.g., democracy in Portugal) and external factors (e.g., lack of information about the movement) were mentioned as a reason that may have hindered participation. Moreover, they also mentioned internal factors and intrinsic characteristics of the young Portuguese as group or generation, portraying them as conformist and the Portuguese culture as not demanding enough (see Appendix S, Table S3 and S4 for details on the categories, themes, as well as examples of participants' responses).

3.4. Discussion Pilot Study

This study served as a pre-study to test the adequacy of the measures and materials in the Portuguese context, as well as to conduct a preliminary test of the efficacy of the manipulation apparatus, given the inconsistent results within the literature on research using descriptive norm manipulations (Bergquist & Elejöv, 2022). Overall, all the measures had satisfactory reliability and were adequate to be used in the subsequent study. Participants in the high-participation norm condition estimated that their online social networks were more engaged in the housing movement than participants in the low-participation norm condition. Even with a weak effect, this result entails that this type of manipulation is suitable to test the model in the Main study. We explored participants' written responses to have a grasp of their perceptions and opinions around the reasons of participation (or lack of it) to check whether they were meaningful to our proposed model, as well as to uncover other antecedents of CA. Overall, participants did not

⁷ The second largest protest in Portugal (see Theoretical background, The Portuguese Context Section) is known as the result of a social mobilization of *Geração à rasca* in the waves of protests about austerity measures (Monteiro, 2021; Soeiro, 2014).

refer to the role of social norms directly. They included in their justifications some concepts related to the SIMCA model, such as politicized identity, injustice, morality and efficacy perceptions. Surprisingly, the responses in the low-participation norm condition provided us valuable information of how Portuguese feel about CA in general, mainly exposing overlooked concepts in our analysis such as the political and social context, external constraints, internal attributions, as well as positive emotions like hope and solidarity. Further implications will be addressed in the general discussion section.

We also aimed at understanding how the participants evaluated several forms of collective action behaviors within the housing movement in terms of violence and normativity. Results showed that participants made a clear distinction between conventional CA and the other two forms (i.e., violent and non-normative). We also obtained ambiguous responses regarding the violence and – to a lesser degree - non-normativity of behaviors that the literature conceptually defined as non-normative (e.g., occupy an empty building, e.g., Tausch et al., 2011). Nevertheless, we concluded that a distinction must be made within the Portuguese housing movement regarding non-normative and violent behaviors that is similar to the pattern in other contexts (e.g., Becker & Tausch, 2015), although actions traditionally understood as non-normative and non-violent may convey different meanings to different participants.

Another aim of the pilot study was to expose the hypotheses of the theoretical model to a first test. Contrary to our hypothesis (H1), the total effect of descriptive norms on any form of CA intentions was not significant. That was true for both the behavioral intention items and the behavioral measure.

Moreover, due to the dichotomous nature of the behavioral measure (whether participants were willing to provide their contact information), a mediation analysis was not conducted. While this measure contributed to the validation of the self-reported CA intention measures, we believe that its added value was limited beyond this validation. Moreover, the technique used might have potentially disappointed some participants interested in being volunteers to housing associations. Therefore, we decided not to use the behavioral measure in the subsequent study.

We found an indirect positive effect of descriptive high-participation norms on all CA measures via the combination of SIMCA-factors (as predicted in H2), and specifically via politicized identification (as predicted in H3a and H4). Identifying an indirect effect if the total effect is absent means that the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable might be diminished if that association is explained by other variables that are not measured (Hayes, 2018; Zhao et al., 2010). Indeed, unexpectedly, the direct effect of descriptive norms on general and conventional forms of action was negative and significant. Given that the total effect is the combination of the direct effect, that was negative, with the indirect effect, which was positive, it is reasonable to speculate that we might be in the presence of a suppressor effect (Agler & De Boeck, 2017). None of the other hypotheses about mediation by specific SIMCA-factors was supported by the data. The implications of this result will be addressed in the general discussion.

This Pilot-study has several potential limitations that should be taken into account when interpreting the results and that were considered when planning the Main study: There was no control group (i.e., all participants received information about descriptive norms in relation to the movement), which might hinder a more accurate understanding of descriptive norms' role. Therefore, it was decided to add a control condition to the design of the main study, which allows to have more control over the specific effects of each of the two descriptive norm conditions. More precisely, the use of a control condition allows to verify that the high-participation norm and the low-participation norm conditions push the perception of descriptive norms in opposite directions.

Non-politicized identification and efficacy were surprisingly unrelated to other variables, which may raise doubts of the relevance of the reference group used in the measures. In the Pilot study, we argue that this occurred because of the operationalization, which used *tenants* as a reference group for the measures. High-participation norms of the younger generation could not push identification with the group of *tenants* or beliefs about the efficacy of this group. Moreover, it is possible that participants may not relate to tenants, given that one of the biggest problems within the housing situation in Portugal is that young people are leaving the latest their parents' house for not being able to afford to pay a rent and therefore are not tenants, but still are affected. Hence, we decided to change how we operationalize non-politicized identification and efficacy measures for the main study.

Moreover, the effective sample size was smaller than the required sample size to obtain the desired statistical power. According to Qin (2023), conducting the mediation analysis with 235 participants would yield a power of 60% which may be one of the reasons why some of the predicted effects were non-significant. Thus, for the main study a larger sample size was targeted. One way to achieve this was to eliminate an unnecessary limitation of the target population. Although there was a change in what it means being categorized as young nowadays (i.e., 18 to 34 years) compared to generations before (Sagnier et al., 2021), the reference group used in the manipulation was restricted to younger participants. Thus, to involve a larger and likely diverse sample it is essential to change the reference group in the descriptive norms manipulation and try to get a higher number of participants. On top of that, it is reasonable to assume that even people that are not directly affected by the housing crisis and rent increase (e.g., adult person with an established paid house) might act on behalf of those who are in disadvantage (e.g., Radke et al., 2020).

Furthermore, although participants in the descriptive high-participation norm condition did provide higher estimations of their online network's participation within the housing movement, we believe that this effect may be enhanced if we prime participants with their closer networks (e.g., friends) rather than their online network. Given that the relationship people establish online and in the real life can differ in terms of their connections and bonds (e.g., Chan & Cheng 2004) and that the behaviors portrayed in the CA tendencies were referent to a broader scope of actions that happen online and outside, in the real world, we reasoned that there is a need to modify the reference group for the manipulation check to a broader/less restricted networks.

To sum up, for the subsequent study, we added a control group (i.e., people that did not receive any information regarding norms), changed the reference group used in the manipulation of descriptive norms to Portuguese vs. other European countries, modified some measures (i.e., changing "tenants" to "Portuguese affected by the housing crisis" in the non-politicized identification and efficacy scales, as well as modified "online networks" to "closer networks"), and dropped the dichotomic behavioral measure at the end. Also, there was no need any longer for the evaluation of normativity and violence of the concrete collective actions, as the results of the pilot study were informative enough. In all other regards the Main study used the same design as the Pilot study. Likewise, it pretended to test the same proposed theoretical model with these essential modifications.

3.5. Main Study

The aim of the Main study was to test the proposed model of the impact of descriptive norms on readiness to participate in the housing movement with a broader sample, using refined measures and taking into account the findings of the Pilot-study. All hypotheses remained the same as in the Pilot-study.

Methods- Main Study

4.1. Design

An experimental between-subjects design was used, where participants were randomly assigned to one of three distinct conditions: High-participation norm vs. Low-participation norm vs. Control group.

4.2. Participants

The power analysis to determine the targeted sample size was conducted in the same way as for the Pilot study and a sample of 379 was required to achieve a statistical power of 80% (Qin, 2023). To participate in the study, participants needed to have at least 18 years and speak Portuguese. A total of 502 responses were collected, because, considering the excluded participants in the Pilot study, we aimed at collecting more responses than necessary to obtain the final sample size needed for the mediation analysis. All participants were recruited online using Qualtrics (2024) via snowball sampling in social media platforms. Six participants did not accept the study conditions, and the data of 178 participants were excluded, because they took less than four minutes ($n=119$) or more than two hours to respond ($n=17$), or because they dropped out before responding to at least one item of the dependent variables ($n=30$). This resulted in a final sample of 330 participants. Approximately half of the sample identified as female, was young, highly educated, and with a perceived medium to high social status. Participants were central, slightly left orientated regarding their political orientation (Table 4.1 for detailed overview of the sample).

4.3. Procedure

All materials were approved by ISCTE-IUL's ethics committee (34/2024). Participants were asked to read the research description carefully and to give their consent, that assured confidentiality and anonymity during the data collection process. Participation in the research was completely voluntary and participants had the option to participate in a lottery where they could win three vouchers with money from Celeiro (Appendix T). All the procedure was conducted in the same way as in the Pilot study, with the following exceptions: (a) Participants

were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: high-participation norm, low-participation norm and control, (b) there was no measure of the evaluation of normativity and violence of the specific collective actions, (c) the behavioral measure was omitted in this study. All the measures that changed can be consulted in Appendix U to X. Moreover, at the end of the study participants were redirected to another, separate survey, where they could provide their contact information without being linked to their responses, if they were interested in participating in the lottery (Appendix Z). After collecting the data, the same software as in the Pilot-study was used for their analysis.

Table 4.1

Sample Sociodemographic Characteristics

	Total		Low norm		Control condition		High norm	
	N=330		n=108		n=118		n=104	
Gender								
Female	170	51.5%	50	46.3%	67	56.8%	53	51%
Male	154	46.7%	56	51.9%	47	39.8%	51	49%
Non-Binary	6	1.8%	2	1.9%	4	3.4%		
Age								
18 to 24 years	169	51.2%	57	52.8%	64	54.2%	48	46.2%
25 to 34 years	81	24.5%	23	21.3%	28	23.7%	30	28.8%
35 to 44 years	21	6.4%	6	5.6%	7	5.9%	8	7.7%
45 to 54 years	28	8.5%	7	6.5%	9	7.6%	12	11.5%
55 aos 64 years	23	7%	10	9.3%	8	6.8%	5	4.8%
+65 years	7	2.1%	5	4.6%	1	0.8%	1	1.0%
Prefer not say	1	.3%			1	.8%		
Education								
Preparatory	4	1.2%	4	3.7%				
Highschool	91	27.6%	27	25%	27	22.9%	37	35.6%
Graduation	163	49.4%	57	52.8%	58	49.2%	48	46.2%
Master's or PhD	65	19.7%	17	15.7%	31	26.3%	17	16.3%
Prefer not say	7	2.1%	3	2.8%	2	1.7%	2	1.9%

4.4. Materials and Measures

Similar to the Pilot study, except where indicated, participants had to respond in 5-point Likert scale format that ranged from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree, composite variables were created using the mean of responses of the individual items and internal consistency analyses (see Table 4.2) were conducted. Politicized identification, moral convictions, perceived injustice, collective action intentions, control variables (with the exception of political orientation, where the scale was inverted to left-wing orientations to correspond to the left values of the scale, thus, lower numbers corresponded to more left-wing individuals) and covariates were assed using the same scales as in the Pilot study.

Table 4.2*Descriptives, correlations and intern consistency*

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Descriptive norms	-	-	-															
2. Trust in institutions	2.71	0.77	.111*	(.76)														
3. Political orientation ⁸	5.18	2.18	.032	.08	-													
4. Perceived status	63.85	14.62	.045	.26**	.04	-												
5. Satisfaction	2.58	0.94	.048	.52**	.15**	.23**	(.67)											
6. Manipulation check	3.08	0.66	.135*	-.05	-.31**	.01	-.11	(.76)										
7. Politicized identification	3.23	0.85	.049	-.08	-.43**	-.05	-.15**	.52**	(.83)									
8. Non-politicized identification	3.80	0.91	.079	-.09	-.28**	-.14*	-.10	.35**	.49**	(.75)								
9. Morality	3.45	0.74	.139*	-.04	-.34**	.02	-.12*	.34**	.48**	.33**	(.75)							
10. Emotional injustice	3.89	1.00	.05	-.16**	-.31**	-.15**	-.24**	.32**	.50**	.52**	.51**	(.89)						
11. Non-emotional injustice	4.07	0.79	.066	-.07	-.38**	-.11*	-.09	.33**	.50**	.40**	.46**	.58**	(.77)					
12. Efficacy	3.92	0.77	.116*	.05	-.17**	-.01	-.02	.30**	.44**	.33**	.36**	.40**	.39**	(.85)				
13. CA general	3.07	0.91	.022	-.06	-.37**	-.05	-.10	.51**	.65**	.43**	.44**	.42**	.41**	.45**	(.88)			
14. CA conventional	3.23	0.89	.029	-.02	-.42**	-.08	-.12*	.51**	.69**	.43**	.50**	.48**	.49**	.40**	.78**	(.83)		
15. CA non-normative	1.89	0.98	-.008	-.14*	-.32**	-.07	-.21**	.37**	.44**	.25**	.38**	.34**	.31**	.22**	.53**	.54**	(.90)	
16. CA violent	1.45	0.80	-.024	-.13*	-.25**	-.08	-.17**	.28**	.30**	.18**	.27**	.27**	.17	.13*	.34**	.33**	.76**	(.89)

⁸ Cronbach's Alpha in the diagonal. ⁸ (0-10) Higher values correspond to a more right-wing orientation. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

4.4.1. Manipulation

Participants were randomly assigned to three conditions. In the high-participation norm condition and low-participation norm condition, the experimental methodology resembled the one used in the Pilot study. However, there was a change in the used reference group. Instead of being provided with information about young people in Portugal vs. other ages, participants read the same text, but with Portuguese vs. other European countries (see Appendix U and V for detail texts). In the control condition participants did not receive any information at all and did not have to type in any text. Instead, they advanced directly to the subsequent measures.

4.4.2. Identification

In the non-politicized identification subscale instead of using the word *tenant*, we changed to “Portuguese affected by the housing crisis” (e.g., “I identify with Portuguese affected by the housing crisis”). The four items had a poor internal consistency ($\alpha=.31$) because of one specific reversed coded item: “I am not proud of belonging to the group of Portuguese affected by the housing crisis”⁹ (van Zomeren et al., 2012). Thus, we created the composite variable using only the three other items.

4.2.3. Perceived Efficacy

As in the pilot study, efficacy was measured with items that assessed group efficacy, using the same items (van Zomeren et al., 2012). However, we changed the reference group in the main study to “Portuguese”, (e.g., “As a Portuguese I think that we can change the rent increase”).

4.2.4. Manipulation Check

As a manipulation check, participants were asked to estimate their close network’s participation, instead of their online network’s, in the housing movement in five items (e.g., “I believe that my close network supports the housing movement”) (e.g., Glynn et al., 2009; Hysenbelli et al., 2013; Passy & Guigni, 2001; Smith et al., 2021; Verhallen et al., 2018).

⁹ We believe that this happened because of how we changed the operationalization in the phrase construction and wording, given that in the pilot study the item correlated adequately with the others.

Results-Main Study

Statistical analyses were almost identical to those used in the pilot study, with the exception that to test the efficacy of the manipulation and its effects on demographic distributions One-Way ANOVAs and, if indicated, planned contrasts were conducted, given that in this study we had three experimental groups instead of two. Again, 1000 bootstrap samples were employed and estimated 95% confidence intervals using percentile method. Table 4.2 shows descriptive statistics (i.e., means and standard deviations), correlations and reliability for all variables of interest.

5.1. Preliminary Quantitative Analysis- Main Study

5.1.1. Missing Data Imputation

The same procedure that was used in the Pilot study was followed to deal with missing values. However, Little's missing completely at random (MCAR) test (Little & Rubin, 2019) demonstrated that missing data was not missing completely at random, as Little's MCAR test was significant, $\chi^2(907, N = 330) = 1046.52, p = .001$. Nevertheless, since no variable was missing more than 3% of its cases and given that deletion methods produce biased standard error estimates when missing data is not missing at random, and are therefore not recommended (Graham, 2009), the EM method was used again to impute missing values with the same criteria described in the Pilot study.

5.1.2. Descriptive Overview- Collective Action and SIMCA

The overall sample reported higher levels of willingness to participate in conventional and general forms of action than in non-normative and violent actions. Again, the mean responses were situated slightly above the mid-point of the scale, which was also true for the SIMCA measures, except for injustice where participants reported high levels, especially in non-emotional injustice appraisals almost reaching the highest point in the scale (see Table 4.2). In this study, participants identified more with the Portuguese affected by the housing crisis ($M = 3.80, SD = 0.91$) than with activists of the movement ($M = 3.23, SD = 0.85$) ($t(329) = 11.78, p < 0.001$ $CI [0.48, 0.67]$).

5.1.3. Factor Analysis

We conducted a confirmatory factor analysis in AMOS29 of the concrete collective action intentions to determine which model fits the data better (i.e., two-factors or three factors). Results indicated that the three-factor solution ($\chi^2 = 136.7$, $df = 51$, $p < .001$; $CFI = .97$, $RMSEA = .072$) had a better fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 149.1$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) than the two-factor solution ($\chi^2 = 285.8$, $df = 52$, $p < .001$; $CFI = .91$, $RMSEA = .12$). Thus, in line with the evaluation of participants in the Pilot study and the better model fit of the three-factor model, three subscales of conventional, non-normative and violent forms of collective were created. The classification of each action was the same as in the Pilot study.

5.1.4. Manipulation Check

Before testing the effectiveness of the manipulation, the mean of the manipulation check according to each condition was analyzed to evaluate whether there was a linear increase from the low-participation norm condition ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 0.68$) to the control condition ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 0.60$) to the high-participation norm condition ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 0.70$). This preliminary analysis demonstrated that the descriptive norms manipulation could indeed be treated as a linear variable. Therefore, a one-way ANOVA with a linear contrast was conducted and results demonstrated that there was a significant increase of participants' estimations of their close network's participation from the low-participation to the high-participation descriptive norm, $F(1,327) = 6.08$, $p = .014$.

The Omnibus test was also significant, $F(2,327) = 3.05$, $p = .049$, $\eta^2 = .018$. Furthermore, Scheffe Post-hoc analysis revealed that participants in the high-participation norm condition reported higher values of their close network's participation than in the low-participation norm condition at 95% CI [0.02, 0.40]. No statistically significant differences were found between control and high-participation norm (95% CI [-0.28, 0.66]) nor between control and low-participation norm conditions (95% CI [-0.05, 0.28]). Thus, we concluded that the manipulation was again successful, and indeed the two norm conditions influenced the norm perception in opposite directions as intended.

However, the manipulation was not strong enough to separate the effects of the high-participation norm and the low-participation norm, compared to the control condition. Given that we also did not have distinct hypotheses for these two conditions except that their effects should work in opposite directions, we decided to use the linear contrast in the hypotheses tests.

5.1.5. Demographic Distributions

One-way ANOVAs were performed to verify differences and distribution regarding demographic characteristics, such as age ($N = 329$) and education ($N = 323$). Results indicated that there were no significant statistical differences between conditions for age, $F(2, 328) = 0.688$, $p = .509$, but for education, $F(2, 322) = 3.46$, $p = .033$. Scheffe post-hoc analysis revealed that there were no significant differences between the high-participation norm ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 0.70$) and the low-participation norm ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 0.74$) condition (95% $CI [-0.22, 0.17]$), but participants in the control condition ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 0.70$) reported higher levels of education than in the other two conditions at 95% $CI [0.03, 0.42]$ and $[0.01, 0.41]$, respectively. However, also according to the Scheffe test all three conditions belonged to just one homogeneous subset ($p = .070$). Nevertheless, to evaluate if participants with higher education levels dropped out systematically in both high and low-norm participation conditions because they had a more demanding task (i.e., typing text into an open text-field) we conducted the same analysis using the whole raw sample ($N = 445$). Results demonstrated indeed that there were no differences among conditions ($F(2, 444) = 2.374$, $p = .094$). This result suggests that there was indeed systematically more drop-out of higher educated participants in the more effortful norm-conditions compared to the control condition. However, we considered this fact as a minor problem, because this dropout would have affected the high-participation and low-participation norm equally, and, therefore, be neutralized in the hypothesis's tests using the linear contrast. A Chi-square test also suggested that there is no evidence of a different distribution of gender between conditions, $\chi^2(2, N = 324) = 3.104$, $p = .212$ ¹⁰.

5.1.6. Bivariate Correlations

All SIMCA variables were moderately correlated among each other and with all the measures of collective action scales. The manipulation of descriptive norms (linear contrast) had only a significant positive correlation with morality and efficacy, which both were positively correlated with all collective action willingness measures. There was no correlation of the manipulation of descriptive norms with politicized identification, non-politicized identification or the injustice measures. Again, the measured descriptive norms (manipulation check) were

¹⁰ The t-tests were performed after filtering out participants and before data imputation in demographic variables and therefore with different sample sizes because of different numbers of missing values. In addition, for simplification purposes the gender analysis only considered male and female responses, given the small number of participants that identified with other genders.

positively correlated with the descriptive norms manipulation, as well as with the SIMCA variables and collective action intentions. All four covariates were significantly correlated with some SIMCA and collective action measures, with strongest correlations shown by political orientation. Therefore, similar as in the Pilot study, these covariates were statistically controlled in the subsequent model test (see Table 4.2).

5.2. Mediation Model

The same path model was tested as in the Pilot study (see Appendix O), with the only difference that the manipulation of descriptive norms was not dichotomic but entered as the linear contrast coding the conditions as -1 (low-participation), 0 (control) and +1 (high-participation). The model tested the same hypothesized relationships between all the previously considered variables. The model fitted the data almost perfectly ($\chi^2 = 6.01$, $df=7$, $p = .0538$; $CFI = 1$, $GFI = .998$, $RMSEA < .001$) (e.g., Bryne, 2010).

Total Effect of descriptive norms on collective action intentions

Contrary to the predictions, but replicating the finding of the Pilot study, H1 was not supported, given that parameter estimates demonstrated that there was no total effect of descriptive norms on any of the measures of collective action intentions (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1.

Total effects of descriptives norms on collective action intentions (N=330)

Hypothesis	Paths between variables		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H1a	Descriptive norms	General CA	0.042	0.06	[-0.08, 0.16]
H1b		Conventional CA	0.044	0.06	[-0.07, 0.16]
H1c		Non-normative CA	0.017	0.06	[-0.11, 0.14]
H1d		Violent CA	-0.002	0.05	[-0.11, 0.11]

Overall Indirect Effect

The overall indirect effect of descriptive norms on general ($B = 0.077$, $SE = 0.039$, CI [0.001, 0.15], $p = .05$), conventional ($B = 0.080$, $SE = 0.039$, CI [0.003, 0.16], $p = .047$), non-normative ($B = 0.061$, $SE = 0.030$, CI [0.006, 0.12], $p = .034$) and violent ($B = 0.033$, $SE = 0.018$, CI [0.002, 0.07], $p = .034$) collective action intentions via the combination of all factors proposed by the SIMCA model was significant and, therefore, H2 was fully supported. This result again replicates the findings of the Pilot study.

Direct Effects of Descriptive Norms on Identification and Morality

Contrary to hypotheses H3a and H3b, the manipulation of descriptive norms did not significantly influence politicized identification and non-politicized identification. However, supporting H3c, it had a significant positive effect on morality (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2

Effect of descriptive norms on identification and moral convictions (N=330)

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H3a	Descriptive Norms Politicized	0.07	0.05	[-0.04, 0.18]
H3b	Non-Politicized	0.11	0.06	[-0.01, 0.23]
H3c	Moral	0.14**	0.05	[0.04, 0.24]

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Preliminary analysis of the SIMCA model

Of all the measures of the SIMCA model, politicized identification, non-politicized identification and moral convictions had a significant positive direct effect on both measures of injustice, as well as on efficacy. Politicized identification predicted directly and positively all four measures of collective action intentions, whereas non-politicized identification was not directly associated with any of them. Morality had a direct positive effect on all forms of collective action intentions, except for general forms. Efficacy had a strong significant positive effect on general collective action only, and emotional injustice had a weaker positive effect on violent intentions (Table 5.3).

Preliminary tests of the indirect effects of morality, politicized and non-politicized identification via efficacy and injustice perceptions/emotions on the measures of collective action, which are predicted by the dual-chamber SIMCA model, showed that most of these indirect effects were not significant (see Appendix A1) presumably because of the overall weak effects of efficacy and injustice on the dependent variables. The exceptions were that all three primary factors (politicized and non-politicized identification and morality) had significant indirect effects via efficacy on general CA and via injustice emotions on violent CA (the latter was only marginal for politicized identification).

Table 5.3*SIMCA variable relationships (N=330)*

Paths between variables		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Politicized identification	Emotional injustice	0.19**	0.07	[0.06, 0.34]
	Non-emotional injustice	0.22**	0.06	[0.11, 0.35]
	Efficacy	0.28**	0.06	[0.17, 0.40]
	General CA	0.45**	0.08	[0.31, 0.62]
	Conventional CA	0.48**	0.07	[0.35, 0.62]
	Non-normative CA	0.30**	0.07	[0.17, 0.44]
	Violent CA	0.16**	0.06	[0.05, 0.28]
Non-Politicized	Emotional injustice	0.34**	0.06	[0.23, 0.45]
	Non-emotional injustice	0.13**	0.05	[0.05, 0.23]
	Efficacy	0.12*	0.06	[0.01, 0.23]
	General CA	0.10	0.05	[-0.00, 0.20]
	Conventional CA	0.05	0.05	[-0.05, 0.14]
	Non-normative CA	-0.01	0.06	[-0.13, 0.10]
	Violent CA	-0.02	0.05	[-0.12, 0.08]
Moral	Emotional injustice	0.41**	0.07	[0.26, 0.56]
	Non-emotional injustice	0.26**	0.06	[0.14, 0.38]
	Efficacy	0.19**	0.07	[0.06, 0.34]
	General CA	0.14	0.09	[-0.03, 0.31]
	Conventional CA	0.17*	0.08	[0.01, 0.32]
	Non-normative CA	0.24**	0.08	[0.08, 0.40]
	Violent CA	0.15*	0.07	[0.01, 0.28]
Emotional injustice	General CA	-0.01	0.05	[-0.11, 0.10]
	Conventional CA	0.05	0.05	[-0.05, 0.16]
	Non-normative CA	0.05	0.05	[-0.08, 0.18]
	Violent CA	0.10*	0.06	[0.00, 0.22]
Non-emotional injustice	General CA	0.03	0.06	[-0.10, 0.15]
	Conventional CA	0.09	0.07	[-0.05, 0.22]
	Non-normative CA	0.03	0.08	[-0.12, 0.18]
	Violent CA	-0.09	0.07	[-0.22, 0.03]
Efficacy	General CA	0.20**	0.06	[0.07, 0.32]
	Conventional CA	0.07	0.06	[-0.05, 0.17]
	Non-normative CA	-0.01	0.07	[-0.12, 0.13]
	Violent CA	-0.02	0.05	[-0.13, 0.08]

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ *Indirect Effects of Descriptive Norms*

Because there was no effect of the descriptive norm manipulation on the identification measures, H4 and H5 were not supported (see Appendix B1, Table B1 and B2). The parameter estimates for the predicted indirect effects via morality (H6) demonstrated that the indirect effect of the descriptive norm condition via moral conviction on all forms of CA intentions was positive, and - except for general CA intentions - significant, (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4*Indirect effects of descriptive norms on collective action intentions via morality (N=330)*

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->General CA	0.020	0.014	[-0.010, 0.050]
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Conventional CA	0.024*	0.014	[0.001, 0.050]
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Non-normative CA	0.033*	0.020	[0.005, 0.070]
H6	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Violent CA	0.020*	0.013	[0.001, 0.050]

*Note. *p < .05. **p < .01*

The estimates of the indirect effects considering the three step mediation model with morality (H9), the only variable in this study affected by descriptive norms, demonstrated that there was indeed one positive indirect chain mediation effect, with the manipulation of descriptive norms increasing moral convictions, which was associated with higher levels of efficacy, which in turn predicted intentions of participation in general CA ($B = 0.006$, $SE = 0.004$, $CI [0.001, 0.02]$, $p = .010$). No other of the chain-mediations predicted in H7, 8 or 9 were significant (see Appendix B1, Table B1, B2 and B3).

Different from the Pilot study, in the Main study, the direct effects of the descriptive norm manipulation on CA were not significant across all the used measures of the dependent variables: general collective action ($B = -0.05$, $SE = 0.048$, $CI [-0.14, 0.05]$, $p = .356$), conventional collective action ($B = -0.04$, $SE = 0.046$, $CI [-0.13, 0.05]$, $p = .395$), non-normative collective action ($B = -0.04$, $SE = 0.059$, $CI [-0.17, 0.06]$, $p = .432$) and violent collective action ($B = -0.03$, $SE = 0.052$, $CI [-0.14, 0.07]$, $p = .517$) tendencies.

All these results were obtained while controlling trust in institutions, satisfaction with the country, political orientation and perceived social status as covariates.

5.2.1 Exploratory Analysis of Efficacy as a Direct Mediator

In this study, high-participation norms were significantly correlated with perceived group efficacy. Therefore, an exploratory analysis of efficacy as a direct mediator of the relationship between high-descriptive norms and collective action intentions was included.

For this analysis we added to the model the direct pathway from the norm manipulation to efficacy. This model also fitted the data ($\chi^2 = 4.78$, $df = 6$, $p = .572$; $CFI = 1$, $GFI = .998$, $RMSEA < .001$) (e.g., Bryne, 2010). However, the manipulation of descriptive norms had no significant direct effect on efficacy ($B = 0.05$, $CI [-0.04, 0.14]$, $p = .263$) and consequently estimates of the indirect effects of norms via efficacy (i.e., bypassing morality) demonstrated that this relationship was not significant ($B = 0.01$, $CI [-0.10, 0.03]$, $p = 0.318$).

5.3. Preliminary Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis was conducted using the same underlying processes as in the Pilot study. All the themes that appeared in both studies were defined similarly (see Appendix R for definitions details).

5.3.1. High-Participation Norm

Participants did not make any reference to social norms and social networks neither directly nor indirectly. Overall, in the high-participation norm condition participants mentioned some of the constructs measured in the scales. Activism associated with a younger generation (despite the fact that we did not provide specific information about this generation in the main study) was pointed out as a form of enacting a politicized identity. Portuguese being perceived as the most affected and revolted group portrayed injustice beliefs as well as a form of identification with the non-politicized group. Defending the fundamental and basic right of housing, as their cultural values, tapped into participants' moral convictions within the housing situation. Moreover, a more affective dimension of efficacy (i.e., hope) was mentioned.

Furthermore, instrumental motives, such as perceived relative deprivation in Portugal regarding housing access and conditions, were significant constructs influencing Portuguese participation in the housing movement. Additionally, the sociopolitical context in which participants were immersed contributed to framing housing as one of many structural problems existing in Portugal. Moreover, it seemed that the manipulation primed the notion of enhanced economic and social disparities not only between Portugal and other European countries, but also inside Portugal between social disadvantaged and advantaged groups. An emphasis was put on blaming the government and the private sector in housing for the Portuguese situation. Lastly, we found that participants noted some positive emotions such as solidarity and empathy (see Appendix C1, Table C1 and C2 for categories, themes as well as relevant examples). All the qualitative responses are available in a share paste, the link is provided in Appendix R.

5.3.2 Low-Participation Norm

In the low-participation condition, participants mentioned that there is a lack of civic and active fighting for several rights within the Portuguese culture. They demonstrated a general feeling of powerlessness, hopelessness and disbelief in the political system, speaking for low efficacy in several dimensions. Most of the participants attributed these characteristics internally to the Portuguese and Portuguese culture that could account for low levels of participation not only in the housing movement, but in collective action in general. Additionally, external factors were also mentioned. Furthermore, no reference was made to morality, that is, low participation was not explained by the idea that the problem was not moralized enough or was not that important. (see Appendix C1, table C3 and C4 for most relevant themes considered, as well as examples associated with them).

5.4. Discussion Main Study

The main study served to test the effect of descriptive norms as a core antecedent of a complex combination of psychological motivational factors that predispose individuals to join collective action: the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). Using a larger sample size, and refined measures and operationalizations, than in the Pilot study, allowed us to clarify that descriptive norms were associated with collective action tendencies via the combined factors of the SIMCA model. Also, the addition of another experimental group allowed to retrospectively validate the manipulation technique: In a control condition participants did not receive any information regarding descriptive norms and their average responses were indeed between the average responses of participants in the low-participation norm condition and the high-participation norm condition. The Main study corroborated the results obtained in the Pilot study regarding the lack of a total effect of descriptive norms on collective action tendencies. However, in the main study, descriptive norms strongly activated moral convictions which were related to all forms of collective action tendencies, except that this link did not reach statistical significance for the measure of general forms of CA. Also, the descriptive norm manipulation did not have any significant effect on identification with the movement activists, whereas in the Pilot study politicized identification had been the SIMCA variable that was triggered most by high-participation norms. The unexpected negative direct effect found in the Pilot study was not replicated. Generally, the written responses were more or less similar to the Pilot study. Even though both studies cannot be directly compared given the changes in the manipulation and some measures' operationalization, in combination they

provide us useful insights about the role of descriptive norms in CA intentions in different circumstances. Differences will be discussed in the general discussion section.

General Discussion

The social influence of descriptive norms is a powerful, but a frequently undetected process and predominantly an unconscious one (Nolan et al., 2008). Understanding the often scarcely considered role of the typical behavior of others in the psychological motivations of collective action, which are context-sensitive (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021) and may change in relevance according to the sociopolitical systems people are immersed in (Saavedra & Drury, 2022), opens doors to a more comprehensive framework to uncover distinct mechanisms behind the drive for social change. Both studies aimed to unveil individual's perceptions and intentions of future participation in the housing movement, as well as what may be fueling readiness to engage in different forms of action. Therefore, we believe that the present dissertation contributes not only to having a better understanding of the housing movement in specific, but also, and more importantly, to the literature of CA with the possible addition of descriptive norms in further studies on CA intentions.

Our specific aim was to test the potential indirect effect of descriptive social norms on CA intentions. Overall, some of the results were in line with our predictions, while others were somewhat unexpected. We highlight four major findings of the two studies: (a) There was an overall indirect effect of descriptive norms via the combination of all SIMCA factors on all CA measures in both studies, consistent with our hypothesis; (b) surprisingly, we found different indirect effects of descriptive norms on CA intentions via politicized identification and moral convictions in the Pilot and Main study, respectively; (c) contrary to our hypothesis, there was no total effect of descriptive norms on CA intentions and (d) the Dual-Chamber SIMCA was mostly not supported for the housing movement, when analyzing the data in terms of specific (i.e., unique) effects while statistically controlling for the others.

a) The overall significant indirect effect found in the two studies supports our reasoning about the role of descriptive norms on CA via the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model. This has both theoretical and practical implications. First, this finding contributes scientifically to the literature of CA, and the SIMCA model in particular. Analyzing the so far overlooked concept of descriptive norms within a social norm-adherence and social influence framework together with psychological motivations portrayed by the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model provides a more comprehensive perspective on CA intentions. Besides, this result advances relevant information about the social psychological mechanisms behind mobilization for the housing movement in Portugal that has been active since 2023, with the last large protest reported on 28th of September 2024.

b) Descriptive norms triggered different specific SIMCA factors in ways that differed between the two studies: Descriptive high-participation norms significantly influenced politicized identification and had a marginal influence on moral convictions in the Pilot study. In the Main study, descriptive norms strongly explained only moral convictions. Therefore, distinct results in the two studies were obtained regarding the individual impact of the SIMCA variables in the mediation analysis. In the Pilot study, a positive indirect effect of high-participation norms on all forms of CA intentions was only found via politicized identification, whereas in the main study only moral convictions were a positive mediator between descriptive norms and all forms of CA intentions, except general behaviors. Moreover, a three-step mediation effect only occurred weakly in the Main study, via morality and efficacy on general actions.

The results obtained regarding morality and more specific moral convictions are consistent with preliminary evidence found in the literature on the “common is moral” heuristic (Erickson et al., 2015; Lindström et al., 2018), demonstrating the idea that descriptive norms have a powerful effect on the degree to which behaviors may be seen as moral (Rhee et al., 2019). In the two studies, participants’ written responses in the high-participation condition revealed that they perceived housing as a basic and universal right, reflecting absolute core beliefs (Skitka, 2005; Skitka et al., 2010). The perceived violations of this right and the value of the Portuguese culture were often mentioned as reasons behind participation in the housing movement.

The results obtained regarding politicized identification were in line with the literature on the relationship between social norms and identity (e.g., Rathbone et al., 2023; Postmes et al., 2005) given that participants in the high-participation condition reported higher values of politicized identification. Surprisingly, this was only significant in the Pilot study. In fact, activism of the younger generation was mentioned several times in the Pilot study and less times in the Main study.

In the two studies, the role of social influence and social networks was barely mentioned. We suggest that this may reflect the usual underestimation individuals show of how much they are externally influenced by others' (Cialdini, 2005). Additionally, it reflects the unconscious character of the underlying process (Nolan et al., 2008) of social norms' influence. In the Pilot study, one participant stated as reason why they engage in the housing movement that "[I participate] to be integrated in the same groups that think the same way as I do", which conveys an influence of social networks in the individuals' identity, and is in line with the findings obtained in the quantitative analysis of the Pilot study regarding descriptive norms and politicized identification.

The fact that we obtained these distinct results in the two studies regarding which of the SIMCA variables was triggered most is an informative finding.

The two studies used different reference groups in the manipulation, and the different results suggest that how descriptive norms trigger specific SIMCA factors motivating collective action depends on the context-specific meaning of relevant group memberships. Shared group membership has been shown to enhance the effectiveness of persuasion appeals (Tropp & Bianchi, 2007) and the degree to which group membership appears to be salient affects not only impression of others, but also attitudes and behaviors (Oakes, 1987).

In our studies, the type of the group membership (i.e., being young or being Portuguese) affected the effect of descriptive norms on different aspects of the SIMCA model. We suggest that when making “being young” or “being Portuguese” identity salient, participants associated aspects of what it means to belong to that particular group or what is most valued for their role within the group (Stets & Burke, 2000). Following this line of thought, we argue that being young was probably more associated with an activist identity, and therefore, participation norms lead to a higher identification with the activists of the movement. In contrast, being Portuguese, in comparison to the rest of the European countries, was probably more associated with defending the moral cultural value of the right to housing. Indeed, by analyzing participants written responses, we found results that were consistent with the idea that the type of the group membership made salient was related to the distinctive social meaning attributed to the group (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Haslam et al., 1995). When writing their responses and creating arguments for high or low participation, participants may have considered an activist to be more (or less) representative of the category of being young, when in comparison to older people, whereas endorsing housing as a universal value might seem more (or less) representative of the category of being Portuguese, when comparing to other European countries.

For instance, in the Pilot study participants in the high norm condition, mentioned that young people were more politically active and interested in social fights approximately equally often as the believe that housing needs to be accessible for all, whereas in the Main study, where the national group of Portuguese was activated, participants addressed more what Portuguese individuals may value as their shared cultural identity, where housing is seen as fundamental human right. Additionally, even when activism was mentioned in the Main study, it was mostly associated with younger generations, even though in the Main study we did not present any information regarding the youngsters’ participation. From this perspective, the fact that descriptive norms affected both identification and (though only marginally) morality in the Pilot study could be due to this double referencing provided in the manipulation (Kutlaca et al., 2016). By referring to both age group (i.e., being *young* in Portugal) and national identity (i.e., being *young in Portugal*) participants justified participation by accounting for both activism within the younger generations and moral value of housing.

Additionally, we speculate that another potential reason for the stronger descriptive norm effect on politicized identification in the Pilot study may be due to the salience of the social identity of the activist group at the time. The data collection for the Pilot study (December-January) occurred in between the two first largest public protests on housing (30th September and 27th January) (Lusa, 2024), where individuals could rely on information regarding the past (past protest) as well as the future (announcements of future protest). Therefore, the degree to which this identity was relevant and central in public discourse may have led to a stronger identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987) with the movement's activists at the time of the Pilot study, which predicted individuals readiness to participate in the housing movement.

Therefore, when one part of the participant's identity was salient their intentions to be involved within the housing movement were enhanced, by triggering specific SIMCA motivations: identification with the housing movement activists and moralization of the housing movement.

(c) Thirdly, in the two studies, descriptive norms of two superordinate groups were not strong enough to trigger CA participation intentions directly. Previous literature demonstrated the impact of descriptive norms on behavior is higher when individuals perceive greater similarity with a group (e.g., Rimal et al., 2005). This conveys that receiving information about a group of the same nationality or age of the individual may influence behavior.

Nevertheless, evidence suggests that descriptive norms may be more influential when perceived as being the norms of people that individuals establish close strong ties with (Glynn et al., 2009; Wang & Chang, 2013), either because they trust them (Sicilia et al., 2020), because it reinforces similarity to their proximal group and social network (Rimal & Real, 2005) or because identification with more specific and close norm referent groups is generally higher than with a more distal one (e.g., Rinker & Neighbors, 2014). Knowing directly individuals that are already involved within social movements enhances the probability of own participation in movement actions (Klandermans 1997; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

For instance, some studies found that estimations of participation of family and friends predicted behavioral intentions in voting behavior (e.g., Glynn et al., 2009) and future CA tendencies (e.g., Smith et al., 2021). We would expect that by diminishing the possible distance of a highly inclusive and more psychologically distant reference group (Zhang et al., 2022) descriptive norms' influence may be enhanced. Data from the measured descriptive norms from our studies also seem to be in line with those findings, given that they were positively correlated with all forms of CA intentions (i.e., general, conventional, non-normative and violent), as well as with most factors of the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021). Given that manipulating the alleged behavior of closer groups can be more difficult, because people have more direct knowledge about their close friends' and acquaintances' participations, it will probably require to use a different technique. For instance, Meleady and colleagues (2013) suggested that imagined group discussion can promote cooperative behavior. By following this idea, creating a manipulation where participants are required to imagine a high [low] participation norm from their close networks and ask to provide arguments behind the participation (e.g., "please imagine that your closer circle is [not] participating in the housing movement, what would be the reasons behind this high [low] participation") may enhance the effect of descriptive norms while providing a qualitative component, as well as incorporating the self-persuading technique into the experimental methodology.

Furthermore, altering the perception of a topic, especially regarding one that most people already may have a formed opinion about (Kelman, 1967) is not an easy task. Drawing from Krosnick and Petty's work on attitude strength (1995), altering perceptions and topics on which individuals already have firmly established beliefs and that are emotionally charged is particularly challenging, especially if one's goal is to shift or manipulate those perceptions in a short-term experiment. Therefore, we could not prevent participants from bringing to the study their own priors' beliefs, opinions, perceptions and attitudes regarding the housing situation and the housing movement, one of the most addressed topics in Portugal policies recently (Mendes & Tulumello, 2024). In both studies, we attempted to account for interindividual differences with the statistical control of several covariates, such as political orientation in reducing the error variance of collective action intentions. However, this does not mitigate the resistance of strong beliefs and attitudes to induced experimental changes. Future studies are encouraged to test these hypotheses in a novel created setting to circumvent such difficulties.

Apart from these technical considerations, we would like to highlight the direct negative effect found in the Pilot study that we could not replicate in the Main study. According to Zhao and colleagues (2010), in the presence of two effects that are opposite in sign (e.g., a positive indirect effect and a negative direct effect) the test of a total effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable may fail, because both effects cancel each other out originating a suppressor effect (Agler & De Boeck, 2017). We suggest that this unexpected direct effect may be explained by mediators that were not accounted for in this study. We could be in the presence of a competitive mediation (Zhao et al., 2010), where the theoretical framework is still incomplete and, therefore, future research is encouraged to look for other mediators to promote theoretical progress in the field of CA.

Theoretically, it could be the case that if people are told that the majority of the other group members are already involved in the housing movement, a perception of saturation of the movement leads to a decrease in personal motivation to engage. By perceiving that many people are already participating in the housing movement, they may feel that their personal involvement is unnecessary or insignificant and that they will obtain the benefits without engaging in the behavior. For instance, according to the Social Loafing theory (Karau & Williams, 1993), if many people are contributing, an individual can reduce their own contribution to free ride with others' contributions (Delton et al., 2012). Perceiving positive incentives to be a "free rider" (i.e., "an individual that contributes little or nothing to a joint endeavor, but nonetheless garners the same benefits as others who contribute their fair share"; (American Psychology Association, 2018a) may lead an individual to abstain to contribute and cooperate in CA (Delton et al., 2012).

In that context it is also important to mention that at the time of the Pilot study communication about the protests and actions being taken was widespread and the protest movement was portrayed in social media and TV. That might have led part of the participants to adopt a passive stance. There may be reasons to believe that the prevalence of the topic in the public sphere around that time may have influenced some of the participants to think "thousands of people are already going to the streets, why should I?"

d) Descriptive norms contributed indirectly to CA intentions, since those influenced politicized identification and moral convictions, the dimensions of identity and morality portrayed as the strongest predictors of CA (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2018). However, contradictory to our expectations, non-politicized identification, efficacy and injustice were weaker than expected, and generally non-significantly, associated with CA intentions and, therefore, most of the indirect effects predicted with a three-path mediation model were not supported, demonstrating that the Dual-Chamber SIMCA model (Agostini & van Zomeren, 2021) did not apply to the housing movement in Portugal.

Non-politicized identification (identification with broader social categories) has a weaker predictive value when compared to politicized identification (e.g., van Zomeren et al., 2008) (identification with the individuals that make a conscious choice “to enter the political arena”) (Kutlaca et al., 2016, p. 5). Nevertheless, we argued that in the Portuguese context, given the high prevalence of the housing issues in affecting distinct groups on the social ladder, identification with the group affected by the shared grievances could be affected by descriptive norms and be associated with CA intentions. This was not the case.

Additionally, these weak effects are at odds with a large part of social psychological literature regarding efficacy and injustice. Systematic reviews (da Costa et al., 2023; Uysal et al., 2024) and meta-analyses (e.g., Agostini & van Zomeren 2021; van Zomeren et al., 2008) in the CA literature asserted that injustice appraisals and particularly the negative emotions that people feel towards injustice are generally considered energizers of participating in all forms CA. Additionally, the systematic review of da Costa and colleagues (2023) asserted that efficacy was the third most important explanatory factor of social movement participation, occupying the podium with both social identification and moral convictions. Uysal and colleagues (2024) stated that the role of efficacy was somewhat less consistent within the literature of non-normative and violent actions.

In line with that, non-politicized identification, injustice and efficacy were indeed positively correlated with CA. However, when statistically controlling for the other SIMCA factors their effects largely vanished, indicating that they had not much of a specific contribution to CA participation.

Moreover, we think that participants’ written responses yielded insightful information about the previously mentioned relationships and, more importantly, about general perceptions of the housing movement.

In the case of the non-politicized identification and injustice, participants perceived the group affected by the housing grievances differently depending on conditions. For instance, in the Pilot study, in the high-participation condition, participants portrayed the young as the most affected group by the shared grievance (disadvantage group), while in the low-participation condition they described the young as the least directly affected group (privileged group) stating that housing is not their problem yet. We speculate that the group mentally available to the participants when providing the written responses was different (i.e., *older* young individuals in the high participation condition and *younger* young individuals in the low participation condition). Nevertheless, participants stated that even when considering other disadvantaged groups other than the youngsters, individuals were solidaric and acted on behalf of the group most affected by the housing crisis. In the Main study, Portuguese in comparison to the other European countries were consistently considered the disadvantaged group. In both studies, emotional injustice was mentioned. Therefore, the qualitative responses did not match the quantitative responses.

This is in line with existent bias in reasoning (e.g., Evans, 1989). Self-report measures are contingent on the cognitive accessibility of abstract concepts, such as awareness and availability of those constructs at the moment individuals respond (Gareau et al., 2019). Even though both the quantitative and qualitative responses were self-reported, the task of providing arguments (e.g., Petty & Cacciopo, 1986) is more cognitive demanding and requires a higher cognitive elaboration that makes motivations more explicit and accessible. The qualitative responses, therefore, may unveil complexities and contradictions in the empirical data, because individuals have little conscious access to their motivations in quantitative responses that are more automatic and intuitive (e.g., Evans & Stanovich, 2013).

In the case of efficacy, in the high-participation condition individuals mentioned briefly that considering the movement as effective in achieving its goals may promote participation in the housing movement. In the same sense, in the two studies in the low-participation condition, many participants mentioned the (extreme) hopelessness and powerlessness felt as Portuguese citizens when it comes to change the social paradigm within the country. Again, these explanations by efficacy or lack thereof are inconsistent with the quantitative data found in the studies.

However, participants' responses tapped into broader notions of efficacy, beyond group efficacy related to the housing movement. More precisely, participants in the Pilot study addressed notions of a learnt lack of efficacy by seeing others' movement fail in Portugal, such as the "*geração à rasca*" movement. According to Bandura and colleagues (1963), individuals acquire behaviors and knowledge by watching others. Participants seem to have assumed that perceiving that a large protest had failed in achieving its demands in the past may have conditioned participants in thinking that CA behaviors are doomed to failure which reduces individuals' intentions of participation in the housing movement. Additionally, participants also mentioned the experience of a stable lack of efficacy firsthand, when reporting past behaviors (e.g., signing a petition) that yielded no result. This may reflect the notion of learned helplessness (Maier & Seligman, 1974) that is when individuals that perceive a stable and persistent failure to succeed (Tausch & Becker, 2012) adopt a posture of demotivation in acting and stop trying (Couto & Pilati, 2024). Insofar, participants' explanations were in line with what can be found in the literature, as those authors suggested that when individuals realize they have no control over their political and economic conditions, which are shaped by broader societal changes, they may begin to feel that "nothing they can do change their reality" (pg. 21) which hinders CA intentions. Moreover, participants also attributed intrinsic characteristics, such as conformism and laziness to Portuguese as a group, in terms of age or nationality, endorsing stable, internal and global attributions of this lack of general efficacy towards social movements.

Therefore, understanding empirically other dimensions of efficacy such as hope, power and agency may be fruitful to encompass a larger perspective of efficacy in subsequent CA studies.

It is important to note that most of the predicted chain hypotheses were not supported due to these unexpectedly weak specific associations of efficacy and both forms of injustice with most of CA intentions and not because of lack of an effect of descriptive norms. We argue that it is reasonable to assume that if descriptive norms affect identification or morality and these are positively associated with injustice and efficacy (which they were, in the Main study after changes in the operationalization), the indirect effects could be in line with what was predicted if there was a stronger association of injustice and efficacy with CA.

Moreover, we explored the direct influence of norms on efficacy perceptions considering the positive correlation obtained in the Main study. Even though the results revealed that this effect was not significant, it may indicate that the other SIMCA variables (i.e., efficacy and injustice) might be triggered directly by descriptive norms in certain circumstances. Therefore, further studies that address the role of descriptive norms and CA are encouraged to deepen this potential relationship. For instance, providing information about a high-participation norm in the housing movement in the present alongside with the successful of other housing related protests in the past may enhance this effect.

Furthermore, we would like to emphasize that participants also considered external constraints and actors when addressing the housing situation in Portugal.

Van Zomeren and colleagues (2008) stated that “the psychology of collective action cannot be understood in a social vacuum” (p. 525), and participants also somehow addressed this idea in their written responses. More importantly, they replicated the idea of Varela (2019) when talking about the carnation revolution “if the widespread collective mobilization that marked the revolutionary period was a product of structural opportunities, it was also the result of broad social and political unrest within large sectors of society” (p. 19). Specifically, in the high-participation condition, they complemented their justifications by attributing blame for the housing situation and renting prices to several different responsible outgroups such as the government, private owners, property investors, digital nomads and so called “golden visas”. Participants intertwined these perceptions with our measured SIMCA variables, by acknowledging the shared grievances (identification with the affected group and injustice) with the blame of an external enemy for the situation (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

According to Wright (2009), competitive CA appears to improve the status of the in-group relative to the out-group. It appears that participants recognize that some groups' disadvantages and the instability of the housing situation are the result of social inequality for which powerful advantaged groups are responsible, as they justified participation in the housing movement with intentions to reduce the power of the socially advantaged groups and to "fight for a more egalitarian country", promoting social justice via a "revolt from various social ladders". We believe that participants' responses accounted for the construction of a responsible outgroup or opponent that can be targeted (Wright, 2009), justifying the conflict with this adversarial attribution (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). This is in line with the perspective of Drury and Reicher (2000) that asserted that CA is a group phenomenon that can not be understood without considering both intragroup and intergroup level of analysis and, its relationships and dynamics associated. For instance, Simon and Klandermans (2001) suggested that to engage in collective action, individuals need to value not only the shared group membership, but also to be aware of the wider societal context as well as the power struggles among different groups.

Moreover, according to van Zomeren and colleagues (2024) individuals may engage in CA if the ingroup shared values (Leach et al., 2008) are put in question with a violation of the social contract established within a society. In our study, it was apparent in the written responses that individuals may engage in the housing movement because the outgroup (e.g., government) is not holding to this contract (e.g., fundamental right of housing accessibility to all), activating this value protection (van Zomeren et al., 2018). This is especially relevant when there is also a polarization between groups and when a social contract is breached (van Zomeren et al., 2024), which was somehow described by the participants when referring to the absolutist value of housing accessibility and conditions, as well as the perceived violation of the government in providing for this right.

Even though research started to address the societal, political and social level context where the individuals are immersed in (e.g., Saavedra & Drury, 2022) when studying CA antecedents, we suggest that further research should study this three levels of analysis (i.e., intragroup, intergroup and societal) jointly.

Participants also mentioned lack of information and lack of movement organization as potential reasons that hinder participation in the housing movement. We point out one particular quote: “perhaps there is also a lack of integration on the part of communities, as they are often associated with left-wing movements, when in fact this problem affects the entire population...”. We believe this taps into an important and complex issue when addressing CA and the role of individuals that do not participate in CA (e.g., bystanders), even if affected by the problem, and public opinion (e.g., Louis, 2009). When the values of stricter groups inside the larger affected group (e.g., specific political orientation and ideology) mismatch with the perceived movements’ values (Kutlaca et al., 2016), individuals may all agree with the problem, but not agree with the solution. For instance, Kutlaca and colleagues (2016) asserted that the framing used in communication portrayed by social movements motivates different individuals in engaging in CA, and suggested that addressing values movements linked to a superordinate group (e.g., nationality instead of ideology) is a potential strategy to be considered to increase support for a wider society.

Those two ideas above mentioned concepts about external factors may reflect the importance of the need to account for a macro-level and meso-level analysis (Kutlaca et al., 2016; Thomas et al., 2022; van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009) when studying CA. They can have practical implications in how movements communicate their goals and beliefs to promote social change, particularly if they intend to convince others to participate in social movements.

Lastly, we conclude with a final remark about the consequences of participation in social movements. Participants mentioned aversive reactions related to possible participation outcomes, such as fear of police action and reluctance to make public stances by engaging in CA behaviors. This may be relevant for future research given that potential outcomes may feed into antecedents of CA intentions (e.g., Louis, 2009).

6.2. Limitations and Moving Forward

Despite the relevant contributions described in the sections above, this research has several limitations and results should be interpreted with caution.

First, the indirect effects of descriptive norms found on CA intentions were relatively weak. With such small effect sizes, in the two studies the sample size obtained was not sufficient to have a statistical power of 80%, particularly when considering the three-path mediation model. Although the replication of the overall indirect effect, the clear absence of a total effect and the very similar correlational patterns in both studies speak for the robustness of these results, the interpretation of the more specific mediations that were different in the two studies carries more uncertainties.

There was a significant drop out of participants in both studies. Although we tried to mitigate this by using data imputation, we only imputed data for participants who reached at least the beginning of the dependent measures. For all the other participants that dropped out before, we had to use list wise deletion as we did not want to inflate the sample with participants with only imputed data on the dependent variable. This dropout may have undermined the validity of the experimental manipulation. Additionally, in the Main study, participants had significantly higher levels of education in the control condition, which jeopardized random distribution among conditions. We speculate that this happened because of the time-consuming and difficult task of providing written responses, which led to a significant drop-out in both experimental conditions. In future research this might partially be accounted for if participants had also to write something unrelated to norms in the control condition.

Furthermore, we only manipulated descriptive norms, which unveiled the causal link of the effect of norms on the first level mediators. However, the SIMCA factors were measured, which compromise causal inferences from the later relationships in the mediation, that is, we cannot be sure that the correlations of the SIMCA variables with CA are actually representing effects on CA intentions and not other types of relations. Regarding the manipulation, we did not include asking participants if they found the information presented reasonable and credible. We believe that including this type of measure in further studies that address highly prevalent topics in the public sphere is necessary.

Moreover, in both studies the sample was young, left-wing and of medium to high perceived social status. In the Pilot study the sample was more left-wing orientated, while in the Main study it was more central, tending to be slightly left-wing.

Even though we believe that the results found are indicative of the relevancy of later incorporations of descriptive norms more prominently in the CA literature, replicating these findings with a larger and more diverse sample is, therefore, necessary to understand if the model can be applied to a broader population.

Furthermore, no measure of participants' geographical area was included. Even though there were protests all over Portugal and the housing problem is more or less generalized across the country (Mendes & Tulumello, 2024), understanding participation patterns considering urban and rural areas would provide relevant information to discern whether there are differences in the perceptions when protests occur in small towns or in areas where protests are simply not happening. Likewise, we did not ask for participants' nationality and the degree to which they identified with the reference group used in the manipulation, although these groups might have some overlap with the groups used for measuring non-politicized identification, we did not measure the extent to which participants identified or valued their nationality (Main study) or age group (Pilot study). Even though it is reasonable to assume that the young and Portuguese identity was relevant for the sample, considering that Portugal is increasingly becoming a multicultural country (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, 2023), it is also possible that foreign people that speak Portuguese (e.g., Brazilians) could have participated in the studies.

Another important point is that the attitudes towards the movement and its protests, as well as the housing situation were also not controlled. According to Sweetman and colleagues (2019), the previous attitudes of individuals toward protest predicts political action in both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. It is possible that descriptive norms have different effects, depending on people's attitudes to the housing problem and movement. If one's aim is to increase participation in grassroot movements and to know how to motivate larger groups of individuals that may not be directly affected by the crisis or don't believe that the housing situation is a problem at all, understanding what motivates individuals that do not consider the housing situation that serious may be valuable.

The measures used were context specific, which means that we had to adapt the measures to the Portuguese context and translate them without a scale validation in separate studies with representative samples. Although – with some exceptions – the measures showed good psychometric properties in our studies, we believe that the literature would benefit from conducting a scale validation of CA and SIMCA scales in the Portuguese context.

In the Pilot study, we asked individuals to evaluate the normativity and violence of several actions considering the broader context (i.e., what society considers normative or violent). However, we believe it would be richer if those actions were evaluated also according to participants' less inclusive in-groups and not just according to the norms of very large groups, broader society, or institutions (Uysal et al., 2024), because they may differ. In this study there was a disagreement among participants about the character of different actions (i.e., many participants evaluated some actions as violent that were considered to be non-normative in the measures' categorization). This could be especially relevant if one aims is to differentiate the effects on distinctive CA intentions, which was not the specific goal of this dissertation. Further studies may have the need to address the complexity of violence in CA.

Another limitation is that we only studied actions related to the housing movement in Portugal. Although it is plausible that the findings may generalize to other CA topics and movements, which was noticeable in the participants' written responses, the fact that we obtained already different results by referring to different groups related to the housing movement suggests that there can also be differences. Therefore, replicating this study in different contexts (e.g., non-democratic countries) and different movements (e.g., environmental movement) is relevant to the CA literature.

One of the specific aims of this dissertation was studying experimentally the role of descriptive norms in predicting CA intentions, which has theoretical importance, but also practical, given its high relevance in the Portuguese context and how media was disseminating how thousands of people have been participating in the movement (e.g., Ribeiro, 2023). This may unveil how in daily life individuals may be socially influenced (or not) in participating in different types of CA. Nevertheless, individuals in their daily life also face information about what they should do. Hence, we encourage future studies to address simultaneously the role of injunctive norms in interaction with descriptive norms. According to Smith and Louis (2008) coupling descriptive norms with injunctive norms enhances their normative influence, especially if they are congruent (i.e., in the same direction) (Smith et al., 2012).

Social movements are larger than a couple of protests that happen through time (Uluğ & Acar, 2018) and replicating these results in a sample of (actual) activists is necessary. Even though the line between being an activist and not being an activist is not always clear cut (e.g., Burrows et al., 2023), politically and civically engaged individuals may provide insightful and additional information of what sustains a social movement, even when there is not much actual protest going on. Moreover, understanding the reasons behind why individuals *keep acting* for the same cause repeatedly (Cohen-Eick, 2023), entails the need to study also CA longitudinally with activists.

Following this line of thought and thinking of the other end of the spectrum, analyzing non-participants (i.e., bystanders) and their perceptions is also relevant, since they may have a crucial role in escalation or de-escalation of actions outside social movements (Saavedra & Drury, 2024), when referring to their influence in normative conduct.

Lastly, following the recommendations of Uluğ and colleagues (2022) we decided to complement our study with a qualitative analysis. Despite that our goal was to test a proposed theoretical model of CA with the addition of descriptive norms, exploring the complex and contextual insights expressed by participants' written responses, even if in a superficial way, had an incremental value. It is important to note that the qualitative part was not analyzed in depth. Subsequent studies should aim at integrating a mixed-method approach and analyzing the role of positive emotions, contextual socio-political factors, message framing to get support from wider groups, as well as studying not only the antecedents of CA, but also the consequences of CA failures or successes.

6.3. Conclusion

Social and political crises are closely intertwined with grassroots mobilization and social change demands. We provide information about how descriptive norms may affect indirectly different motivations in collective action tendencies, pointing to the need to consider social influence as a potentially determining factor.

We believe these initial findings open potentially fruitful avenues for future research in the field of Political Psychology and Social Psychology of collective action, contributing to the literature both theoretically and methodologically.

We provide a clear conceptual underpinning picture of the predictors of collective action, in Portugal, using a comprehensive framework that considers social norms and motivational factors in the same model, considering a micro-level approach of what determines individuals' motivations to participate in different forms of collective actions distinguished in the literature.

This study also sheds some light on the perspectives and opinions that Portuguese people have about social movements in general and how past protests, even if not related with each other, determine individuals' perceptions around their role in society. At a time of the change of the political and social paradigm, where collective action is a potentiator of social change (Feinberg et al., 2020), understanding the other core antecedents of mobilization, as well as other contextual factors is relevant and necessary not only theoretically, but also practically.

In essence, exploring what is behind participation in social movements provides relevant information for scholars and policy makers of how to foster or disengage grassroots collective action and what facilitates or hinders different forms of action and the underlying motives of social, political and civic participation in society.

References

- Abrams, D. & Hogg, M. A. (1990). An introduction to the social identity approach. In: Abrams, D. & Hogg, M. A. (eds.) *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances*. Harvester-Wheatsheaf, London.
- Accornero, G. (2021). *The Revolution before the Revolution: Late Authoritarianism and Student Protest in Portugal*. Oxford University Press.
- Adu, P. (2019). *A Step-by-Step Guide to Qualitative Data Coding*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351044516>
- Agler, R. & Boeck, P. D. (2017). On the Interpretation and Use of Mediation: Multiple Perspectives on Mediation Analysis. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8, pp. 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01984>
- Agostini, M., & van Zomeren, M. (2021). Toward a comprehensive and potentially cross-cultural model of why people engage in collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of four motivations and structural constraints. *Psychological Bulletin*, 147(7), 667. <https://doi.org/10.1037/bul0000256>
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding Attitudes and Predicting Social Behavior*. Prentice-Hall. <https://www.scienceopen.com/book?vid=c20c4174-d8dc-428d-b352-280b05eacdf7>
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 50(2), 179–211. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978\(91\)90020-T](https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(91)90020-T)
- Allen, M. S., Iliescu, D., & Greiff, S. (2022). Single Item Measures in Psychological Science. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment*, 38(1), 1–5. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1015-5759/a000699>
- American Psychological Association. (2018a). Free rider. In *APA Dictionary of Psychology*. Retrieved from 15 October, 2024, from <https://dictionary.apa.org/free-rider>
- American Psychological Association. (2018b). Identity. In *APA Dictionary of Psychology*. Retrieved from 15 October, 2024, from <https://dictionary.apa.org/identity>
- American Psychological Association. (2018c). Relative Deprivation. In *APA Dictionary of Psychology*. Retrieved from 15 October, 2024, from <https://dictionary.apa.org/relative-deprivation>
- Antunes, G. (2019). Política de habitação social em Portugal: de 1974 à actualidade. In *Forum Sociológico. Série II* (No. 34, pp. 7-17). CESNOVA.
- Ayanian, A. H., Tausch, N., Acar, Y. G., Chayinska, M., Cheung, W.-Y., & Lukyanova, Y. (2021). Resistance in repressive contexts: A comprehensive test of psychological predictors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 120(4), 912–939. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000285>
- Ayanian, A. H., & Tausch, N. (2016). How risk perception shapes collective action intentions in repressive contexts: A study of egyptian activists during the 2013 post-coup uprising. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12164>
- Bamberg, S., Rees, J., Schulte, M. (2018). Environmental protection through societal change: What psychology knows about collective climate action—and what it needs to find out, in Clayton, S. & Manning, C. (eds.) *Psychology and Climate Change*. Academic Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-813130-5.00008-4>
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84(2), 191–215. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.84.2.191>

- Bandura, A., Ross, D., & Ross, S. A. (1963). Imitation of film-mediated aggressive models. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 66(1), 3–11. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0048687>
- Baumgarten, B. (2013). Geração à Rasca and beyond: Mobilizations in Portugal after 12 March 2011. *Current Sociology*, 61(4), 457-473. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392113479745>
- Becker, J. C., & Tausch, N. (2015). A dynamic model of engagement in normative and nonnormative collective action: Psychological antecedents, consequences, and barriers. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 26(1), 43–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2015.1094265>
- Becker, J. C., Tausch, N., Spears, R., & Christ, O. (2011). Committed dis(s)idents: Participation in radical collective action fosters disidentification with the broader in-group but enhances political identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 37(8), 1104–1116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211407076>
- Begeny, C. T., van Breen, J., Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., & Iyer, A. (2022). The power of the ingroup for promoting collective action: How distinctive treatment from fellow minority members motivates collective action. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2022.104346>
- Bergquist, M. & Ejelöv, E. (2022). Self-persuading norms: Adding a self-persuasion technique strengthens the influence of descriptive social norms. *Social Influence*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510.2022.2047776>
- Bohner, G., & Schlüter, L. E. (2014). A room with a viewpoint revisited: Descriptive norms and hotel guests' towel reuse behavior. *PLoS ONE*, 9(8), Article e104086. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0104086>
- Bryant, F. B., & Cvengros, J. A. (2004). Distinguishing hope and optimism: Two sides of a coin, or two separate coins? *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 23(2), 273–302. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.23.2.273.31018>
- Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: How is it done? *Qualitative Research*, 6(1), 97–113. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794106058877>
- Burrows, B., Selvanathan, H. P., & Lickel, B. (2021). My fight or yours: Stereotypes of activists from advantaged and disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672211060124>.
- Byrne, B. M. (2010). *Structural equation modeling with AMOS: Basic concepts, applications, and programming* (2nd ed.). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.
- Cárdenas, D., & Verkuyten, M. (2020). Immigrants' behavioral participation and its relation with national identification: Perceived closeness to the prototype as a psychological mechanism. *Self and Identity*, 19(6), 719-737. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15298868.2019.1665577>
- Casa para Viver. (n.d.). *Casa para Viver*. Retrieved October 13, 2024, from <https://www.casaparaviver.pt/>
- Chan, D. K.-S., & Cheng, G. H.-L. (2004). A comparison of offline and online friendship qualities at different stages of relationship development. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 21(3), 305–320. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407504042834>
- Chan, W. Y., Cattaneo, L. B., Mak, W. W. S., & Lin, W. Y. (2017). From moment to movement: Empowerment and resilience as a framework for collective action in Hong Kong. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 59(1-2), 120-132. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12130>

- Choy, L. T. (2014). The strengths and weaknesses of research methodology: Comparison and complimentary between qualitative and quantitative approaches. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 19(4), 99–104. <https://doi.org/10.9790/0837-194399104>
- Cialdini, R. B. (2005). Basic Social Influence Is Underestimated. *Psychological Inquiry*, 16(4), 158–161. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327965pli1604_03
- Cialdini, R. B., Bator, R. J., & Guadagno, R. E. (1999). Normative influences in organizations. In Thompson, L., Levine, J., Messick, D. (Eds.), *Shared cognition in organizations: The management of knowledge* (pp. 195–212). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410603227-9>
- Cialdini, R. B., & Goldstein, N. J. (2004). Social influence: Compliance and conformity. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 55(1), 591–621. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.55.090902.142015>
- Cialdini, R. B., Demaine, L. J., Sagarin, B. J., Barrett, D. W., Rhoads, K., & Winter, P. L. (2006). Managing social norms for persuasive impact. *Social Influence*, 1(1), 3–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510500181459>
- Cialdini, R. B., Kallgren, C. A., & Reno, R. R. (1991). A focus theory of normative conduct: A theoretical refinement and reevaluation of the role of norms in human behavior. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 24, pp. 201–234). Academic Press.
- Cialdini, R. B., Reno, R. R., & Kallgren, C. A. (1990). A focus theory of normative conduct: Recycling the concept of norms to reduce littering in public places. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58(6), 1015–1026. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.6.1015>
- Cohen-Eick, N., Shuman, E., van Zomeren, M., & Halperin, E. (2023). Should I Stay or Should I Go? Motives and Barriers for Sustained Collective Action Toward Social Change. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/01461672231206638>
- Collado, S., Staats, H., & Sancho, P. (2019). Normative influences on adolescents' self-reported pro-environmental behaviors: The role of parents and friends. *Environment and Behavior*, 51(3), 288–314. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916517744591>
- Cornejo, M., Rocha, C., Castro, D., Varela, M., Manzi, J., González, R., Jiménez-Moya, G., Carvacho, H., Álvarez, B., Valdenegro, D., Cheyre, M., & Livingstone, A. G. (2021). The intergenerational transmission of participation in collective action: The role of conversation and political practices in the family. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 60(1), 29–49. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12420>
- Couto, C., & Pilati, R. (2024). Rebellious yet apathetic: System justification and learned helplessness in collective action. *Revista Latino americana de Psicología*, 56, 16–23. <https://doi.org/10.14349/rlp.2024.v56.2>
- Craig, M. A., Badaan, V., & Brown, R. M. (2020). Acting for whom, against what? Group membership and multiple paths to engagement in social change. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 35, 41–48. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.03.002>
- da Costa, S., Pérez, D., Martí-González, M., Díaz, V., & Bouchat, P. (2023). Social movements and collective behavior: An integration of meta-analysis and systematic review of social psychology studies. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 14. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1096877>
- Deacon, D., Bryman, A., & Fenton, N. (1998). Collision or collusion? A discussion and case study of the unplanned triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 1(1), 47–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.1998.10846862>

- Deutchman, P., Kraft-Todd, G., Young, L., & McAuliffe, K. (2023). *People update their injunctive norm and moral beliefs after receiving descriptive norm information*. OSF Preprints. <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/e6krn>
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2015). Self-Determination Theory. In M. D. Gellman & J. R. Turner (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Behavioral Medicine* (pp. 1-7). Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.26036-4>
- Delton, A. W., Cosmides, L., Guemo, M., Robertson, T. E., & Tooby, J. (2012). The psychosemantics of free riding: Dissecting the architecture of a moral concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 102(6), 1252–1270. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027026>
- Diário da República. (1976). *Decreto de Aprovação da Constituição*. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/legislacao-consolidada/decreto-aprovacao-constituicao/1976-34520775-50476675>
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Saguy, T. (2007). Another view of “we”: Majority and minority group perspectives on a common ingroup identity. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 18(1), 296–330. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280701726132>
- Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2000). Collective action and psychological change: The emergence of new social identities. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(4), 579–604. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466600164642>
- Ekman, P., & Davidson, R. J. (Eds.). (1994). *The nature of emotion: Fundamental questions*. Oxford University Press.
- Ellemers, N. (1993). The influence of socio-structural variables on identity management strategies. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 4(1), 27–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14792779343000013>
- Ellemers, N., Pagliaro, S., & Barreto, M. (2013). Morality and behavioural regulation in groups: A social identity approach. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 24(1), 160–193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2013.841490>
- Eurostat. (2023, 4 de setembro). *When do young Europeans leave their parental home?*. European Commission. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/w/ddn-20230904-1>
- Eriksson, K., Strimling, P. & Coultas, J. C. (2015). Bidirectional associations between descriptive and injunctive norms. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 129, pp. 59-69. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2014.09.011>
- European Social Survey European Research Infrastructure (ESS ERIC). (2023). ESS10 integrated file, edition 3.2 [Data set]. Sikt - Norwegian Agency for Shared Services in Education and Research. https://doi.org/10.21338/ess10e03_2
- Evans, J. S. B. T. (1989). *Bias in human reasoning: Causes and consequences*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Evans, J. S. B. T., & Stanovich, K. E. (2013). Dual-process theories of higher cognition: Advancing the debate. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 8(3), 223–241. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691612460685>
- Ferreira, M., & Antunes, R. P. (2023, September 30). *Ataque a imobiliária e a deputados do Chega em dia de manifestações pela habitação por todo o país*. Observador. <https://observador.pt/2023/09/30/24-cidades-protestam-sabado-nas-ruas-em-defesa-de-uma-casa-e-do-planeta/>

- Feinberg, M., Willer, R., & Kovacheff, C. (2020). The activist's dilemma: Extreme protest actions reduce popular support for social movements. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 119(5), 1086–1111. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000230>
- Gareau, A., Gaudreau, P., & Boileau, L. (2019). Past academic achievement contributes to university students' autonomous motivation (AM), moderated by implicit motivation and working memory: A Bayesian replication of the explicit-implicit model of AM. *Learning and Individual Differences*, 73, 70-82. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lindif.2019.05.004>
- Gerber, A. S., & Rogers, T. (2009). Descriptive social norms and motivation to vote: Everybody's voting and so should you. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(1), 178–191. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381608090117>
- Glynn, C. J., Hugu, M. E., & Lunney, C. A. (2009). The Influence of Perceived Social Norms on College Students' Intention to Vote. *Political Communication*, 26(1), 48–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600802622860>
- González, R., Alvarez, B., Manzi, J., Varela, M., Frigolett, C., Livingstone, A. G., Louis, W., Carvacho, H., Castro, D., Cheyre, M., Cornejo, M., Jiménez-Moya, G., Rocha, C., & Valdenegro, D. (2021). The Role of Family in the Intergenerational Transmission of Collective Action. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 12(6), 856-867. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550620949378>
- Graham J. W. (2009). Missing data analysis: making it work in the real world. *Annual review of psychology*, 60, 549–576. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.58.110405.085530>
- Graham, J., Nosek, B. A., Haidt, J., Iyer, R., Koleva, S., & Ditto, P. H. (2011). Mapping the moral domain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101(2), 366–385. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021847>
- Hamann, K. R. S., Wullenkord, M. C., Reese, G., & van Zomeren, M. (2024). Believing that we can change our world for the better: A triple-A (agent-action-aim) framework of self-efficacy beliefs in the context of collective social and ecological aims. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 28(1), 11–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683231178056>
- Haslam, S. A., Oakes, P. J., McGarty, C., Turner, J. C., & Onorato, R. S. (1995). Contextual changes in the prototypicality of extreme and moderate outgroup members. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25(5), 509–553.
- Hassell, H.J.G., Wyler, E.E. Negative Descriptive Social Norms and Political Action: People Aren't Acting, So You Should. *Polit Behav* 41, 231–256 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-018-9450-z>
- Hayes, A. F. (2018). Partial, conditional, and moderated moderated mediation: Quantification, inference, and interpretation. *Communication Monographs*, 85(1), 4–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2017.1352100>
- Henrich, J., Heine, S. J., & Norenzayan, A. (2010). The weirdest people in the world? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2-3), 83–135. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X0999152X>
- Hysenbelli, D., Rubaltelli, E., & Rumiati, R. (2013). Others' opinions count, but not all of them: anchoring to ingroup versus outgroup members' behavior in charitable giving. *Judgment and Decision Making*, 8(6), 678–690. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s193029750000471x>
- Hogg, M. A. (2016). Social identity theory. In S. McKeown, R. Haji, & N. Ferguson (Eds.), *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory: Contemporary global perspectives* (pp. 3–17). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-29869-6_1
- Hogg, M. A., & Reid, S. A. (2006). Social identity, self-categorization, and the communication of group norms. *Communication Theory*, 16(1), 7–30. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00003.x>

- Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. J. (2000). Social identity and self-categorization processes in organizational contexts. *The Academy of Management Review*, 25(1), 121–140. <https://doi.org/10.2307/259266>
- Hogg, M. A., & Vaughan, G. M. (2017). *Social psychology* (8th ed.). Pearson.
- Hsiao, Y. (2018). Understanding digital natives in contentious politics: Explaining the effect of social media on protest participation through psychological incentives. *New media & society*, 20(9), 3457–3478. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817749519>
- Irwin, K., & Simpson, B. (2013). Do Descriptive Norms Solve Social Dilemmas? Conformity and Contributions in Collective Action Groups. *Social Forces*, 91(3), 1057–1084. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sos196>
- Jiménez-Moya, G., Spears, R., Rodríguez-Bailón, R., & de Lemus, S. (2015). By any means necessary? When and why low group identification paradoxically predicts radical collective action. *Journal of Social Issues*, 71(3), 517–535. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12126>
- Jones, K. S. (2006). Giving and Volunteering as Distinct Forms of Civic Engagement: The Role of Community Integration and Personal Resources in Formal Helping. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 35(2), 249–266. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764006287464>
- Karampampas, S., Temple, L., & Grasso, M. (2020). Violent political action during the European economic crisis: An empirical investigation of four theoretical paradigms from social movement research. *Comparative European Politics*, 18(3), 420–436. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41295-019-00191-4>
- Karau, S. J., & Williams, K. D. (1993). Social loafing: A meta-analytic review and theoretical integration. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65(4), 681–706. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.65.4.681>
- Klandermans, B. (1984). Mobilization and participation: Social-psychological expansions of resource mobilization theory. *American Sociological Review*, 49(5), 583–600. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095417>
- Klandermans, B. (1997). *The social psychology of protest*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Klavina, L., & van Zomeren, M. (2018). Protesting to protect “us” and/or “them”? Explaining why members of third groups are willing to engage in collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430218796930>
- Kostelka, F., & Rovny, J. (2019). It’s Not the Left: Ideology and Protest Participation in Old and New Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(11), 1677–1712. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019830717>
- Kutlaca, M., Van Zomeren, M., & Epstude, K. (2016). Preaching to, or Beyond, the Choir. *Social Psychology*, 47(1), 15–28. <https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000254>
- Lac, A., & Donaldson, C. D. (2021). Experimental priming of peer injunctive norms and peer descriptive norms on personal alcohol attitudes, behaviors, and motivations. *Addiction Research & Theory*, 29(4), 338–346. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16066359.2020.1852219>
- Lang, K. M., & Little, T. D. (2018). Principled Missing Data Treatments. *Prevention science: the official journal of the Society for Prevention Research*, 19(3), 284–294. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-016-0644-5>
- Lay, S., Zagefka, H., González, R., Álvarez, B., & Valdenegro, D. (2020). Don't forget the group! The importance of social norms and empathy for shaping donation behaviour. *International journal of psychology: Journal international de psychologie*, 55(4), 518–531. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12626>

- Leach, C. W., Ferguson, S. T., & Teixeira, C. P. (2024). Protest now: A systems view of 21st century movements. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 27(5), 1188-1206. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302241245660>
- Leach, C. W., Iyer, A., & Pedersen, A. (2006). Anger and Guilt About Ingroup Advantage Explain the Willingness for Political Action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(9), 1232-1245. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167206289729>
- Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J. W., & Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(1), 144-165. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.144>
- Leyens, J.-P., & Yzerbyt, V. (2004). *Psicologia social* (2ª ed., B. Lalardy & L. Porto, Trans.). Lisboa: Edições 70.
- Lindström B, Jangard S, Selbing I, Olsson A. (2018). The role of a "common is moral" heuristic in the stability and change of moral norms. *J Exp Psychol Gen*, 147(2), 228-242. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000365>
- Little, R., & Rubin, D. (2019). Statistical Analysis with Missing Data, Third Edition. *Wiley Series in Probability and Statistics*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119482260>
- Louis, W. R. (2009). Collective Action - and Then What? *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(4), 727-748. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01623.x>
- Louis W., Thomas E., McGarty C., Lizzio-Wilson M., Amiot C., Moghaddam F. (2020). The volatility of collective action: theoretical analysis and empirical data. *Polit. Psychol.* 41, 35-74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12671>
- Lusa. (2024, September 28). *Manifestações pelo direito à habitação agitam Lisboa, Porto e mais 20 cidades nacionais*. Expresso. <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2024-09-28-manifestacoes-pelo-direito-a-habitacao-agitam-lisboa-porto-e-mais-20-cidades-nacionais-3590f397>
- Maier, S. F., & Seligman, M. E. P. (1976). Learned helplessness: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 105(1), 3-46. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0096-3445.105.1.3>
- Mannarini, T., Roccato, M., Fedi, A., & Rovere, A. (2009). Six Factors Fostering Protest: Predicting Participation in Locally Unwanted Land Uses Movements. *Political Psychology*, 30(6), 895-920. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2009.00732.x>
- Marques, J. M., & Paez, D. (1994). The 'Black Sheep Effect': Social Categorization, Rejection of Ingroup Deviates, and Perception of Group Variability. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 5(1), 37-68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14792779543000011>
- Mazzoni, D., van Zomeren, M., & Cicognani, E. (2015). The motivating role of perceived right violation and efficacy beliefs in identification with the Italian water movement. *Political Psychology*, 36(3), 315-330. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12101>
- McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 1212-1241.
- Meleady, R., Hopthrow, T., & Crisp, R. J. (2013). Simulating social dilemmas: Promoting cooperative behavior through imagined group discussion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 104(5), 839-853. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031233>

- Mendes, L. & Tulumello, S. (2024). Changing social movements in Lisbon? Housing financialisation and post-pandemic activism. *Critical housing analysis*, 11(1), pp. 115-126. <https://doi.org/10.13060/23362839.2024.11.1.569>
- Molden, D. C. (2014). Understanding Priming Effects in Social Psychology: What is “Social Priming” and How does it Occur?. *Social Cognition*, 32(Supplement), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2014.32.supp.1>
- Mollen, S., Cheung, Q., & Stok, F. M. (2023). The influence of social norms on anticipated snacking: An experimental study comparing different types of social norms. *Appetite*, 106372. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2022.106372>
- Monroe, A. E., Dillon, K. D., Guglielmo, S., & Baumeister, R. F. (2018). It's not what you do, but what everyone else does: On the role of descriptive norms and subjectivism in moral judgment. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 77, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2018.03.010>
- Monteiro, R. (2021). Em termos de manifestações inorgânicas, há um antes e um depois da Geração à Rasca [Depoimento]. *Público*. João Labrincha: “Em termos de manifestações inorgânicas, há um antes e um depois da Geração à Rasca” | Depoimento | PÚBLICO
- Morris, M. W., & Liu, Z. (2015). Psychological functions of subjective norms: Reference groups, moralization, adherence, and defiance. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 46(10), 1279–1287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022115612161>
- Mummendey, A., Kessler, T., Klink, A., & Mielke, R. (1999). Strategies to cope with negative social identity: Predictions by social identity theory and relative deprivation theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(2), 229–245. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.2.229>
- Nolan, J. M., Schultz, P. W., Cialdini, R. B., Goldstein, N. J., & Griskevicius, V. (2008). Normative social influence is underdetected. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34, 913-123. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167208316691>
- Nyambe, H. K., Li, X., & Xiong, M. (2024). The influence of subjective socioeconomic status on inclination to offline collective action: a sequential mediation framework of group relative deprivation and online collective behavioral intentions. *International Journal of Science and Research Archive*, 11(2), 1467-1483. <https://doi.org/10.30574/ijrsra.2024.11.2.0595>
- Oakes, P. J. (1987). The salience of social categories. In J. C. Turner, M. A. Hogg, P. J. Oakes, S. D. Reicher, & M. S. Wetherell (Eds.), *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Ortiz, I., Burke, S., Berrada, M., & Saenz Cortés, H. (2021). An Analysis of World Protests 2006–2020. *World Protests*, 13–81. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-88513-7_2
- Pauls, I. L., Shuman, E., van Zomeren, M., Saguy, T., & Halperin, E. (2021). Does crossing a moral line justify collective means? Explaining how a perceived moral violation triggers normative and nonnormative forms of collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(1), 105-123. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2818>
- Passy, F., Giugni, M. Social Networks and Individual Perceptions: Explaining Differential Participation in Social Movements. *Sociological Forum* 16, 123–153 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007613403970>
- Pereira, C. R., & Costa-Lopes, R. (Orgs.). (2012). *Normas, atitudes e comportamento social*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.

- Perkins, H. W., & Berkowitz, A. D. (1986). Perceiving the community norms of alcohol use among students: Some research implications for campus alcohol education programming. *International Journal of the Addictions*, 21(9-10), 961–976. <https://doi.org/10.3109/10826088609077249>
- Petty, R. E. & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 19, pp. 123-205. [https://doi.org/10.1016/s0065-2601\(08\)60214-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0065-2601(08)60214-2)
- Petty, R. E., & Krosnick, J. A. (Eds.). (1995). *Attitude strength: Antecedents and consequences*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Pinto, I. R., Marques, J. M., & Cameira, M. (2012). Focalização normativa, reacções ao desvio e identidade social: A perspectiva da dinâmica de grupos subjectiva sobre os mecanismos de controlo social nos grupos. In C. R. Pereira & R. Costa-Lopes (Orgs.), *Normas, atitudes e comportamento social* (pp. 45-71). Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais.
- Pordata. (2021). *Habitação em Portugal nos Censos de 2021 | Pordata*
- Portos, M., & Masullo, J. (2017). VOICING OUTRAGE UNEVENLY: DEMOCRATIC DISSATISFACTION, NONPARTICIPATION, AND PARTICIPATION FREQUENCY IN THE 15-M CAMPAIGN*. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 22(2), 201–222. <https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671x-22-2-201>
- Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Swaab, R. I. (2005). Social influence in small groups: An interactive model of social identity formation. *European review of social psychology*, 16(1), 1-42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280440000062>
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: Taking stock and looking forward. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology*, Vol. 17, pp. 271–320). Psychology Press.
- Qin, X. (2023). Sample size and power calculations for causal mediation analysis: A Tutorial and Shiny App. *Behavior Research Methods*, 56, pp. 1738–1769. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-023-02118-0>
- Radke, H. R. M., Kutlaca, M., Siem, B., Wright, S. C., & Becker, J. C. (2020). Beyond allyship: Motivations for advantaged group members to engage in action for disadvantaged groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 24(4), 291–315. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320918698>
- Ramos Pinto, P. (2015). *Lisbon Rising: Urban Social Movements in the Portuguese Revolution, 1974–75*. Manchester University Press.
- Rathbone, J., Cruwys, T., Stevens, M., Ferris, L., Reynolds, K. (2023). The reciprocal relationship between social identity and adherence to group norms. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 62(3), 1346-1362. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12635>
- Reimer, N. K., Becker, J. C., Benz, A., Christ, O., Dhont, K., Klocke, U., Hewstone, M. (2017). “Intergroup contact and social change: Implications of negative and positive contact for collective action in advantaged and disadvantaged groups”: Erratum. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 43(6), 901–902. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167217703392>
- Reisch, M. (2002). Defining Social Justice in a Socially Unjust World. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, 83(4), 343–354. <https://doi.org/10.1606/1044-3894.17>
- Reno, R. R., Cialdini, R. B., & Kallgren, C. A. (1993). The transsituational influence of social norms. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(1), 104–112. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.64.1.104>

- Rhee, J. J., Schein, C., & Bastian, B. (2019). The what, how, and why of moralization: A review of current definitions, methods, and evidence in moralization research. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 13(12). <https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12511>
- Richards L. Using Nvivo in Qualitative Research. London: Sage; 1999.
- Rimal, R. N., Lapinski, M. K., Cook, R. J., & Real, K. (2005). Moving Toward a Theory of Normative Influences: How Perceived Benefits and Similarity Moderate the Impact of Descriptive Norms on Behaviors. *Journal of Health Communication*, 10(5), 433–450. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10810730591009880>
- Rimal, R. N., & Real, K. (2005). How Behaviors are Influenced by Perceived Norms: A Test of the Theory of Normative Social Behavior. *Communication Research*, 32(3), 389–414. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650205275385>
- Rinker, D. V., & Neighbors, C. (2014). Do different types of social identity moderate the association between perceived descriptive norms and drinking among college students? *Addictive Behaviors*, 39(9), 1297–1303. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.addbeh.2014.03.018>
- Rinscheid, A., Pianta, S., & Weber, E. U. (2021). What shapes public support for climate change mitigation policies? The role of descriptive social norms and elite cues. *Behavioural Public Policy*, 5(4), 503–527. <https://doi.org/10.1017/bpp.2020.43>
- Runciman, W. G. (1966). Relative deprivation and social justice: A study of attitudes to social inequality in twentieth-century England. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Saavedra, P., & Drury, J. (2019). Including political context in the psychological analysis of collective action: Development and validation of a measurement scale for subjective political openness. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 7(2), 665–694. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v7i2.1030>
- Saavedra, P., & Drury, J. (2022). *Street Protest*. Springer EBooks, 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-98390-5_196-1
- Saavedra, P., & Drury, J. (2024). Understanding Protest Violence: From Protesters' to Non-Participants' Support for Protest Violence', in Fouad, Z. & Vollhardt, J. (eds.), *Resistance to Repression and Violence: Global Psychological Perspectives*. New York, Oxford Academic. <https://doi.org/10.1093/9780197687703.003.0005>.
- Saavedra, P. (2020). Non-participants' support for protest violence: The role of perceived political context. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Sussex]. <https://hdl.handle.net/10779/uos.23475527.v1>
- Sabucedo, J. M., Dono, M., Grigoryev, D., Román, C. G., & Alzate, M. (2019). Axiological-Identitary Collective Action Model (AICAM): A new integrative perspective in the analysis of protest. *PLoS ONE*, 14(6), Article e0218350. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0218350>
- Sagnier, L., & Morell, A. (Coords.). (2021). Os jovens em Portugal, hoje: Quem são, que hábitos têm, o que pensam e o que sentem. Lisboa: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos.
- Santos, I. M., & Neves, C. S. (2023, April 1). Após marcha pelo direito à habitação. PSP carrega sobre manifestantes em Lisboa. RTP. https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/pais/milhares-em-manifestacoes-pelo-direito-a-habitacao-denunciam-medidas-insuficientes_e1476956
- Selvanathan, H. P., & Jetten, J. (2020). From marches to movements: Building and sustaining a social movement following collective action. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 35, 81–85. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.04.004>

- Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. (2023). Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo 2022. <https://www.sef.pt/en/Documents/RIFA2022%20vF2a.pdf>
- Sherif, M. (1936). *The psychology of social norms*. Harper.
- Sherif, M. (1951). A preliminary study of inter-group relations. In J. H. Rohrer & M. Sherif, *Social psychology at the crossroads; the University of Oklahoma lectures in social psychology* (pp. 388–424). Harper.
- Sicilia, M., Palazón, M., & López, M. (2020). Intentional vs. unintentional influences of social media friends. *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications*, 42. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.elerap.2020.100979>
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56(4), 319–331. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.4.319>
- Skitka, L. J. (2010). The Psychology of Moral Conviction. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 4(4), 267–281. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2010.00254.x>
- Skitka, L. J., Bauman, C. W., & Sargis, E. G. (2005). Moral Conviction: Another Contributor to Attitude Strength or Something More? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(6), 895–917. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.6.895>
- Smith, E. M., González, R., & Frigolett, C. (2021). Understanding Change in Social-Movement Participation: The Roles of Social Norms and Group Efficacy. *Political Psychology*, 42(6), 1037–1051. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12733>
- Smith, J. R., & Louis, W. R. (2008). Do as we say and as we do: The interplay of descriptive and injunctive group norms in the attitude-behaviour relationship. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47, 647–666. <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466607X269748>
- Smith, J. R., Louis, W. R., Terry, D. J. & Greenaway, K. (2012). Congruent or Conflicted? The Impact of Injunctive and Descriptive Norms on Environmental Intentions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 32(4), pp. 353–361. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2012.06.001>
- Soares, M., Barbosa, M., Matos, R., & Mendes, S. M. (2018). Public protest and police violence: Moral disengagement and its role in police repression of public demonstrations in Portugal. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 24(1), 27–35. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000277>
- Soeiro, J. (2014). Da Geração à Rasca ao Que se Lixe a Troika : Portugal no novo ciclo internacional de protesto. *Sociologia: Revista Da Faculdade De Letras Da Universidade Do Porto*, 28. Retrived <https://ojs.letras.up.pt/index.php/Sociologia/article/view/1307>
- Spears, R. (2021). Social Influence and Group Identity. In S. T. Fiske, & D. L. Schacter (Eds.), *Annual Review of Psychology* (Vol. 72, pp. 367–390). <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-070620-111818>
- Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(3), 224–237. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2695870>
- Stok, F. M., Verkooijen, K. T., de Ridder, D. T., de Wit, J. B., & de Vet, E. (2014). How norms work: self-identification, attitude, and self-efficacy mediate the relation between descriptive social norms and vegetable intake. *Applied psychology. Health and well-being*, 6(2), 230–250. <https://doi.org/10.1111/aphw.12026>
- Stürmer, S., & Simon, B. (2004). Collective action: Towards a dual-pathway model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 15(1), 59–99. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280340000117>
- Sweetman, J., Maio, G. R., Spears, R., Manstead, A. S. R., & Livingstone, A. G. (2019). Attitude toward protest uniquely predicts (normative and nonnormative) political action by (advantaged and disadvantaged) group

- members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 82, 115–128. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.01.001>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-37). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Tausch, N., & Becker, J. (2012). Emotional reactions to success and failure of collective action as predictors of future action intentions: A longitudinal investigation in the context of student protests in Germany. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 52(3), 525–542. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2012.02109.x>
- Tausch, N., Becker, J., Spears, R., Christ, O., Saab, R., Singh, P., & Siddiqui, R.N. (2011). Explaining radical group behaviour: Developing emotion and efficacy routes to normative and non-normative collective action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 101, 129-148. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0022728>
- Thomas, E. F., Duncan, L., McGarty, C., Louis, W. R., & Smith, L. G. E. (2022). MOBILISE: A Higher-Order Integration of Collective Action Research to Address Global Challenges. *Political Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12811>
- Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., Lala, G., Stuart, A., Hall, L. J., & Goddard, A. (2015). Whatever happened to Kony2012? Understanding a global Internet phenomenon as an emergent social identity. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 45(3), 356-367.
- Thomas, E.F., McGarty, C., & Mavor, K.I. (2009). Aligning identities, emotions, and beliefs to create commitment to sustainable social and political action. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 13, 194–218. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868309341563>
- Tropp, L. R., & Bianchi, R. A. (2007). Interpreting References to Group Membership in Context: Feelings About Intergroup Contact Depending on Who Says What to Whom. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(1), 153–170. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.340>
- Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorisation perspective. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Uluğ, Ö. M., & Acar, Y. G. (2018). What happens after the protests? Understanding protest outcomes through multi-level social change. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 24(1), 44–53. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000269>
- Uysal, M., Saavedra, P, Drury, J. (2024) Beyond normative and non-normative: A systematic review on predictors of confrontational collective action. *Br J Soc Psychol*. 63(3), 1385-1409. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12735>
- Van Stekelenburg, J., & Klandermans, B. (2017). Individuals in movements: A social psychology of contention. *Handbook of social movements across disciplines*, 103-139. http://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57648-0_5
- van Zomeren, M., D'Amore, C., Pauls, I. L., Shuman, E., & Leal, A. (2024). The Intergroup Value Protection Model: A Theoretically Integrative and Dynamic Approach to Intergroup Conflict Escalation in Democratic Societies. *Personality and Social Psychology review*, 28(2), 225-248. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683231192120>
- van Zomeren, M., & Iyer, A. (2009). Introduction to the social and psychological dynamics of collective action. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(4), 645-660. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01618.x>

- van Zomeren, M., Kutlaca, M., & Turner-Zwinkels, F. (2018). Integrating who “we” are with what “we” (will not) stand for: A further extension of the Social Identity Model of Collective Action. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 29(1), 122–160. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2018.1479347>
- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2012). On conviction's collective consequences: Integrating moral conviction with the social identity model of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 51(1), 52-71. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02000.x>
- van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Bettache, K. (2011). Can moral convictions motivate the advantaged to challenge social inequality?: Extending the social identity model of collective action. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 14(5), 735-753. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430210395637>
- Varela, R. (2019). *A history of the people in the Portuguese revolution*. Pluto Press.
- Verhallen, P., Brrggen, E., Post, T., & Odekerken-Schrrder, G. (2018). Norms in Behavioral Interventions: Peer or Anchoring Effects? *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3098028>
- Vignoles, V. (2017, May). *Identity: Personal and Social*. ResearchGate. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316790231_Identity_Personal_AND_Social
- Wallis, H. & Loy, L. S. (2021). What drives pro-environmental activism of young people? A survey study on the Fridays For Future movement. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 74, pp. 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2021.101581>
- Wang, J. C., & Chang, C. H. (2013). How online social ties and product-related risks influence purchase intentions: A Facebook experiment. *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications*, 12(5), 337-346. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.elerap.2013.03.003>
- Wright, S. C. (2009). The Next Generation of Collective Action Research. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(4), 859–879. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01628.x>
- Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). The relationship of perceptions and emotions to behavior in the face of collective inequality. *Social Justice Research*, 4, 229-250. <http://doi.org/10.1007/BF01048399>
- Wright, S. C., & Tropp, L. R. (2001). *Collective Action in Response to Disadvantage: Intergroup Perceptions, Social Identification, and Social Change*. 200–236. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511527753.010>
- Zhao, X., Lynch, J. G., & Chen, Q. (2010). Reconsidering Baron and Kenny: Myths and Truths about Mediation Analysis. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(2), 197–206. <https://doi.org/10.1086/651257>
- Zúñiga, C., Asún, R., & Louis, W. (2023). Normative and Non-Normative Collective Action Facing Repression in a Democratic Context: A Mixed Study in a Chilean Social Movement. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 11(1), 362-382. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.7973>

Appendix A- Informed Consent

O presente estudo surge no âmbito de um projeto de investigação a decorrer no Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa. O estudo tem por objetivo investigar ações coletivas que acontecem em Portugal, nomeadamente tendo como exemplo específico o movimento de habitação que está a decorrer atualmente em Portugal. O estudo é realizado por Joana Nunes (jcmns@iscte-iul.pt) e Sven Waldzus (sven.waldzus@iscte-iul.pt), que poderá contactar caso pretenda esclarecer alguma dúvida ou partilhar algum comentário.

A sua participação no estudo, que será muito valorizada, irá contribuir para o avanço do conhecimento neste domínio da ciência em psicologia social. O estudo consiste em responder a algumas questões sobre a sua perceção e perspectiva pessoal acerca do movimento social pela habitação. O estudo não demorará mais do que 30 minutos. Note-se que estamos apenas interessados em compreender a sua perceção, não existindo respostas certas ou erradas.

Não existem riscos significativos expectáveis associados à participação no estudo. A participação no estudo é estritamente voluntária: pode escolher livremente participar ou não participar. Se tiver escolhido participar, pode interromper a participação em qualquer momento sem ter de prestar qualquer justificação. Para além de voluntária, a participação é também anónima e confidencial. Os dados obtidos destinam-se apenas a tratamento estatístico e nenhuma resposta será analisada e reportada individualmente. Em nenhum momento do estudo precisa de se identificar. Declaro ter compreendido os objetivos de quanto me foi proposto e explicado pelo/a investigador/a, ter-me

sido dada oportunidade de fazer todas as perguntas sobre o presente estudo e para todas elas ter obtido resposta esclarecedora, pelo que aceito nele participar

- ☐ Sim, aceito participar
- ☐ Não, não aceito participar

Appendix B- Demographics and Covariates

Indique o seu sexo

- ☐ Feminino
- ☐ Masculino
- ☐ Não binário
- ☐ Outro
- ☐ Prefiro não dizer

Indique a sua idade

- ☐ 18 aos 24 anos de idade
- ☐ 25 aos 34 anos de idade
- ☐ 35 aos 44 anos de idade
- ☐ 45 aos 54 anos de idade
- ☐ 55 aos 64 anos de idade
- ☐ 65+ anos de idade
- ☐ Prefiro não dizer


Indique o seu nível de escolaridade atual

- ☐ Ensino Primário
- ☐ Ensino Preparatório ou Equivalente
- ☐ Ensino Secundário ou Equivalente
- ☐ Ensino Superior-Licenciatura
- ☐ Ensino Superior-Mestrado ou Doutoramento
- ☐ Prefiro não dizer
- ☐ Outro. Qual? _____

Por favor, indique o seu estatuto social, sendo que 0% representa os indivíduos que se encontram numa situação pior, que têm menos dinheiro, menos educação, piores trabalhos ou sem emprego e 100% os indivíduos que se encontram numa situação melhor, têm mais dinheiro, têm mais educação e melhores trabalhos

0=Muito baixo 100=Muito alto

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Estatuto social percebido	
---------------------------	--

Quando nos referimos à orientação política é costume falar-se de esquerda e direita. Como é que se posicionaria nesta escala, em que 0 representa a posição mais à direita e 10 a posição mais à esquerda.

	0=Mais à direita	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10=Mais à esquerda	Prefiro não dizer	Não se aplica
Orientação Política	<input type="radio"/>										<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

De seguida, por favor indique-nos o grau de confiança que tem nas instituições referidas abaixo.

	Desconfio totalmente	Desconfio parcialmente	Não confio nem desconfio	Confio parcialmente	Confio totalmente
Na assembleia da república	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
No sistema jurídico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Na polícia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nos políticos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nos partidos políticos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Pense agora no governo português e na democracia portuguesa. De seguida, indique-nos o seu grau de concordância com as seguintes afirmações

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
No geral, sinto-me satisfeito com o governo português	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
No geral, sinto-me satisfeito com a democracia portuguesa	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix C- High Participation Condition

De seguida, irá ler um excerto acerca de evidências empíricas encontradas recentemente na literatura sobre movimentos sociais e ações coletivas. Leia com atenção e responda às questões abaixo:

Cada vez mais em Portugal as populações têm lutado por uma habitação que seja acessível. Nos últimos 6 meses tem existido um crescimento exponencial de diferentes formas de protesto (e.g., manifestação pública ou assinar uma petição), de modo a que habitação se torne mais sustentável para os portugueses, sendo uma das reivindicações a diminuição da renda. Uma das populações mais afetadas pelo aumento drástico das rendas e preços da habitação são os jovens Portugueses. Assim, dados obtidos, recentemente, informam-nos que **a maioria dos jovens em Portugal têm participado ativamente no movimento social pela habitação** que tem estado a decorrer em Portugal, **sendo a faixa etária mais prevalente**

Por favor, de forma sucinta explique-nos porque é que acha que os jovens têm ativamente participado no movimento social pela habitação. Lembre-se que não existem respostas certas nem erradas, estamos apenas interessados em saber a sua opinião

Appendix D- Low Participation Condition

De seguida, irá ler um excerto acerca de evidências empíricas encontradas recentemente na literatura sobre movimentos sociais e ações coletivas. Leia com atenção e responda às questões abaixo:

Cada vez mais em Portugal as populações têm lutado por uma habitação que seja acessível. Nos últimos 6 meses tem existido um crescimento exponencial de diferentes formas de protesto (e.g., manifestação pública ou assinar uma petição), de modo a que habitação se torne mais sustentável para os portugueses, sendo uma das reivindicações a diminuição da renda. Uma das populações mais afetadas pelo aumento drástico das rendas e preços da habitação são os jovens Portugueses. Mesmo assim, dados obtidos recentemente informam-nos que **a maioria dos jovens em Portugal NÃO têm participado ativamente no movimento social pela habitação** que tem estado a acontecer em Portugal, **não sendo a faixa etária mais prevalente.**

Por favor, de forma sucinta explique-nos porque é que acha que os jovens não têm ativamente participado no movimento social pela habitação. Lembre-se que não existem respostas certas nem erradas, estamos apenas interessados em saber a sua opinião

Appendix E- Manipulation Check

Imagine agora uma das suas redes online (e.g., pessoas com quem estabeleça ligações em redes sociais, como o facebook, twitter, instagram...). De seguida, faça uma estimativa da frequência dos comportamentos apresentados abaixo:

	Totalmente falso	Falso	Nem falso nem verdadeiro	Verdadeiro	Totalmente verdadeiro
Eu penso que os meus conhecidos online simpatizam com o movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que os meus conhecidos online apoiam o movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que os meus conhecidos online participam ativamente no movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que os meus conhecidos online sacrificaram muito pelo movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que os meus conhecidos online são membros da organização do movimento pela	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix F- SIMCA

De seguida, nesta parte do questionário estamos interessados em compreender a sua opinião e sentimentos acerca deste movimento. Lembre-se, não existem respostas certas nem erradas.

Considerando o nível da participação dos jovens no movimento social e a situação atual de habitação em Portugal, sinto que...

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
A minha opinião sobre o aumento das rendas é importante para mim	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A minha opinião sobre o aumento das rendas é uma parte importante das minhas normas morais e valores	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu acredito que a minha opinião acerca do aumento das rendas tem um caráter moral	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A minha opinião acerca do aumento das rendas é um valor moral universal que deveria aplicar-se no mundo inteiro	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Existe apenas uma posição verdadeira neste problema e é a minha posição	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A minha opinião acerca do aumento das rendas reflete uma parte importante de quem sou	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Considerando o nível da participação dos jovens no movimento social e a situação atual de habitação em Portugal, sinto que...

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
Os preços das rendas são socialmente injustos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A subida das rendas é injusta	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A subida das rendas não é legítima	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A subida das rendas é justificada	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Considerando o nível da participação dos jovens no movimento social e a situação atual de habitação em Portugal, sinto-me...

	Nada	Um pouco	Indiferente	Bastante	Extremamente
Zangado com os preços das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Furioso sobre preços das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Indignado com os preços das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Considerando o nível da participação dos jovens no movimento social e a situação atual de habitação em Portugal, ...

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
Como inquilinos, eu penso que nós podemos alterar o aumento dos preços das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como inquilinos, eu penso que nós podemos influenciar esta situação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como inquilinos, nós podemos de forma bem sucedida defender os nossos interesses em conjunto	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como inquilinos, nós podemos mudar esta situação em conjunto	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Considerando o nível da participação dos jovens no movimento social e a situação atual de habitação em Portugal,...

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
Vejo-me como um ativista do movimento da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Identifico-me com os ativistas do movimento da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sinto laços fortes com os ativistas do movimento da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Estou orgulhoso do grupo de ativistas que pertencem ao movimento da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Considerando o nível da participação dos jovens no movimento social e a situação atual de habitação em Portugal,...

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
Vejo-me como um inquilino	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Identifico-me com os inquilinos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sinto laços fortes com o grupo dos inquilinos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Estou orgulhoso dos inquilinos enquanto grupo	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix G- Concrete Collective Action Intentions

De seguida, é-nos importante compreender as diferentes formas de ação que o movimento da habitação pode incorporar.

Estou disposto/a...

	Extremamente improvável	Improvável	Nem improvável nem provável	Provável	Extremamente provável
Assinar uma petição	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Doar dinheiro à organização do movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participar num protesto pacífico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressar a minha opinião acerca do movimento pela habitação nas redes sociais	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aceitar convites online para participar no movimento social pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bloquear entrada de edifícios de agências imobiliárias	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Perturbar eventos acerca do apoio ao alojamento local (e.g., realizar uma "contra manifestação")	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Ocupar um edifício vazio	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Transgredir a lei para lutar contra o aumento das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participar num protesto que evolua para um confronto físico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lutar com a policia numa manifestação do movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Incendiar propriedades privadas de imobiliário (e.g., remax)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Por fim, o movimento coletivo por uma habitação que seja acessível a todos os portugueses está a precisar de novos voluntários. Por favor indique se estaria disponível ou interessado em fazer parte deste movimento através do grau de concordância com as seguintes afirmações:

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
Eu dedicaria algum tempo para participar no movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu doaria uma parte do meu dinheiro ao movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu despenderia parte da minha energia no movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu faria algum esforço pelo movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix H- Violence and Normativity Evaluation

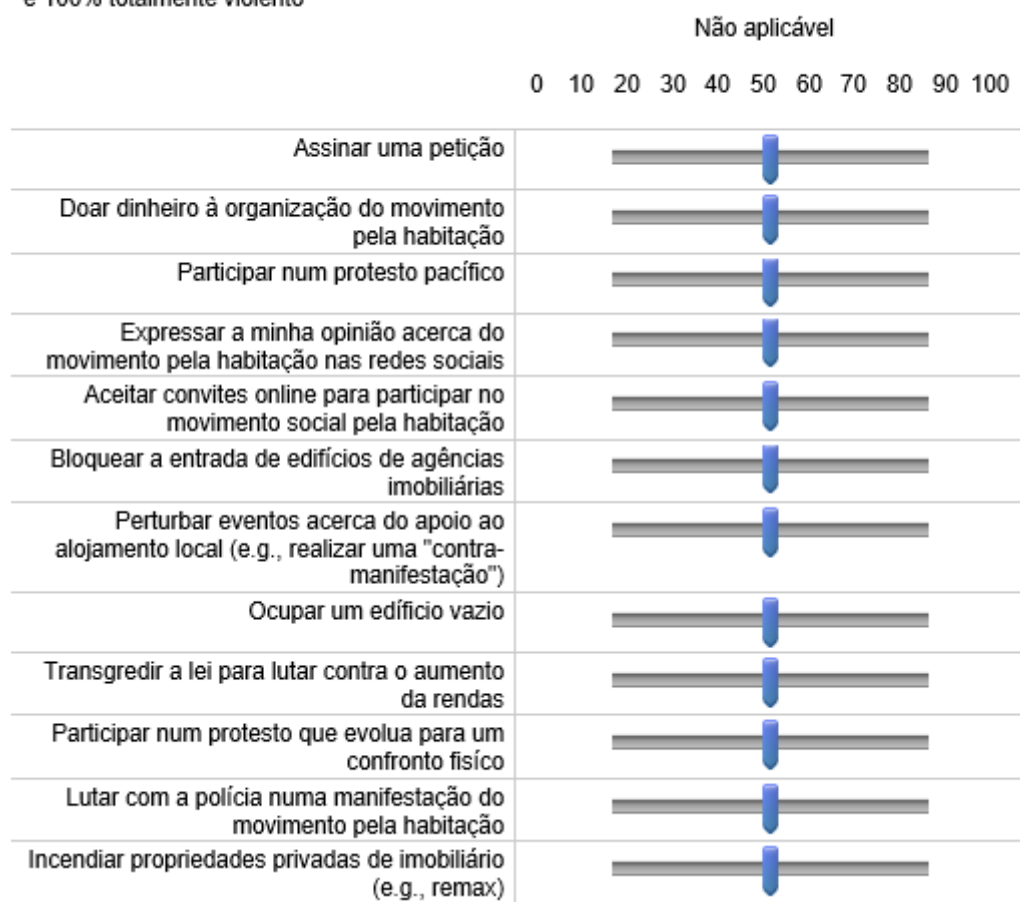
Nesta parte do questionário, estamos interessados em compreender como é que a população avalia comportamentos que podem acontecer em ações coletivas e comportamentos de massas. Comportamentos aceitáveis são aqueles que vão de acordo com as normas da sociedade.

Com isto, pretendemos que avalie se considera os seguintes comportamentos como violentos ou não violentos e o grau de violência associada.

	Comportamento violento	Comportamento não violento	Não se aplica
Assinar uma petição	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Doar dinheiro à organização do movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participar num protesto pacífico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressar a minha opinião acerca do movimento pela habitação nas redes sociais	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aceitar convites online para participar no movimento social pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bloquear a entrada de edifícios de agências imobiliárias	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Perturbar eventos acerca do apoio ao alojamento local (e.g., realizar uma "contra-manifestação")	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ocupar um edifício vazio	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Transgredir a lei para lutar contra o aumento das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Participar num protesto que evolua para um confronto físico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lutar com a polícia numa manifestação do movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Incendiar propriedades privadas de imobiliário (e.g., remax)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

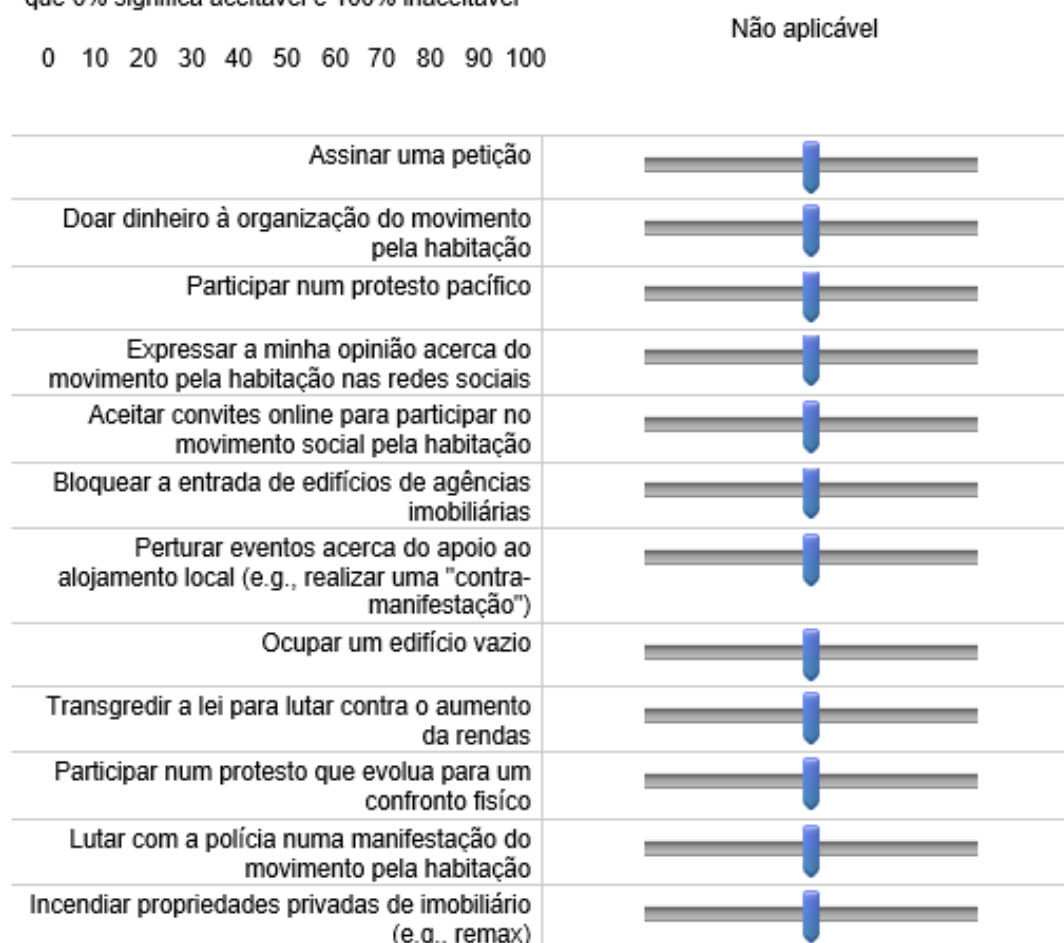
Avalie agora a percentagem de violência dos comportamentos, onde 0% significa nada violento e 100% totalmente violento



Avalie agora se os seguintes comportamentos são considerados aceitáveis ou inaceitáveis de ponto de vista da sociedade em geral aqui em Portugal?

	Comportamento normativo	Comportamento não normativo	Não se aplica
Assinar uma petição	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Doar dinheiro à organização do movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participar num protesto pacífico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Expressar a minha opinião acerca do movimento pela habitação nas redes sociais	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Aceitar convites online para participar no movimento social pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bloquear a entrada de edifícios de agências imobiliárias	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Perturbar eventos acerca do apoio ao alojamento local (e.g., realizar uma "contra- manifestação")	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ocupar um edifício vazio	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Transgredir a lei para lutar contra o aumento das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Participar num protesto que evolua para um confronto físico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lutar com a polícia numa manifestação do movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Incendiar propriedades privadas de imobiliário (e.g., remax)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Avalie agora quão aceitáveis os seguintes comportamentos são considerados em Portugal, em que 0% significa aceitável e 100% inaceitável



Appendix J- Behavioral Measure

Tem interesse em partilhar connosco o seu contacto (por exemplo, e-mail ou número de telemóvel)? Possibilitando assim futuras colaborações connosco no movimento social pela habitação em Portugal. Se sim, selecione a opção abaixo para ser encaminhado para um espaço onde poderá inserir o seu contacto.

☐ Sim

☐ Não

Appendix K- Debriefing

Muito obrigado por ter participado neste estudo!

Conforme adiantado no início da sua participação, o estudo incide sobre a participação em ações coletivas e movimentos sociais, no contexto português e pretende compreender a influência das normas sociais de conhecidos online na participação no movimento social pela habitação. Mais especificamente, estamos interessados em compreender se normas sociais descritivas (i.e., o comportamento típico de um indivíduo) explicam a participação dos próprios indivíduos, isto é, se o facto de observar/obtiver informações que redes online engajam em qualquer tipo de ação (e.g., assinar uma petição ou ocupar um edifício vazio) isto terá uma influência nos indivíduos à sua volta. Tivemos em consideração, também, o papel da Identificação com o Movimentos, Eficácia de Grupo percebida, Perceções de Injustiça e Crenças Morais (“Social Identity Model of Collective Action”) como mediador da relação entre normas sociais descritivas e participação no movimento social pela habitação.

No âmbito da sua participação, é importante salientar que a informação fornecida no início do estudo acerca da participação dos jovens portugueses no movimento, poderá ser falsa. Criamos este texto fictício de modo a ativar um comportamento de um grupo de referência com o qual se pudesse identificar (i.e., ser jovem e ser português) para manipular a sua percepção do comportamento típico destes indivíduos e se o facto de referir maioria dos jovens participa (1 condição de manipulação) vs maioria dos jovens não participa (2 condição de manipulação) iria influenciar a participação do próprio indivíduo. Todos os participantes foram aleatoriamente seleccionados para responder apenas a uma condição. Infelizmente não podíamos informar antes sobre esta manipulação, porque o conhecimento deste fato teria prejudicado o estudo de um efeito eventual. Agradecemos o seu entendimento.

Note, também, que as últimas questões às quais respondeu acerca de comportamentos considerados ilegais ou violentos não implica que estes comportamentos sejam normativos ou aceitáveis, visto que a avaliação destes comportamentos pode mudar de acordo com a sociedade em que nos inserimos. Nesta parte do estudo, tivemos o objetivo, apenas, de explorar o que é que em Portugal é considerado normativo quando falamos do movimento social pela habitação.

Por fim, tenha em atenção que a opção de fornecer o seu número de telefone foi uma estratégia enganadora (deceiving strategy) incluída com objetivo de analisar o seu comportamento real. O seu contacto não será avaliado nem guardado de nenhuma forma. Não temos qualquer ligação com o movimento social pela habitação, no entanto deixamos o contacto da organização, caso tenha interesse em contribuir de alguma forma (habita.colectivo@gmail.com; manif.casaparaviver@gmail.com).

Reforçamos os dados de contacto que pode utilizar caso deseje colocar uma dúvida, partilhar algum comentário, ou assinalar a sua intenção de receber informação sobre os principais resultados e conclusões do estudo: jcmns@iscte-iul.pt e sven.waldzus@iscte-iul.pt.

Mais uma vez, obrigado pela sua participação.

Appendix L- Dichotomic Violent and Normativity answers

Table L1

Violent and Normativity of behaviors (yes/no)

	Violence (yes/no)		Normativity (yes/no)	
	% Non violent	% Violent	% Normative	% Non normative
Sign petition	99.50%	0.50%	97.20%	2.80%
Donate money	99.10%	0.90%	88.20%	11.80%
Peaceful protest	100%		90.70%	9.30%
Share opinion social media	100%		93.80%	6.20%
Online inviation	100%		90.00%	10.00%
Block real estate agencies	45%	54.60%	14.80%	85.20%
Counter protest	39.70%	60.30%	16.60%	83.40%
Occupy building	69.20%	30.80%	20.60%	79.40%
Transgress law	36.90%	63.10%	9.60%	90.40%
Physical confront	7.70%	92.30%	8.70%	91.30%
Fight police	4.00%	96%	7.10%	92.90%
Seting on fire building	3.60%	96.40%	3.80%	96.20%

Appendix M- Slider Rating Normativity and Violence

Table M1

Slider responses Normativity and Violence

	Slider violence	Slider non normativity
	M (0-100%)	
Sign petition	2.73 (12.96)	16.21 (39.20)
Donate money	2.06 (8.49)	15.66 (38.73)
Peaceful protest	5.19 (15.28)	18.29 (36.00)
Share opinion social media	5.48 (15.36)	17.04 (38.17)
Online inviation	4.84 (16.59)	14.69 (38.03)
Block real estate agencies	35.45 (28.01)	51.28 (33.94)
Counter protest	39.57 (29.61)	52.35 (33.30)
Occupy building	27.66 (30.52)	47.13 (35.06)
Transgress law	35.98 (18.78)	60.90 (35.10)
Physical confront	77.54 (26.72)	69.56 (37.36)
Fight police	85.47 (22.92)	75.58 (37.59)
Set on fire building	88.62 (23.26)	80.24 (38.02)

Note. The numbers between brackets correspond to the standard deviation

Appendix N- Factor Analysis

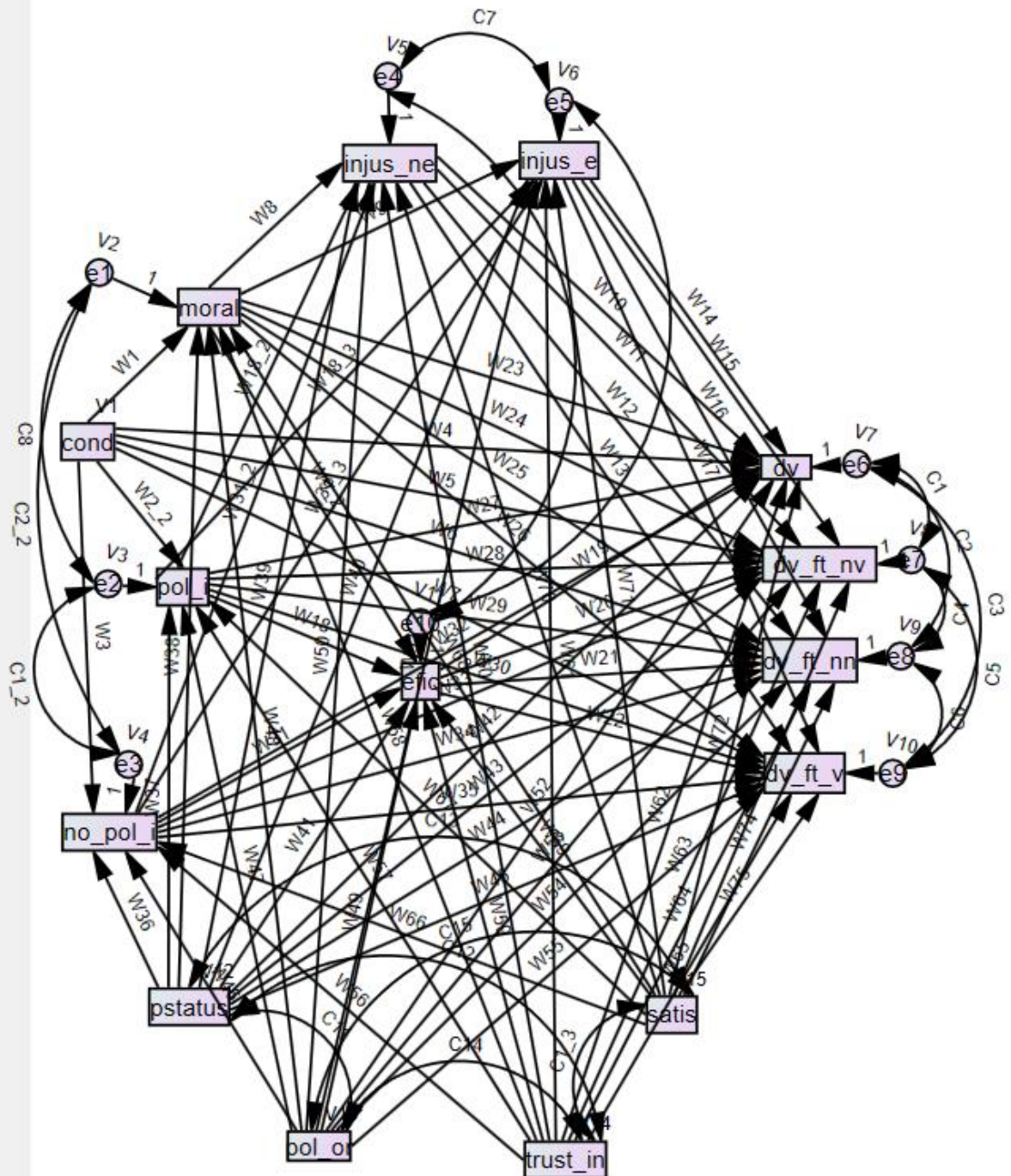
Table N

Factor Analysis Collective Action tendencies

	Collective action intentions	Factor loading		Comunalities
		1	2	
Factor 1				
Item 11- Fight wiht the police in a protest about the housing movement		0.903	-0.080	0.761
Item 10- Participate in a protest that escalate to a physical confront		0.898	-0.019	0.792
Item 12- Put on fire private properties of real estate agencies		0.82	-0.165	0.587
Item 9- Transgress the law to fight against rent increase		0.768	0.137	0.696
Item 8- Occupy an empty building		0.711	0.072	0.553
Item 6- Block the entrance of real estate agencies		0.676	0.224	0.632
Item 7- Disrupt events about support for local accommodation (e.g. hold a counter-demonstration)		0.64	0.222	0.577
Factor 2				
Item 5- Accepting online invitations to participate in the social movement for housing		0.070	0.849	0.776
Item 3- Take part in a peaceful protest		0.206	0.721	0.686
Item 4- Expressing my opinion about the housing movement on social media		0.110	0.644	0.485
Item 1- Sign a petition		0.160	0.602	0.308
Item 2- Donate money to the housing movement organisation		0.094	0.420	0.239

Note. $N=235$. The extraction method was maximum likelihood with a direct oblimin with Kaiser Normalization rotation. (KMO= 0.894) was significant (χ^2 (66) = 1754.673, $p < .001$).

Appendix O- Path Model AMOS



Appendix P- Dual Chamber SIMCA Model Mediations

Table P1

Dual SIMCA Mediation via politicized identification on collective action intentions (N=235)

Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Politicized identification->Efficacy-> General CA	0.019	0.017	[-0.004, 0.070]
Politicized identification->Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.010	0.012	[-0.009, 0.040]
Politicized identification->Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.021	0.018	[-0.006, 0.060]
Politicized identification->Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.016	0.014	[-0.007, 0.050]
Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->General CA	-0.012	0.017	[-0.049, 0.020]
Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.025	0.021	[-0.004, 0.080]
Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->non-normative CA	0.015	0.017	[-0.010, 0.050]
Politicized identification->Injustice emotional-> violent CA	0.012	0.015	[-0.011, 0.050]
Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	-0.001	0.007	[-0.016, 0.020]
Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> conventional CA	-0.002	0.008	[-0.021, 0.010]
Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> non-normative CA	-0.005	0.011	[-0.033, 0.020]
Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> violent CA	-0.007	0.013	[-0.037, 0.020]

Table P2*Dual SIMCA Mediation via non politicized identification on collective action intentions (N=235)*

Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.000	0.011	[-0.025, 0.02]
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.000	0.007	[-0.016, 0.01]
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.000	0.012	[-0.027, 0.02]
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.000	0.009	[-0.022, 0.02]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice emotional->General CA	-0.003	0.008	[-0.028, 0.005]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice emotional-> >Conventional CA	0.006	0.010	[-0.013, 0.030]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice emotional->non- normative CA	0.004	0.008	[-0.010, 0.020]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice emotional-> violent CA	0.003	0.006	[-0.009, 0.020]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.000	0.006	[-0.013, 0.010]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice non-emotional-> conventional CA	-0.001	0.006	[-0.017, 0.010]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice non-emotional-> non- normative CA	-0.003	0.009	[-0.025, 0.020]
Non Politicized identification-> >Injustice non-emotional-> violent CA	-0.004	0.011	[-0.031, 0.020]

Table P3*Dual- SIMCA Mediation via morality on collective action intentions (N=235)*

Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Morality-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.022	0.016	[-0.006, 0.060]
Morality-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.012	0.013	[-0.012, 0.040]
Morality-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.024	0.018	[-0.004, 0.070]
Morality-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.018	0.015	[-0.006, 0.050]
Morality->Injustice emotional->General CA	-0.022	0.024	[-0.085, 0.030]
Morality->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.047	0.029	[-0.006, 0.110]
Morality->Injustice emotional->non-normative CA	0.029	0.027	[-0.023, 0.080]
Morality->Injustice emotional->violent CA	0.023	0.024	[-0.023, 0.070]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional->General CA	-0.005	0.032	[-0.069, 0.060]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional->conventional CA	-0.017	0.034	[-0.091, 0.040]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional->non-normative CA	-0.042	0.037	[-0.123, 0.030]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional->violent CA	-0.055	0.038	[-0.137, 0.010]

Appendix Q- Mediations

Table Q1

Chain mediations of descriptive norms on collective action via politicized identification (N=235)

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	CI 95%
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.005	0.006	[-0.001, 0.020]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.003	0.004	[-0.002, 0.010]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.006	0.005	[-0.002, 0.020]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.004	0.004	[-0.002, 0.020]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->General CA	-0.003	0.005	[-0.013, 0.010]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.007	0.006	[-0.001, 0.020]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->non-normative CA	0.004	0.005	[-0.003, 0.020]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional-> violent CA	0.003	0.004	[-0.003, 0.011]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.000	0.002	[-0.005, 0.004]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> conventional CA	-0.001	0.002	[-0.006, 0.004]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> non-normative CA	-0.001	0.003	[-0.009, 0.004]
H7	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> violent CA	-0.002	0.004	[-0.011, 0.005]

Table Q2*Mediations of descriptive norms on collective action via non politicized identification (N=235)*

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H5	Descriptive norms->Non-politicized identification->General CA	-0.003	0.01	[-0.030, 0.020]
H5	Descriptive norms->Non-politicized identification->Conventional CA	0.000	0.01	[-0.010, 0.020]
H5	Descriptive norms->Non-politicized identification->Non-normative CA	-0.007	0.02	[-0.050, 0.020]
H5	Descriptive norms->Non-politicized identification->Violent CA	-0.006	0.01	[-0.040, 0.020]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.000	0.002	[-0.004, 0.003]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.002]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.000	0.002	[-0.004, 0.004]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.003, 0.003]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->General CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.005, 0.001]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.000	0.002	[-0.002, 0.005]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->non-normative CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.003]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional-> violent CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.001, 0.003]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.002]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> conventional CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.001]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> non-normative CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.004, 0.002]
H8	Descriptive Norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> violent CA	0.000	0.002	[-0.005, 0.002]

Table Q3*Chain mediations of descriptive norms on collective action via morality (N=235)*

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H9	Descriptive norms->Morality-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.004	0.004	[-0.001, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.002	0.003	[-0.002, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.005	0.004	[-0.002, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.004	0.003	[-0.001, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice emotional->General CA	-0.004	0.010	[-0.020, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.009	0.010	[-0.002, 0.030]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice emotional->non-normative CA	0.006	0.010	[-0.010, 0.020]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice emotional-> violent CA	0.004	0.010	[-0.010, 0.021]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	-0.001	0.010	[-0.020, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> conventional CA	-0.003	0.010	[-0.020, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> Non-normative CA	-0.008	0.010	[-0.030, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive norms ->Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> Violent CA	-0.011	0.010	[-0.040, 0.002]

Appendix R- Themes definitions

Identity (only pilot study): an individual's sense of private, public or collective self (American Psychology Association, 2018b). Identity was conceptualized as any relevant part of the individual, which could be their personal identity (individual traits, characteristics and beliefs) or social identity (the part of an individual's self-concept derived from their membership in social groups). Identity portrays important parts of the individual, reflecting group-identity and self-identity values (Vignoles, 2017).

Civic and political participation (pilot and main study): engagement in society to influence decisions, policies, social and political issues related to awareness about social change. The contrary also applies as in the lack of engagement and weaker activist role in society.

Morality (pilot and main study): housing seen as a universal, basic, human right tapping into moralization of the problem and a core belief for the individuals (Skitka, 2005) in the housing movement.

Injustice (pilot and main): Perceptions of structural unfairness and societal group-based inequality (Pratto et al., 2006) between the groups as well as the ability to promote social justice within the housing movement when groups are denied their rights to resources or opportunities (Reisch, 2002). Also applies the shared grievance (or the lack of it).

Efficacy (pilot and main study): The ability to achieve proposed goals or outcomes within the housing movement, that can have a more cognitive and attitudinal dimension (ability to execute actions or goals), as well as an affective dimension (emotional motivation to pursue those actions or goals) (Bryant & Cvengros, 2004). It can portray an individual (i.e., self-efficacy) (Bandura, 1977) group, collective and participative level levels of efficacy (APA, 2018) in changing the problem. The contrary also applies as in the lack of efficacy in achieving.

Emotion (pilot and main study): Emotion was defined as holistic phenomenon encompassing all components such as appraisals, feelings, visceral responses and behavioral tendencies (Ekman & Davidson, 1994), towards the housing movement and the housing situation.

Socio-political context (pilot and main study): combination of social and political factors that influenced both positively and negatively participation in the housing movement. How social structures, power dynamics and the system itself shaped participation or lack of participation within the housing movement.

External constraints (pilot and main study): everything that is external to individual motivations that could impact their participation by providing barriers to a facilitated participation. As opposed to internal attributions.

Internal attributions (pilot and main study): internal explanations that focus on personal factors. The individual believes that the behaviour of participating in the housing movement is caused by individual traits or cultural values that seems somehow stable and within the individual. As opposed to external factors.

External blame (only main study): attribution of the housing problem as something that is beyond the individual choice and is associated with external factors or circumstances, such as the elites and people in the higher status are seen as the organizations to blame.

Participation consequences (only main study): Consequence of direct participation or attending a protest that affects participants life. The consequence can arise within the protest itself or after.

Relative deprivation (pilot and main study): According to American Psychology Association (2018c), relative deprivation is “the perception by an individual that the amount of a desired resource (e.g., money, social status) they have is less than some comparison standard. This standard can be the amount that was expected or the amount possessed by others with whom the person compares themselves”.

All the qualitative responses are available in this share folder

<https://1drv.ms/f/c/a50265284b5274e8/EmzIYLsjZmBOtiTlqMA4tYEB71rdd9TR-eAs4uB5W5PVsQ?e=k6pI0j>

Appendix S- Codes, Themes and Quotes Examples

Table S1

Themes, categories and excerpts of reasons of high participation in the housing movement listed by participants in the Pilot study.

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Identity	
Shared identity	“be integrated in the same groups that think the same way as I do”
Ideology	“As a young person, I think that what makes me/would make me participate has to do with the meaning of the fight, my ideology...”
Civic and political participation	
Political engagement	“[young people] claim as part of a broader movement to challenge incomplete democracy...they are more likely to be politically active”
Activism of young people	“Young people have more will, a sense of revolt and time for militancy and activism, they are more involved in social causes through existing community spaces and universities themselves, unlike older people who are already in formal job market which alienates them from social causes”
Morality	
Basic necessity	“Nowadays it [housing] seems to be considered a luxury good rather than a basic necessity”
Universal right	“...because the right to housing is universal and everyone should be able to have a decent home that they can afford, whether they are 18 or 180”
Independence	“Because we're worried about our future. We want to be able to have independence, a

	home of our own, which is a constitutional right”
Perceived violation	“for being denied the right to housing, which is a basic principle for all human beings.”
Injustice	
Disadvantaged group	“I think the young people are one of the populations that are the most affected in Portugal in housing”
Social justice	“This involvement reflects a genuine desire to influence significant transformations in society by asserting the importance of social justice”
Efficacy	
Movements’ Efficacy	“they participate because they feel protests have some effect, even if small”
Emotion	
Angry	“angry and contempt in our generation”
Solidarity	“The young people even if not in need they will defend causes for someone else”
Relative deprivation	
Difficulties in accessing housing	“We participate because of the difficulties experienced in accessing housing as displaced students and to our first habitation”
Lack of housing conditions	“There are no good places to live in, there are no housing conditions, when there are the rent is really high...we don’t have a place to go”
Sociopolitical context	
Renting prices	“The relationship between wages and housing prices is surreal and impossible to comprehend”
Gentrification	“the ease with which digital nomads and gold visas can buy a house in Portugal leads me to take the streets to fight for a more egalitarian country”

Table S2

Full responses of high-participation condition of the excerpt examples in Portuguese in the Pilot study

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Identity	
Shared identity	<p>“Penso que os jovens são uma das populações mais afetadas em Portugal pela questão da habitação. São as pessoas da próxima geração que vão sair de casa dos pais, mas não têm casa para onde ir. Sendo eu jovem, penso que o que me faz/faria participar tem a ver com o significado da luta, a minha ideologia em que a habitação deverá ser acessível para todos, estar integrada em grupos que também pensam da mesma forma que eu e sentir que as formas de protestos teriam algum efeito, mesmo que mínimo”</p> <p>[response in the code shared identity]</p>
Ideology	
Civic and political participation	
Political engagement	<p>“São diretamente afetados pelo problema da habitação, e fazem essa reivindicação como parte de um movimento mais amplo de contestação à democracia incompleta: desigualdade de oportunidades”</p>
Activism of young people	<p>“Os jovens têm mais vontade, sentido de revolta e tempo para militar e para ativismo, estão mais produto de causas sociais através dos espaços comunitários existentes e das próprias universidades, ao contrário de pessoas mais adultas que já estão no mercado de trabalho formal que os afasta de causas sociais e os aliena. Não quer isto dizer que não se interessem ou se importem com a crise habitacional, mas existem outras prioridades.”</p>
Morality	
Basic necessity	<p>“Todos nós deveríamos ter direito a um teto para viver, sítio esse que chamamos casa e que por incrível que pareça hoje em dia parece ser considerado um bem de luxo e não como deveria ser considerado um bem de primeira necessidade. Sou totalmente a favor de movimentos ou ações sobre o</p>

tema, desde que esses também sejam feitos com o devido respeito a quem nos rodeia. Muitos de nós temos um lar mas muitos não o têm. Com tanto edifício fechado algumas pessoas poderiam ter um lar, uma vida um pouco melhor do que aquilo que têm atualmente. Poderia dizer muito mais mas acho que vamos ter sempre este problema nos nossos dias. Obrigado”

Universal right

“Porque o direito à habitação é universal e todos deveriam ser capazes de ter uma habitação digna à qual pudesse fazer face com as despesas inerentes, tenha essa pessoa 18 ou 180 anos.”

Independence

“Porque estamos preocupados com o nosso futuro. Queremos poder ter independência, uma casa própria, que é um direito constitucional.”

Perceived violation

“Pelas condições precárias que o país nos tem oferecido ,por nos ser negado o direito à habitação que é um principio basico a todos os seres humanos e com os valores elevados saímos cada vez mais tarde de casa dos nossos pais e nao conseguimos ser minimamente independentes, por isso é que eu e todos os jovens portugueses nao nos podemos conformar com esta situaçao e devemos lutar arduamente para que mude”

Injustice

Disadvantaged group

“Os jovens têm ativamente participado no movimento social pela habitação porque são os mais afetados. Infelizmente, os jovens sentem-se frustrados, infelizes por estarem a investir o seu tempo nos estudos e, no final apenas terem um emprego precário que não reflete todo o seu

	<p>empenho Emprego precário que não permite nem viver numa casa sozinho, sobretudo na capital”</p>
Social justice	<p>“Os jovens participam ativamente no movimento social pela habitação em virtude da sua preocupação com a acessibilidade económica à moradia, o agravamento das desigualdades sociais e a busca por condições habitacionais dignas. Este envolvimento reflete um desejo genuíno de influenciar transformações significativas na sociedade, reivindicando a importância da justiça social e do direito a uma habitação adequada.”</p>
Efficacy	
Movements’ Efficacy	[responde in code shared identity]
Emotion	
Angry	<p>“Os jovens de hoje (eu incluindo) sempre vi os meus pais com a sua própria casa (comprada e não arrendada) e a tendência sempre foi as gerações seguintes viverem melhor que as anteriores. Nós somos a primeira geração em que isso não acontece, vamos viver pior que os nossos pais apesar de sermos a geração mais qualificada de sempre. Por isso mesmo, é razão de revolta e raiva na nossa geração, pois não somos nós que escolhemos ter uma vida pior que eles. Estudamos a vida toda e trabalhamos para salários precários que não nos permitem comprar e muitas vezes nem arrendar uma casa Lisboa..”</p>
Solidarity	<p>“Os jovens, mesmo os que não necessitam, defendem estas causas pelos demais. Pois mesmo que não seja com o próprio, devemos defender cada qual ao seu direito, neste caso,</p>

o direito à habitação, que é uma necessidade e um direito de todos independentemente da sua situação”

Relative deprivation

Difficulties in accessing housing

“Pela dificuldades sentidas no acesso à habitação como estudantes deslocados e à primeira habitação”

Lack of housing conditions

“Nao casas boas para viver, não há condições de habitação é qd há casas sao caras e podres, não temos sitio para ir”

Sociopolitical context

Renting prices

“A relação entre os salários e os preços da habitação são surrealistas e impossíveis de comportar”

Gentrification

“enquanto jovem, sinto-me frustrada por receber bem acima da média de um português e ainda assim não conseguir comprar uma casa. para além disso, o sentimento de injustiça que sinto, face à facilidade com que nómadas digitais e vistos gold adquirem uma casa em Portugal, leva-me a sair à rua para lutar por um país mais igualitário.”

Table S3

Themes, categories and excerpts of reasons of low participation in the housing movement listed by participants in the Pilot study

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Civic and political participation	
Lack of political engagement	“I think there's a growing lack of interest in politics among young people”
Lack of activism	“In my opinion, most young people today are not focused on participating in protest actions, regardless of whether it is in their interest or not. Many young people are not actively interested in causes and defending ideas.”

Efficacy

Movements efficacy	“There have already been several demonstrations against these high housing prices but, as we can see, there have been no results.”
Hopelessness	“Young people don't feel motivated to bring about change, they feel there's no hope left.”
Vicarious/learnt lack of efficacy	“the young people in Portugal have given up on making a change since the famous <i>geração à rasca</i> , when everyone united and marched, and nothing happened”
Conditioned/experienced lack of efficacy	“I've signed several petitions and still nothing changes on my word and that of I don't know how many other people”
Powerlessness	“[young people] are further away from the decision-making mechanisms. The elites are promiscuous and difficult to penetrate as a young person. You don't have the ability to be part of the decision-making process or to be part of the social groups that make decisions”
System disbelief	“I also think that there is a mistrust and discredit in the Portuguese government and a belief that they can't solve these problems and even if there is a large mobilisation there will be no changes to the laws or support in this regard.”
Marginalization of youth voices	“the voice of young people is never heard, older people think they are just a ‘lost generation’.”
Injustice	
Privileged group	“Because the majority of young people stay in their parents' home until later in life, they end up seeing housing issues as problems that are still “distant” to them (insofar as they don't affect them directly at the moment).”
External constraints	

Lack of time	“less motivation to devote time to social causes, and there is very little time left for personal life after a week of study and work...”
Lack of information	“lack of information about the movement and where it happens”
Lack of movement organization	“Perhaps there is also a lack integration on the part of communities, as they are often associated with left-wing movements, when in fact this is a problem that affects the entire population, so, in my opinion... associations should also be inclusive in this regard”
Media control	“information dispersed and distorted by the most visible media”
Internal attributions	
Laziness	“Today's generation is somewhat lazy and has become more accustomed to what they've been given”
Conformism	“The Portuguese people tend to be complacent, meaning that as soon as it is socially stipulated that young people only leave home later, the whole generation ends up involuntarily agreeing and conforming to this truth instead of doing something to actually change it.”
Culture	“I believe that there are cultural reasons why we are less claimant”
Participation consequences	
Authorities' retaliation	“for fear of police action”
Professional life	“I also feel that young people don't join these movements for fear of reprisal...fear that a public stance could affect future job applications”
Socio-political context	

Democracy	“I think that young people feel an extremely strong spirit of revolt when it comes to the current state of the country and Portuguese democracy”
Education	“Involvement in causes, the permanent exercise of citizenship, co-construction and co-management are not encouraged. This starts right at school”
Aging	“Because a large part of the population is still ageing, even if young people all got together to fight for their rights and for a better quality of life...
Emigration	“There is also emigration, which is a very common practice, especially among the younger population, who find more favourable job opportunities abroad and therefore end up leaving in search of a better quality of life. A little by the logic of ‘I’m going to fight to change something here, why not if I can just leave and find better?’”

Table S4

Full responses of low-participation condition of the excerpt examples in Portuguese in the Pilot study

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Civic and political participation	
Lack of political engagement	“Acho que há um crescente desinteresse político nos jovens, um certo conformismo com a situação em que vivemos. Também sinto que os jovens não se juntam a estes movimentos pelo medo de represálias (ação policial e medo de uma posição pública possa afetar futuras candidaturas a trabalhos).”

Lack of activism

“Na minha opinião, a maioria dos jovens hoje em dia não está focado em participar em ações de protesto, independentemente de ser do seu interesse ou não. Muitos jovens não são ativamente interessados por causas e defesa de ideias.”

Efficacy

Movements efficacy

“Pessoalmente, creio que os jovens não têm participado ativamente no movimento social pela habitação pois acham que a palavra deles é "irrelevante" de uma certa forma pois não são eles que têm o poder de mudar alguma coisa. Ou seja, já houve várias manifestações contra estes preços abundantes das habitações mas, como podemos ver, não houve nenhum resultado. O que, de certa forma, desmotiva completamente os jovens para continuarem a lutar porque se sentem impotentes e sem qualquer "valor" neste aspeto. Obviamente que este pensamento é um bocado desmotivador e não leva a lado nenhum mas sendo que eu faço parte do grupo de jovens que está a estudar fora da sua cidade e está à procura de casa, sei o quanto desmotivante é ver que os movimentos criados para melhorar isto não têm qualquer impacto. Ou seja, a um certo ponto as pessoas deixam de se chegar à frente porque sentem que não há nada a fazer, que a voz delas não leva a lado nenhum e então começam a aceitar que esta é a nova realidade delas e que o melhor a fazer é, dentro do mal, encontrar algo que não seja não mau. O que, no meu caso, foi procurar casa bastante longe da faculdade para não ter que pagar 800 euros

	<p>por mês de aluguer. Dando o meu exemplo, neste momento vivo em Algés, o que podemos considerar ainda longe do Iscte, e ainda assim pago 500 euros por mês mesmo dividindo casa com outra pessoa. Tendo em conta a zona de Algés, que não é uma zona "cara", podemos perceber que este preço é completamente desproporcional ao que um jovem estudante deveria de pagar. Para além do facto de ter de apanhar 3 transportes só para não ter de pagar 800 euros por mês. O que é completamente absurdo. Ou seja, tendo em conta o meu caso que já assinei várias petições e ainda assim nada muda com a minha palavra e a de mais não sei quantas pessoas, chegamos a sentirmo-nos derrotados e sem qualquer esperança de uma mudança nem que seja mínima.</p> <p>Pessoalmente, acho completamente</p>
Hopelessness	<p>“Devido à falta de esperança e motivação numa mudança significativa.”</p>
Vicarious/learnt lack of efficacy	<p>“Os jovens em Portugal já desistiram de fazer uma mudança desde da famosa Geração á Rasca, em que todos se uniram e marcharam e nada mudou. Uma grande mobilização desse genero, não levou a nenhum corte da austeridade notorio, o que fez com que não houvesse grande motivação para as gerações seguintes”</p>
Conditioned/experienced lack of efficacy	<p>[responde in code movements efficacy]</p>
Powerlessness	<p>“[Existe uma sensação clara de impotência por parte de todos, mas principalmente dos jovens, que estão em posições de desvantagem na hierarquia social e económica do país e, portanto, mais longe dos mecanismos de tomada de decisão. As elites são promíscuas e difíceis de penetrar sendo-se um jovem. Sem a capacidade de</p>

System disbelief

estar na tomada de decisão ou de estar dentro dos grupos sociais que a tomam, existe um certo misto de desespero, derrotismo e indiferença”

“Creio que os jovens não participam ativamente no movimento social pela habitação, em grande medida devido à ignorância sobre o assunto bem como desinteresse. Cada vez mais creio que os jovens preocuparam-se menos com a situação política do país e ainda menos em tomar ações que envolvam algum tipo de ‘esforço’ (ex.: sair de casa para ir a uma manifestação), acho que isto é comprovado também pelo baixo número de jovens que votam na altura das eleições. Outra razão é a ignorância, em que às vezes até é possível querer ter uma ação mas só se sabe de petições ou manifestações depois de acontecerem. Um outra justificação, mas esta depende também da faixa etária de jovens que estão a ser referidos, é a quantidade que efetivamente procuram casa para viver. Por norma, em Portugal, jovens só consideram sair da casa dos pais por volta dos 26 anos e tendo em conta os baixos salários que existem em Portugal, diria que até vai começar a ser mais tarde, o que também diminuiu a quantidade de pessoas que se sente diretamente afetada por esta crise de habitação que sofremos atualmente. Penso também que há uma desconfiança e descredibilização no governo português e uma crença de que não conseguem resolver estes problemas e mesmo que haja uma grande mobilização não irá haver mudanças nas leis ou apoios neste sentido”

Marginalization of youth voices

“Os jovens não se sentem motivados em trazer a mudança, sentem que já não há esperança. Além disso, a voz dos jovens nunca é ouvida, os mais velhos acham que não passam de uma “geração perdida”.

Injustice

Privileged group

“Porque a maioria dos jovens se mantém na casa dos pais até uma idade tardia, pelo que acaba por ver os problemas relativos à habitação como problemas que ainda lhes são

"distantes" (na medida em que, de momento, não os afetam diretamente)..”

External constraints

Lack of time

“Atualmente a faixa etária ao sair de casa dos pais está cada vez mais alta, ao contrário de à 50 anos . Penso que muitos jovens sentem que não é uma luta sua, muitos estudam e trabalham para pagar os estudos. O estado atual do país faz com que os jovens tenham menos motivação para dedicar tempo a causas sociais, o tempo que sobra para a vida pessoal de uma semana de estudos e trabalho é muito pouco... Acredito que seja um dos grandes motivos para a falta de adesão”

Lack of information

“talvez pela falta de informação em não saberem que certo movimento se vai realizar ou alguns já chegaram ao ponto de imigrar e procurar por melhores condições”

Lack of movement organization

“Porque a maior parte dos jovens não procura informar se acerca das iniciativas e comunidades que estão a lutar pela habitação. Talvez falte também uma melhor divulgação e integração por parte destas comunidades, na medida em que muitas vezes são associadas a movimentos de esquerda, quando na verdade isto é um problema que afeta toda a população, pelo que, na minha opinião, a população devia se juntar e não estar preocupada com partidos ou orientações políticas mas as associações também deviam ser inclusivas nesse aspeto Penso que muitas vezes os jovens também não vêem consequências ou um resultado direto com ir a uma manifestação ou a um evento e acabam por não se interessar E muitos não compreendem o problema real que é porque vivem com os pais e na sociedade portuguesa já está muito intrínseco que os jovens saem muito tarde das casas dos pais, pelo que os jovens acabam por se acomodar e aceitar essa realidade.”

Media control

“Informação dispersa e deturpada pelos media com mais visibilidade.”

Internal attributions

Laziness

“A geração atual tem uma certa preguiça e tem vindo a estar mais acostumada com o

	<p>que lhes foi dado enquanto jovens. Os mais “velhos”, por assim dizer, viveram ainda uma época em que não havia este preço tão elevado na habitação, estando assim mais revoltados com a situação atual. Apesar dos jovens não estarem muito envolvido(18-25), tenho visto que alguns jovens(15-17) têm apresentado preocupação com o futuro que terão”</p>
Conformism	<p>“O povo português é tendencialmente comodista, ou seja, a partir do momento em que se estipula socialmente que os jovens só saem de casa mais tarde, toda a geração acaba por involuntariamente concordar e conformar-se com essa verdade em vez de fazer algo para efetivamente mudá-la. Por muito que hajam exceções nesta forma de pensar, a maioria ganha sempre. Para além desse fator, ainda existe a emigração, que é uma prática muito comum especialmente na população mais jovem, que encontra oportunidades de emprego mais vantajosas fora do país e por isso acaba por sair e procurar uma qualidade de vida melhor. Um pouco pela lógica de "Vou lutar para mudar algo aqui porquê se posso simplesmente sair e encontrar melhor?".</p>
Culture	<p>“Acredito que existem muitas razões possíveis mas que essencialmente tenha a ver com a falta de confiança nessas manifestações. Pessoalmente sinto que existem muitas manifestações a acontecer mas que não têm grande resultado. Exemplo disso são as manifestações dos professores. Não aconteceu nada. Além disso acredito que existam razões culturais que nos levam a ser menos reivindicativos”</p>
Participation consequences	
Authorities’ retaliation	[response in code movements efficacy]
Professional life	[response in code movements efficacy]
Socio-political context	
Democracy	<p>“A voz dos jovens é cada vez menos ouvida . A única coisa que podemos fazer é manifestar-nos pacificamente mas mesmo este direito social já começa a ser</p>

	<p>inviabilizado através de intervenções judiciais. Por um lado, Acho que os jovens sentem um espírito de revolta extremamente grande no que diz respeito ao atual estado do país e da democracia portuguesa (para não mencionar a global), por outro, acho que a maioria dos jovens não tem um papel ativo nestas lutas pertinentes (como a da habitação) talvez, pela maioria desacreditar (e pessoalmente falo) que vá acontecer alguma mudança bem como pelo medo de que a sua presença em manifestações tenha repercussões”</p>
Education	<p>“O sistema (leis, exercício do poder, cultura dominante, etc) têm estruturado processos de afastamento da participação das pessoas, relegando isso para as eleições de 4 em 4 anos. O envolvimento nas causas, o exercício permanente da cidadania, a co-construção, a co-gestão, não são incentivadas. Isso começa logo na escola, desde os primeiros anos. Em vez disso vende-se a ideia de que "temos que fazer pela vida", ou seja, lutar por vencer na concorrência, sem margem para a solidariedade ou a valorização da diversidade. No meio de tudo isto, em movimentos sociais, como o da habitação, só alguns jovens mais atentos, mais activos, participam”</p>
Aging	<p>“Devido a grande parte da população ainda ser envelhecida, mesmo que os jovens se juntem todos para lutar pelos seus direitos e por uma melhor qualidade de vida, para isto, o estado iria obviamente de ir buscar fundos a alguns lados, neste caso, a interesses da população mais jovem, estando nos jovens assim numa balança desigual, porque como os mais velhos na maior parte já tem casa e uma vida construída, não se preocupam tanto como nos jovens juntado-se a estes movimentos pois "não é com eles". dito isto, existem sim adultos que lutam pelos jovens e conseguem ver que estes também merecem</p>

Emigration

uma boa qualidade de vida mas
infelizmente muitos jovens ja desistiram de
lutar ou entao sao perguiçosos como a
maioria da nossa geração e nem se
preocupa em procurar como pode
contribuir.
[responde code conformism]

Appendix T- Informed Consent

O presente estudo surge no âmbito de um projeto de investigação a decorrer no Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa. O estudo tem por objetivo investigar ações coletivas que decorrem em Portugal, nomeadamente tendo como exemplo específico o movimento para uma habitação acessível. A sua participação no estudo, que será muito valorizada pois irá contribuir para o avanço do conhecimento neste domínio da ciência, consiste em responder a algumas questões sobre a sua visão e perspetiva pessoal acerca do movimento social pela habitação. O estudo demora entre 10 a 15 minutos a ser respondido.

Como recompensa para a sua participação oferecemos a participação num sorteio entre todos os nossos participantes dos nossos estudos em que os três vencedores vão ganhar cartões do CELEIRO no valor de 100€, 75€ ou 50€. Pode participar no estudo sem participar no sorteio, mas se decidir participar no sorteio iremos precisar do seu contato. Caso esteja interessado, no final do questionário irá ser redirecionado para outra página onde poderá fornecer os seus dados.

Os seus dados de contato são recolhidos depois a participação num formulário separado e não podem ser ligados com os seus respostas no questionário. Assim, as suas respostas são anónimos.

O estudo é realizado por Joana Nunes (jcmns@iscte-iul.pt) e Sven Waldzus (sven.waldzus@iscte-iul.pt) , que poderá contactar caso pretenda esclarecer uma dúvida ou partilhar algum comentário. A sua participação no estudo, que será muito valorizada pois irá contribuir para o avanço do conhecimento neste domínio da ciência, consiste em responder a algumas questões sobre a sua percepção e perspetiva pessoal acerca do movimento social pela habitação. Note-se que estamos apenas interessados em compreender a sua percepção, não existindo respostas certas ou erradas. Não existem riscos significativos expectáveis associados à participação no estudo. A participação no estudo é estritamente voluntária: pode escolher livremente participar ou não participar. Se tiver escolhido participar, pode interromper a participação em qualquer momento sem ter de prestar qualquer justificação. Para além de voluntária, a participação é também anónima e confidencial. Os dados obtidos destinam-se apenas a tratamento estatístico e nenhuma resposta será analisada ou reportada individualmente. Em nenhum momento do estudo precisa de se identificar. Declaro ter compreendido os objetivos de quanto me foi proposto e explicado pelo/a investigador/a, ter-me sido dada oportunidade de fazer todas as perguntas sobre o presente estudo e para todas elas ter obtido resposta.

- ☐ Sim, aceito participar
- ☐ Não, não aceito participar

Appendix U- High norm manipulation

De seguida, irá ler um excerto sobre evidências acerca do movimento social pela habitação, por favor responda com atenção:

Muitas pessoas na Europa têm participado em ações coletivas de modo a reivindicar a diminuição de rendas. Portugal não é exceção e inúmeros portugueses têm lutado por uma habitação acessível. Assim, dados obtidos, recentemente, informam-nos que os **portugueses são o grupo que mais tem participado** ativamente no movimento social pela habitação, em comparação com outros países Europeus.

Por favor, de forma sucinta, **dê-nos a sua opinião sobre as razões pelas quais e o porquê dos Portugueses tenderem a participar mais no movimento social pela habitação.**

Lembre-se que não existem respostas certas nem erradas.

Appendix V- Low Norm Manipulation

De seguida, irá ler um excerto sobre evidências acerca do movimento social pela habitação, por favor responda com atenção:

Muitas pessoas na Europa têm participado em ações coletivas de modo a reivindicar a diminuição de rendas. Portugal não é exceção e alguns portugueses têm lutado por uma habitação acessível. No entanto, dados obtidos, recentemente, informam-nos que **os portugueses são o grupo que menos tem participado** ativamente no movimento social pela habitação, em comparação com outros países Europeus.

Por favor, de forma sucinta, **dê-nos a sua opinião sobre as razões pelas quais e o porquê dos Portugues tenderem a participar menos no movimento social pela habitação.** Lembre-se que não existem respostas certas nem erradas.

Appendix X- Adjusted measures

Imagine agora o seu círculo próximo (e.g., pessoas com quem estabelece ligações como conhecidos, família e amigos...). De seguida, faça uma estimativa da frequência dos comportamentos apresentados abaixo:

	Totalmente falso	Falso	Nem falso nem verdadeiro	Verdadeiro	Totalmente verdadeiro
Eu penso que o meu círculo próximo simpatiza com o movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que o meu círculo próximo apoia o movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que o meu círculo próximo participa ativamente no movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que o meu círculo próximo sacrificou muito pelo movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eu penso que o meu círculo próximo faz parte da organização do movimento pela habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Considerando a situação atual de habitação em Portugal, ...

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
Como português, eu penso que nós podemos alterar o aumento dos preços das rendas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como português, eu penso que nós podemos influenciar esta situação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como português, nós podemos de forma bem sucedida defender os nossos interesses em conjunto	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Como português, nós podemos mudar esta situação em conjunto	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Considerando a situação atual de habitação em Portugal. De momento...

	Discordo totalmente	Discordo parcialmente	Não concordo nem discordo	Concordo parcialmente	Concordo totalmente
Vejo-me como um português afetado pela crise da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Identifico-me com os portugueses afetados pela crise da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sinto laços fortes com o grupo dos portugueses afetado pela crise da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Não estou orgulhoso em pertencer ao grupo de portugueses afetados pela crise da habitação	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix Z- Lottery and Debriefing

Obrigada por ter participado no estudo! Tal como descrito anteriormente, poderá participar num sorteio para um cartão do celeiro. Para participar, será redirecionado para uma página de consentimento informado acerca do fornecimento dos seus dados pessoais para a concretização da lotaria.

Gostaria de participar?

- ☐ Sim, quero participar na lotaria
- ☐ Não, não quero participar na lotaria

O Iscte é o responsável pelo tratamento dos seus dados pessoais, recolhidos e tratados exclusivamente para as finalidades do estudo, tendo como base legal o seu consentimento (art. 6º, nº1, alínea a) do Regulamento Geral de Proteção de Dados). Os seus dados de contato são recolhidos depois a participação num formulário separado e não podem ser ligados com os seus respostas no questionário. Assim, as suas respostas são anónimas.

O estudo é realizado por Joana Nunes (jcmns@iscte-iul.pt) e Sven Waldzus (sven.waldzus@iscte-iul.pt), que poderá contactar caso pretenda esclarecer uma dúvida ou partilhar algum comentário ou exercer os seus direitos relativos ao tratamento dos seus dados pessoais. Poderá utilizar o contacto indicado para solicitar o acesso, a retificação, o apagamento ou a limitação do tratamento dos seus dados pessoais. A participação neste sorteio é confidencial. Os seus dados pessoais serão sempre tratados por pessoal autorizado vinculado ao dever de sigilo e confidencialidade. O Iscte garante a utilização das técnicas, medidas organizativas e de segurança adequadas para proteger as informações pessoais. É exigido a todos os investigadores que mantenham os dados pessoais confidenciais.

O seus dados de contato serão conservados por o mínimo período de tempo e apenas para informar os vencedores do sorteio e para a entrega dos cartões como recompensa pela participação e no máximo por 3 meses depois a sua participação, após o qual serão destruídos.

O Iscte tem um Encarregado de Proteção de Dados, contactável através do email dpo@iscte-iul.pt. Caso considere necessário tem ainda o direito de apresentar reclamação à autoridade de controlo competente – Comissão Nacional de Proteção de Dados. Declaro ter compreendido os objetivos de quanto me foi proposto e explicado pelo/a investigador/a, ter-me sido dada oportunidade de fazer todas as perguntas sobre o presente estudo e para todas elas ter obtido resposta esclarecedora, pelo que aceito nele participar.

Se pretende dar a sua autorização, por favor coloque o seu email abaixo.

Muito obrigado por ter participado neste estudo. Conforme adiantado no início da sua participação, o estudo incide sobre a participação em ações coletivas e movimentos sociais, no contexto português e pretende compreender a influência das normas sociais de conhecidos na participação no movimento social pela habitação. Mais especificamente, estamos

interessados em compreender se normas sociais descritivas (i.e., o comportamento típico de um indivíduo) explicam a participação dos próprios indivíduos, isto é, se o facto de observar/obter informações que redes de contacto engajam em qualquer tipo de ação (e.g., assinar uma petição ou ocupar um edifício vazio) isto terá uma influência nos indivíduos à sua volta. Tivemos em consideração, também, o papel da Identificação com o Movimento, Eficácia de Grupo percebida, Perceções de Injustiça e Crenças Morais (“Social Identity Model of Collective Action”) como mediador da relação entre normas sociais descritivas e participação no movimento social pela habitação.

No âmbito da sua participação, é importante salientar que a informação fornecida no início do estudo acerca da participação dos portugueses no movimento, poderá ser falsa. Criamos este texto fictício de modo a ativar um comportamento de um grupo de referência com o qual se pudesse identificar (i.e., ser português) para manipular a sua perceção do comportamento típico destes indivíduos e se o facto de referir a maioria dos portugueses participa em comparação à Europa (1 condição de manipulação) vs maioria dos portugueses não participa em comparação à Europa (2 condição de manipulação) iria influenciar a participação do próprio indivíduo. Todos os participantes foram aleatoriamente selecionados para responder apenas a uma condição. Infelizmente não podíamos informar antes sobre esta manipulação porque o conhecimento deste fato teria prejudicado o estudo de um efeito eventual. Agradecemos o seu entendimento.

Caso tenha fornecido os seus dados pessoais para participar na lotaria, os mesmos serão apenas utilizados para o sorteio do cartão.

Reforçamos os dados de contacto que pode utilizar caso deseje colocar uma dúvida, partilhar algum comentário, ou assinalar a sua intenção de receber informação sobre os principais resultados e conclusões do estudo: jcmns@iscte-iul.pt e sven.waldzus@iscte-iul.pt. Mais uma vez, obrigado pela sua participação.

Appendix A1- Dual Chamber SIMCA Model Mediations

Table A1

Dual SIMCA Mediation via politicized identification on collective action intentions N=330

Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.056*	0.02	[0.02, 0.10]
Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Conventional CA	0.020	0.02	[-0.01, 0.05]
Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	-0.001	0.02	[-0.04, 0.04]
Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	-0.007	0.02	[-0.04, 0.02]
Politicized identification-> Injustice emotional-> General CA	-0.002	0.01	[-0.02, 0.02]
Politicized identification-> Injustice emotional-> Conventional CA	0.010	0.01	[-0.01, 0.04]
Politicized identification-> Injustice emotional-> Non-normative CA	0.010	0.01	[-0.02, 0.04]
Politicized identification-> Injustice emotional-> Violent CA	0.020	0.01	[0.00, 0.05]
Politicized identification-> Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.006	0.01	[-0.02, 0.03]
Politicized identification-> Injustice non-emotional-> conventional CA	0.019	0.02	[-0.01, 0.05]
Politicized identification-> Injustice non-emotional-> Non-normative CA	0.007	0.02	[-0.03, 0.04]
Politicized identification-> Injustice non-emotional-> Violent CA	-0.020	0.016	[-0.06, 0.01]

*Note. *p < .05. **p < .01*

Table A2*Dual SIMCA Mediation via non politicized identification on collective action intentions N=330*

Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.024*	0.02	[0.002, 0.06]
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.008	0.01	[-0.01, 0.03]
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	-0.001	0.01	[-0.02, 0.02]
Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	-0.003	0.01	[-0.02, 0.01]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->General CA	-0.003	0.02	[-0.04, 0.04]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.018	0.02	[-0.01, 0.06]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Non-normative CA	0.018	0.02	[-0.03, 0.06]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional-> Violent CA	0.035*	0.02	[0.001, 0.08]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.004	0.01	[-0.01, 0.02]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Conventional CA	0.012	0.01	[-0.01, 0.03]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Non-normative CA	0.004	0.01	[-0.02, 0.03]
Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Violent CA	-0.012	0.01	[-0.03, 0.004]

*Note. *p < .05. **p < .01*

Table A3*Dual SIMCA Mediation via morality on collective action intentions N=330*

Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
Morality-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.04*	0.02	[0.01, 0.09]
Morality-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.014	0.01	[-0.01, 0.05]
Morality-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	-0.001	0.01	[-0.03, 0.03]
Morality-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	-0.005	0.01	[-0.03, 0.02]
Morality->Injustice emotional->General CA	-0.003	0.02	[-0.05, 0.04]
Morality->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.021	0.02	[-0.02, 0.07]
Morality->Injustice emotional->Non-normative CA	0.021	0.03	[-0.03, 0.08]
Morality->Injustice emotional-> Violent CA	0.042*	0.02	[0.001, 0.09]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.007	0.02	[-0.03, 0.05]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> Conventional CA	0.023	0.02	[-0.01, 0.07]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> Non-normative CA	0.008	0.02	[-0.03, 0.05]
Morality->Injustice non-emotional-> Violent CA	-0.023	0.02	[-0.06, 0.01]

*Note. *p < .05. **p < .01*

Appendix B1- Mediations

Table B1

Mediations of descriptive norms on collective action via politicized identification (N=330)

Hypothesis Paths between variables		<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification->General CA	0.033	0.03	[-0.02, 0.090]
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification ->Conventional CA	0.035	0.03	[-0.02, 0.090]
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification ->Non-normative CA	0.022	0.02	[-0.01, 0.060]
H4	Descriptive Norms->Politicized identification ->Violent CA	0.012	0.01	[-0.01, 0.030]
H7	Descriptive norms->Politicized identification->Efficacy-> General CA	0.004	0.004	[-0.002, 0.010]
H7	Descriptive norms ->Politicized identification->Efficacy- >Conventional CA	0.001	0.002	[-0.001, 0.010]
H7	Descriptive norms ->Politicized identification->Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.000	0.002	[-0.004, 0.004]
H7	Descriptive norms ->Politicized identification->Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.004, 0.002]
H7	Descriptive norms ->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->General CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.002]
H7	Descriptive norms ->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.001	0.001	[-0.001, 0.003]
H7	Descriptive norms ->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Non-normative CA	0.001	0.001	[-0.002, 0.004]
H7	DescriptiveNorms->Politicized identification->Injustice emotional-> Violent CA	0.001	0.002	[-0.001, 0.010]
H7	DescriptiveNorms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.004]
H7	DescriptiveNorms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Conventional CA	0.001	0.002	[-0.001, 0.010]

H7	DescriptiveNorms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Non-normative CA	0.001	0.002	[-0.002, 0.004]
H7	DescriptiveNorms->Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Violent CA	-0.001	0.002	[-0.010, 0.001]

Table B2

Mediations of descriptive norms on collective action via non politicized identification (N=330)

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H5	Descriptive Norms-> Non politicized identification->General CA	0.011	0.010	[-0.002, 0.030]
H5	Descriptive Norms-> Non politicized identification->Conventional CA	0.005	0.010	[-0.010, 0.020]
H5	Descriptive Norms-> Non politicized identification->Non-normative CA	-0.002	0.010	[-0.020, 0.020]
H5	Descriptive Norms-> Non politicized identification ->Violent CA	-0.002	0.010	[-0.020, 0.010]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.003	0.003	[0.000, 0.009]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Conventional CA	0.001	0.001	[-0.001, 0.004]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.002]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.001]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->General CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.005, 0.004]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.002	0.001	[-0.002, 0.008]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional->Non-normative CA	0.002	0.002	[-0.003, 0.009]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice emotional-> Violent CA	0.004	0.002	[-0.001, 0.013]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> General CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.003]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Conventional CA	0.001	0.001	[-0.001, 0.005]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Non-normative CA	0.000	0.001	[-0.002, 0.003]
H8	Descriptive norms->Non Politicized identification->Injustice non-emotional-> Violent CA	-0.001	0.001	[-0.005, 0]

Table B3*Chain mediations of descriptive norms on collective action via morality (N=330)*

Hypothesis	Paths between variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>CI</i> 95%
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral-> Efficacy-> General CA	0.006*	0.004	[0.001, 0.020]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral-> Efficacy->Conventional CA	0.002	0.003	[-0.001, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral-> Efficacy-> Non-normative CA	0.000	0.002	[-0.004, 0.010]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral-> Efficacy-> Violent CA	-0.001	0.002	[-0.005, 0.003]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice emotional->General CA	0.000	0.003	[-0.008, 0.006]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice emotional->Conventional CA	0.003	0.003	[-0.003, 0.011]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice emotional->non-normative CA	0.003	0.004	[-0.005, 0.012]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice emotional->violent CA	0.006	0.004	[0.000, 0.020]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice non-emotional->General CA	0.001	0.002	[-0.004, 0.006]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice non-emotional->Conventional CA	0.003	0.003	[-0.002, 0.011]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice non-emotional->non-normative CA	0.001	0.003	[-0.005, 0.008]
H9	Descriptive Norms->Moral->Injustice non-emotional->violent CA	-0.003	0.003	[-0.011, 0.010]

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Appendix C1- Codes, Themes and Quotes

Table C1

Themes, categories and excerpts of reasons of high participation in the housing movement listed by participants in the Main Study

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Civic and political participation	
Activism of young people	“Portuguese youth are increasingly aware of social issues and are actively looking for ways to make a difference, including housing activism.”
Morality	
Dignity	“Out of necessity and a lack of courage on the part of those in power to act in defence of access to decent housing.”
Human right	“Housing is a fundamental human right that seems to be disappearing and it is urgent to reverse the situation.”
Value of culture	“...the worst housing situation compared to other European countries, a culture that values housing as an essential need.”
Emotions	
Solidarity and empathy	“...the Portuguese have a strong tradition of solidarity and empathy, which leads them to get involved in social causes such as housing.”
Angry	“...revolt from various social ladders because it is already unaffordable to buy a house even for “middle class people”....”
Hope	“...so I think the Portuguese are participating in these movements in the hope of being heard, of seeing change.”
Relative deprivation	

Difficulties in accessibility to housing	“Because of the very high rents and the lack of housing conditions.”
Lack of housing conditions	“The Portuguese tend to take part in the movement because of the scarcity of decent housing for us to live in.”
Sociopolitical context	
Disadvantaged group	“Because I believe that the Portuguese socio-economic situation, due to low salaries and absurd rents, stands out negatively among European countries, and I think this leads to greater action on the part of the population.”
Gentrification	“...increasing remote working that has made it possible for foreigners to in urban areas is displacing low-income communities... making the life of Portuguese hard...”
Government measures	“Given the bureaucracy involved in finding their own home and all the economic difficulties that come with it, many Portuguese turn to renting. However, since there is no control over rents or a maximum ceiling...”
External blame	
Government	“This is due to the fact that the governments that have existed to date have delegated the role of the Portuguese state to private individuals...”
Owners	“the market became dependent on the owners... since there is no control over rents and no maximum ceiling, landlords take advantage of this to raise rents in order to make as much profit as possible”

Property investors

“Housing in Portugal is treated as nothing more than a commodity that is quickly gobbled up by a whole complex of property investors. The public housing stock is almost non-existent and housing co-operatives are almost non-existent

Table C2

Full responses of high-participation condition of the excerpt examples in Portuguese in the main study

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Civic and political participation	
Activism of young people	“A juventude portuguesa está cada vez mais consciente das questões sociais e procura ativamente maneiras de fazer a diferença, incluindo o ativismo pela habitação”
Morality	
Dignity	“Por necessidade e por falta de coragem dos governantes, para agir em defesa da acessibilidade a habitação digna.”
Human right	“a habitação é um direito humano fundamental que parece estar a dissipar-se é urgente reverter a situação.”
Value of culture	“Desespero, pior situação de habitação em comparação com outros países da Europa, cultura que valoriza mt a habitação com bem essencial.”
Emotions	
Solidarity and empathy	“Provavelmente, o alto custo de vida em Portugal, em conjunto com a escassez de habitação acessível, motiva as pessoas a se unirem em ações coletivas para demandar mudanças. Além disso, a cultura portuguesa tem uma forte tradição de solidariedade empatia, o que pode incentivar ainda mais a participação nesse tipo de movimento.”

Angry

“Discrepâncias sociais. Procura de habitação surge de pessoas estrangeiras com rendimentos elevados que impedem a compra ou arrendamento dos locais a preços acessíveis. Políticas de habitação que não promovem ajuda na compra da primeira casa e/ou comparticipa no arrendamento para pessoas com dificuldades financeiras. Revolta dos vários estratos sociais porque já é inacessível a compra de uma casa mesmo para pessoas “de classe média”. Poder de compra muito baixo, salário mínimo mal permite pagar alimentação e restantes despesas, quanto mais pagar ou alugar uma casa no centro da cidade. Mesmo que haja uma casa mais acessível para comprar ou alugar certamente será na periferia e não existem condições de transportes públicos que permitam viver na periferia (falando na perspectiva de alguém que de facto vive na periferia)”.

Hope

“Considero que o direito à habitação não está a ser concretizado em Portugal. Os preços das rendas estão incomportáveis para jovens que, na sua maioria, não recebem mais de 1000€ por mês. Cada vez mais é trabalhar para sobreviver e não viver. Assim considero que os portugueses participam nestes movimentos com esperança de serem ouvidos, de ver mudança.”

Relative deprivation

Difficulties in accessibility to housing

“Pelo valor das rendas muito altas e pela falta de condições habitacionais.”

Lack of housing conditions

“Os portugueses tendem a participar no movimento devido á escassez de habitação digna para podermos viver.”

Sociopolitical context

Disadvantaged group

“Porque considero que a conjuntura sócio-economica portuguesa, devido aos baixos salarios e rendas absurdas, se destaca negativamente dentro dos países europeus, pelo que acho que isso leva a uma maior acao da população.”

Gentrification

“Os salários dos jovens portugueses não acompanhou o aumento dos preços dos imoveis, e o principal motivo para este aumento de preços especialmente em grandes areas urbanas são o teletrabalho que possibilitou os estrangeiros virem morar para Portugal comprar um apartamento muito bom por um preço (para a realidade do salário que recebem lá no estrangeiro) bastante baixo, criando pressão no mercado imobiliario e dificultando a vida aos Portugueses que não conseguem competir com esta procura pela falta de poder economico.”

Government measures

“Dadas as burocracias para arranjar habitação própria e todas as dificuldades económicas agregadas, muitos portugueses viram-se para o arrendamento. Contudo, uma vez que não há controlo sobre as rendas nem um teto máximo os senhorios aproveitam-se para aumentar os preços das rendas de modo a tirar o maior lucro possível”

External blame

Government

“Deve-se ao facto de os governos que existiram até hoje, terem delegado nos privados a função do Estado português. Os governos não investiram em habitação e o mercado ficou dependente dos proprietários.”

Owners

“...Dadas as burocracias para arranjar habitação própria e todas as dificuldades económicas agregadas, muitos portugueses viram-se para o arrendamento. Contudo, uma vez que não há controlo sobre as rendas nem um teto máximo os senhorios aproveitam-se para aumentar os preços das rendas de modo a tirar o maior lucro possível”

Property investors

“Custo de vida enorme e miséria da população num país submetido a um regime de semicolonialismo. Portugal é um país periférico e submisso numa grande confederação europeia. A habitação em Portugal é tratada somente como uma mercadoria devorada com rapacidade por todo um complexo de senhorios e investidores imobiliários. O parque habitacional público é quase nulo e cooperativas de habitação são quase inexistentes. As leis que regulem ou limitem o preço de arrendamento são parcas ou mesmo inexistentes para a gravidade do problema. É natural que os Portugueses protestem em vez de simplesmente definharem e morrerem ao frio e à fome.”

Table C3

Themes, categories and excerpts of reasons of low participation in the housing movement listed by participants in the Main Study

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Civic and political participation	
Lack of Activism	“It is my understanding that we are people who are not very activist, not very proactive... there is little culture of demonstration”
Lack of political engagement	“depoliticisation and low civic participation”
Efficacy	
Self-efficacy	“after all who am I to change the whole system?”
Political efficacy	“There is a reluctance to challenge the established system and to get involved in protest activities.”
Movement efficacy	“thoughts such as the movement ‘it's not worth it’ or ‘it won't change anything”
System disbelief	“At the moment, few Portuguese believe that there is anything to be done to bring about change because they feel belittled and devalued by politicians. They feel that they will no longer be listened to and that there is no point in making movements because decisions will not be changed”
Powerlessness	“generalized feeling of powerless”
Hopelessness	“internalized generalized idea, which makes them not having hope in changes”
External constraints	
Lack of movement organization	“current organizations such as Habitação Hoje in Porto- perhaps the most advanced- and Habita Stop/despejos in Lisboa are lagging far behind in terms of organization and work when compared to housing unions in the most proletarian neighborhoods in the main Spanish cities”

Lack of time	“The fact that many are trapped in the loop of working for a living and still finding time to “live”
Lack of information	“Lack of knowledge about current legislation and viable alternatives to mobilise for”
Internal attributions	
Character	“I believe it is because of the typical Portuguese character of “ <i>deixa andar</i> ”, it is a cultural thing”
Conformism	“The Portuguese are too conformist with the precarious conditions we are given. They are content with the conditions in place and don't intend to fight for better ones.”
Apathy	“...too entangled in our own melancholy and reticence in the face of change”

Table C4

Full responses of low-participation condition of the excerpt examples in Portuguese in the main study

Discourse and dimension	Example quote
Civic and political participation	
Lack of Activism	“Sinto que, em geral, tende a haver uma certa letargia no povo português no que toca à luta pelos seus ideais ou mesmo pela defesa dos seus direitos quando estes são postos em causa. É de meu entender que somos um povo pouco ativista, pouco proativo, muito emaranhado na sua própria melancolia e reticência face à mudança. Tudo está sempre mal, mas continuará a ser mais confortável apontar o dedo a esses erros do conforto do meu próprio sofá... afinal, “quem sou eu para mudar todo o sistema?”, “eles é que estão mal, não eu”. A falta de investimento que

prevalece em procurar dotar as pessoas de um senso de autorresponsabilização é também uma fonte central deste tipo de problemas. Se a população não acreditar que os seus próprios comportamentos são modeladores do que lhe é oferecido pelo contexto em que se insere, então vai acabar por alimentar em si mesma um senso de “desempoderamento” e cingir-se a uma insignificância que é, na verdade, irreal e autogerada. Emaranhados na própria crença conveniente de que todas as decisões superiores estão fora do seu poder, não tentam sequer fazer-se ouvir. Outro problema desta postura é o discurso focado no problema ao invés da solução. De pouco serve apontar dedos quando não se operacionaliza uma alternativa viável ao apontado. A partir do momento em que também não há soluções, nada muda, e todo o movimento de protesto parece ter sido em vão, incentivando a que não se repitam posteriores. É tão simples como a lei do reforço: comportamento sem consequências satisfatórias tem menos probabilidade de se vir a repetir. Desta forma, e embora não me tenha focado em particular na questão da habitação, deixo a hipótese de que tal resultado advém de uma postura que já nos é característica enquanto povo e que tem impactos que se estendem aos mais diversos movimentos que vão sendo criados pela Europa e pelo mundo.”

Lack of political engagement

“Baixos salários (impossibilidade de tirar um dia), zero flexibilidade nos horários de trabalho, horas de trabalho longas, cansaço físico e mental, despolitização, baixa participação cívica, precariedade laboral, zero

esperança de uma sociedade melhor e mais bem organizada devido a anos de violência.”

Efficacy

Self-efficacy

[response in the code lack of activism]

Political efficacy

“A menor participação dos Portugueses no movimento social pela habitação pode ser explicada pela sua relutância em desafiar o sistema estabelecido e em se envolver em atividades de protesto. Existe uma tendência cultural de aceitar as condições existentes em vez de contestá-las ativamente, o que pode ser influenciado por uma história de estabilidade política relativa e uma menor tradição de ativismo público. Os Portugueses preferem adaptar-se às dificuldades habitacionais em vez de enfrentar o sistema ou as autoridades, refletindo uma aversão ao confronto e uma preferência por reclamar que tudo está mal e ficar em casa à espera que os problemas se resolvam sozinhos..”

Movement efficacy

“Falta de informação sobre tais movimentos, pensamentos como “não vale a pena” ou “não vai mudar nada”

System disbelief

“A participação no movimento social tem ficado cada vez menores por motivos de desilusão. Neste momento são poucos os portugueses que acreditam que há algo a fazer para mudar porque se sentem numa posição de menosprezo e desvalorização por parte dos políticos. Sentem que não serão mais ouvidos e que não vale a pena fazer movimentos porque as decisões não serão alteradas de maneira a beneficiar o cidadão comum. O mercado da habitação rende milhões ao ano e o estado ganha com isso. É um negócio que o

<p>Powerlessness</p>	<p>parlamento e o governo não estão dispostos a alterar e os cidadãos já perceberam isso”</p> <p>“No geral, baixos índices de participação política, a percepção generalizada de impotência e um quadro normativo generalizado em que a mitologia salazarista de "um povo de brandos costumes" se transmutou num ideal de participação cívica atomizado, consequência da neoliberalização da sociedade portuguesa. Dentro deste último elemento, a ideia de que a incapacidade do acesso à habitação resulta do percurso individual (lógico "se não tens meios, trabalhasses e tinhas") e não de problemas sistémicos, como a ausência de políticas públicas de habitação ou a quase total desregulação do mercado habitacional.”</p>
<p>Hopelessness</p>	<p>“ideia internalizada e generalizada de falta de esperança em mudanças trazidas pelos movimentos sociais”</p>
<p>External constraints</p> <p>Lack of movement organization</p>	<p>“O movimento social pela habitação era forte em Portugal no pós 25 de abril, no PREC com exemplos como o SAAL, as comissões de moradores em Lisboa e Porto, etc, mas essa tradição não se cimentou, esse movimento foi reprimido (pelo estado, câmaras municipais, setor privado e inclusive por grupos bombistas em 1975-77) não houve uma continuidade, havendo apenas protestos pontuais e algumas associações de moradores que se tornaram pequenos escritórios para resolver problemas do dia à dia e não para reivindicar politicamente o direito à</p>

habitação, ao passo que em muitos outros países, seja de forma mais institucional como no Reino Unido e Suécia, seja de forma mais ilegalista como na Espanha e Itália através por exemplo das okupas e dos sindicatos de habitação, há movimentos sociais com longa tradição de reivindicar o direito à habitação, que cá são quase inexistentes. Mesmo as organizações atuais como a Habitação Hoje no Porto- talvez a mais avançada - e a Habita/Stop Despejos em Lisboa, estão atrasadíssimas em termos de organização e trabalho desenvolvido quando comparadas com sindicatos de habitação da maioria dos bairros mais proletários das principais cidades espanholas. Na ausência dessa tradição e experiência coletiva, na quase ausência de presença dessas organizações nos bairros, na cooptação da questão habitacional por partidos burgueses que esgotam o movimento em institucionalismos e eleitoralismos sem saída, entre outras razões que certamente a minha visão e experiência não captam, levam os portugueses a participarem menos no movimento social pela habitação que noutros países. A título apenas de exemplo, eu vi Centros Sociais Okupados incríveis em Barcelona, Madrid e Cordoba, vi uma presença muito grande de grafitis dedicados à questão da habitação em Cadiz, Puerto Real, Vigo, Santiago de Compostela, Pontevedra e até Sevilha, além das outras 3 cidades já referidas, coisas quase inexistentes”

Lack of time

“O facto de muitos estarem presos no loop de trabalhar para sobreviver e ainda arranjar tempo para "viver", torna as pessoas egoístas e torna difícil querer ajudar o próximo quando o sentimento é "e a mim quem é que ajuda?". Está indignação misturada com a iletracia política dos portugueses, faz com que seja mais fácil cair em falácias populistas de políticos que vão ainda mais contra o movimento social pela habitação”

Lack of information

“Falta de conhecimento sobre a legislação em vigor e sobre alternativas viáveis pelas quais se possam mobilizar”

Internal attributions

Character

“Os portugueses estão numa fase de descontentamento quer verbalizar diariamente mas não conseguem canalizar esse descontentamento e raiva para a luta. Talvez por sermos culturalmente um povo do "deixa andar", ou por estarmos descreditados”

Conformism

“Os portugueses são demasiado conformistas com as condições precárias que nos dão. Contentam-se com as condições aplicadas e não tencionam lutar por melhor.”

Apathy

[response in the code lack of activism]
