



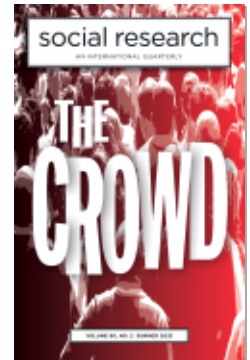
PROJECT MUSE®

---

## The Dynamic Context of Transformations through Crowds and Collective Action

Sara Vestergren, Yasemin Gülsüm Acar

Social Research: An International Quarterly, Volume 90, Number 2,  
Summer 2023, pp. 271-292 (Article)



Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/sor.2023.a901705>

➔ *For additional information about this article*

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/901705>

🔗 *For content related to this article*

[https://muse.jhu.edu/related\\_content?type=article&id=901705](https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=article&id=901705)

Sara Vestergren and  
Yasemin Gülsüm Acar

# **The Dynamic Context of Transformations through Crowds and Collective Action**

MOST OF US HAVE SOME EXPERIENCES OF CROWDS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION, either as a participant or as a bystander. We might have supported our college soccer team at the stadium, been in the crowd at a concert, joined others to protest discrimination, or participated in a religious event. Crowds have been of interest to scholars and policymakers for hundreds of years and a subject of interest for social psychologists for over a century. The historical view of the crowd is that it is a mindless, easily influenced mass or mob of people that is prone to violence and irrational behavior (Le Bon [1895] 1947). However, more contemporary social psychological research on the crowd has challenged this view, seeing the crowd through a social identity lens, challenging the notion of mindless behavior with one based on expectations in collective identity, influenced by collective efficacy and perceived collective injustice. Hence, contemporary social psychology views the crowd as an agent of change, capable of achieving social and political transformation through collective action.

Most research on crowds and collective action has focused on predictors of participation (e.g., Klandermans 1997; Simon et al. 1998; Thomas, Mavor, and McGarty 2012). Mainstream social psychol-

ogy predictor models of participation in collective action emphasize three key variables: social identity (e.g., van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008), perceived collective injustice (e.g., Becker, Tausch, and Wagner 2011; Walker and Smith 2002), and collective efficacy (e.g., Blackwood and Winnifred 2012; Klandermans 1984). However, as crowds and collective action contexts are highly dynamic, these variables can also emerge as a result of participation in collective action and crowds (e.g., Vestergren, Drury, and Hammar Chiriatic 2019), and in some cases, such as politically repressive environments, they may not be useful measures at all (Acar and Uluğ 2022).

The focus of this essay is on social psychological research on collective actions and crowds, with an emphasis on the emergence and endurance of psychological change as an outcome of participation. We refer to various types of crowds and collective actions to discuss these processes and highlight the need to better understand the dynamic social and systemic context linked to both emergence and endurance of crowds, collective actions, and psychological change.

## **THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CROWD**

Crowds and collective action have been studied in various disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, political science, and social psychology. One fundamental distinction in crowd literature is between physical and psychological crowds. A physical crowd refers to people that are physically present in the same location at the same time. A psychological crowd, on the other hand, refers to people that share a common category or psychological state, a perception of “being in it together,” not necessarily, but most often, being in the same physical location.

Early explanations of crowd behavior emphasized the crowd’s irrationality. They focused on dimensions such as contagion (see Le Bon [1895] 1947), suggestibility (see Sherif 1936), and emotional arousal (see Lofland 1982). Similar to Gustave Le Bon, Philip Zimbardo (1969) views crowd behavior through the lens of deindividuation, which is based on the idea of a loss or lack of “individuation,” or the

loss of personal identity. According to Zimbardo, the antecedents for deindividuation are anonymity, large group size, diffusion of responsibility, and the presence of co-acting others. These factors lead to reduction of self-consciousness, resulting in “a weakening of controls based on guilt, shame, fear, and commitment” (259), which could lead to increased impulsivity and irrational behavior. According to deindividuation theory, individuals in crowds may feel anonymous and unaccountable for their actions, which in turn can lead to a breakdown of social norms and increased aggression. While irrationalist explanations of crowd behavior have been influential in the history of crowd psychology, they have also been criticized for oversimplifying complex social phenomena and overlooking the role of social, political, and economic factors in shaping crowd behavior. More recent research on crowds and collective action has taken a more nuanced approach, taking into account the complex interplay between individual and social factors in shaping crowd dynamics and collective action.

According to Stephen Reicher (1984, 1996a), irrationalist explanations deny that crowds (and group processes) have any coherent basis and imply that the group is inherently subversive of selfhood. In contrast, the social identity tradition clearly shows that group processes operate in ways that are largely structured and meaningful to the participants and involve a redefinition of the self at the group level (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Turner 1985, 1991, 1999). People immersed in groups act in ways that are responsive to social or group standards, but that are nevertheless still controlled and meaningful. So, individuals in a crowd will not simply do “anything”; rather, they follow the behavior of those individuals perceived to be category members. The question, therefore, is not just “what do we do in this situation?” but rather “what is appropriate action as a group member in this particular situation?”

Not only is there a difference between physical and psychological crowds, but there is also a difference in the type and context of the crowd or collective action.<sup>1</sup> John Drury and colleagues (e.g., Drury and

Reicher 2000, 2005; Drury, Reicher, and Stott 2003) studied people coming together to oppose the building of the M11 link road in the UK and found that participation was transformational in terms of how protesters understood themselves and others. Similarly, in studying soccer crowds, student protesters, and festival crowds, Fergus Neville and Stephen Reicher (2011) describe how participants transformed in terms of relations both within and outside the crowds. While studying ceremonial and religious crowd events such as the hajj (Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca; e.g., Alnabulsi and Drury 2014), or the Magh Mela (annual Hindu festival; e.g., Hopkins et al. 2015), and more recently the queue for Queen Elizabeth II's lying-in-state in London (see Hoerst and Vestergren 2022; Reicher 2022), researchers emphasized that sharing the space and being there together transformed relations and identities.

However, the social settings for a crowd have an impact on the context and the crowd dynamics. For example, a protesting crowd is likely to have one or a few out-groups relevant for the context. These out-groups could be large corporations (e.g., oil companies), the police, or even a counterprotest to their own event. There are of course different topics and contents of crowd ideology that affect the content of the social identity as well, such as extreme ideology. Importantly, we assume that the same crowd dynamics and transformational processes occur regardless of the psychological crowd; however, the speed and strength of the transformation may differ depending on the relational and contextual processes.

## **THE CROWD AS AN AGENT OF CHANGE**

John Turner suggested that self-categorization is the psychological basis for group behavior (1991; Turner et al. 1987). We define ourselves according to the behavior of other group members. We evaluate ourselves based on the relevant identity in a particular context and perform the behavior that is expected of a person with that identity. Relevance and salience of a particular group identity also mean

that in-group and out-group members, including the self, are viewed in terms of prototypes of their group, rather than distinct idiosyncratic individuals. Group prototypes are fuzzy sets of attributes that capture in-group similarities and intergroup differences; they are the stereotypical or normative attributes that represent a group and its members and differentiate them from other groups. A prototypical group member more closely fits the group's prototype, while a non-prototypical group member less closely fits the group's prototype.

Social identity refers to the part of an individual's self-concept that is derived from the social groups to which they perceive themselves to belong, such as gender, religion, nationality, and opinion-based groups such as political parties and football clubs. Shared social identity refers to the commonality of social identity among members of a group. One could argue that while social identity is about the groups that are part of the self-concept, shared social identity is that part of the self *in action*—it is inherently group-based and becomes central when the person is participating in a crowd event with other members of that social group. Hence, shared social identity is *in situ* relational (Neville et al. 2022). For psychological transformation through participation in crowd events and collective action, a salient social identification (e.g., environmentalist) is often not enough; there needs to be a dimension of shared social identity (environmentalists in action together). Hence, social identity is often seen as a predictor of crowd and collective action participation, and shared social identity as a consequence of such participation. Importantly, crowds and collective actions are spaces wherein a social identity can become salient, and a salient social identity can become a shared social identity.

While the social identity approach as a means to understand the crowd shifted the paradigm from one of irrationality to behavior based on the norms and expectations of the group, it did not necessarily discuss the fluid or shifting dynamics of the context within which crowd action takes place.

## THE ELABORATED SOCIAL IDENTITY MODEL

The ESIM framework proposes that intergroup interaction transforms the context in which participants define themselves, thereby transforming their identity. Early research in the framework focused on processes within the group (e.g., Reicher 1984, 1987), but later work added the out-group perspective to explain how escalating crowd conflict occurs (e.g., Drury and Reicher 2000; Stott and Reicher 1998), providing a more comprehensive account of crowd dynamics.

Developing the social identity model, Reicher (1996b) suggests that three conceptual areas of the social identity tradition need to be addressed. First, social identity should be viewed as dynamic and continually in process, fluid rather than stagnant. Social identities should be regarded as tied to action in the world. Therefore, they are open to change, just as the context within which they occur also changes. Second, the context in which any group acts is constituted at least partially by other groups. This is particularly evident in crowd events, as they are inherently intergroup events. The understandings and actions of one group—say, the perceptions on the part of police that a crowd as a whole is dangerous—form the material reality the other group faces and frame this group's understandings and actions. This means, in essence, that categorization and context are not mutually exclusive and must both be considered when thinking about identity in a crowd. Third, the relationship between identity, intention, and consequence needs to be explicitly addressed. Whatever the intentions of one group, their acts may be reinterpreted by the other group, which then reacts in unanticipated ways and creates new contexts within which the original group subsequently exists (Drury and Reicher 2000; Stott and Reicher 1998).

Crowd events are fundamentally dynamic, intergroup encounters; this is emphasized in the elaborated social identity model of crowd behavior (ESIM), which examines identity development as a function of intergroup dynamics (e.g., Drury and Reicher 2000, 2005; Drury et al. 2003; Stott and Reicher 1998). Hence, ESIM accounts for the relational and transformational dimension of shared social iden-

tity. The framework has been used to study crowds and collective action such as protests, for example, the campaign against the M11 link road in London, where campaigners redefined their identity as a result of conflictual intergroup interaction (see Drury et al. 2003). The framework explains how shared social identities can transform through being challenged, contested, interpreted, and reinterpreted, leading to changes in identity content, boundaries, legitimacy, and power.

### **PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGE: THE CROWD AS TRANSFORMATIVE SPACE**

Regardless of the type of psychological crowd you find yourself in—environmental collective actions, Black Lives Matter protests, or ceremonial and religious crowds—it is likely to have some effect on you. Previous research has found various types of psychological change and transformations through collective actions and crowd events (see Vestergren, Drury, and Hammar Chiriac 2017). The psychological changes, or biographical consequences, can be organized into 19 categories related to “objective” change measurable by an observer (marital status, children, relationship ties, work-life/career, extended involvement, and consumer behavior) or “subjective” self-reported change (identity, empowerment, legitimacy, radicalization/politicization, sustained commitment, self-esteem, general well-being, “traits,” self-confidence, religion, organizing, knowledge and skills).

When individuals become involved in social movements and collective actions, they often undergo significant changes in their biographical narratives and personal identities; similar changes can be found in various types of crowd events (e.g., Vestergren et al. 2017). These changes can be conceptualized in terms of identity transformation, which encompasses dimensions such as empowerment, legitimacy, and radicalization. The basis of this argument is that individuals transform in ways that are relevant for their social and collective identity, hence the content of these changes may vary across different groups and contexts. For example, it would be relevant for a climate



activist to change their diet to become more pro-environment, whereas for a person in a far-right-wing protest it might make more sense to maintain a (perceived) domestic diet.

Drury and colleagues (e.g., Drury et al. 2003; Drury and Reicher 2000, 2005; Vestergren and Drury 2022) suggest self-change along four identity dimensions in relation to participation in collective action; identity content, boundaries, legitimacy, and power. The first dimension relates to what it means to be a crowd member in terms of the values and beliefs attached to the social identity. People change their behavior, gain new knowledge and skills, and redefine social relationships to support their collective identity. For example, participants in a study of an environmental campaign to save a forest in Sweden changed their consumption habits to exclude or decrease meat and dairy and to reduce their use of petrol, diesel, and plastic (Vestergren et al. 2019). They also changed their career and academic focuses to align with their new activist identity.

The second dimension of identity transformation is the change in identity boundaries, or who is considered “us” and “them.” For example, participants in the Magh Mela or in the queue for Queen Elizabeth II will most likely initially not see themselves and everyone else there as part of the same category (they will likely be a physical crowd), but during the event they become united under a shared social category through relational processes. These changes in identity boundaries have also been found to generate extended involvement, for example, when activists perceive other campaigns to be part of the same struggle (e.g., Vestergren et al. 2019).

The third dimension of identity transformation relates to the repositioning of “us” and the change in the perceived legitimacy of the actions taken by “us.” This change in perception affects the participants’ own actions and beliefs. For example, activists might become more willing to participate in actions such as blockading roads. This change in what is perceived as legitimate and illegitimate action also affects the participants in what can be understood as radical change.

Finally, the fourth dimension of identity transformation is related to the shift in the perception of possible actions in relation to

the restraining powers of other groups. Through becoming united and sharing a sense of community under a shared identity, crowd and collective action participants come to expect that other group members share their beliefs and will support their actions. They become empowered and perceive that the collective can successfully challenge the existing power relationships. The empowerment and sense of support have a positive effect on participants' well-being, as they gain more confidence in their beliefs and actions. These changes can also be brought to other areas of their lives, such as during job interviews (e.g., Vestergren, Drury, and Hammar Chiriak 2018).

There has been substantial previous research on the ways collective action can result in a change in social identity (Drury and Reicher 2000, 2005). Changes to social identity can vary from how people construe their social identities after participation to self-reported radicalization or politicization. Özden Melis Uluğ and Yasemin Gülsüm Acar (2019) examine the *çapulcu* identity that formed during the Gezi Park protests in Istanbul in 2013; they show that identities can form out of collective action, that these identities can be well-structured with clear contents, boundaries, and norms, and that they can continue to carry meaning after the protest event. For many, *çapulcu* identity (*çapulcu* means “looters” in Turkish) came to be associated with individuals' own activist or protester identity and became another form of politicization. In studies conducted by Drury et al. (2003), Drury and Reicher (2000), and Vestergren et al. (2018, 2019), it has been observed that intragroup processes play a mediating role in the relationship between intergroup dynamics and sustained biographical consequences, or psychological transformations, for environmental activists. Specifically, a contradiction between the expectations of activists regarding the behavior of the police and the actual behavior of the police toward them leads to a stronger sense of unity among the activists. This contradiction causes activists to reassess their identity boundaries and see themselves as part of a shared identity, leading to more support and discussions within the activist group.

In campaigns such as the anti-fracking movement in the UK, alongside environmental issues activists highlight issues related to

human health and their right to protest. However, the police are often accused of being violent and using labels such as “domestic extremists” to refer to activists. This perceived contradiction causes activists to reposition themselves and reassess their identity boundaries, which results in stronger in-group ties.

In conclusion, the psychological consequences of participation in crowds and collective action are closely related to changes in the self and one’s identity. The four-dimensional model of identity transformation provides a useful framework for understanding how changes in identity lead to psychological and behavioral changes and why these changes may differ across different contexts. The model also highlights the importance of crowds and collective action, social relationships, and power dynamics in shaping individual identity and promoting social change.

### **CONTINUING CHANGE: THE CROWD AND LIFE**

There are a number of factors to consider when understanding what variables or dimensions are important in creating sustained psychological change and collective action. Typically, when evaluating a collective action event, we look to see if the event has been successful in achieving the central aim of the action. For example, if the goal is to prevent a park from being destroyed, and the park is not destroyed, then the event is a success. However, this measure does not take into account the many varied experiences and psychological changes crowd members may consider to be positive gains from participation.

According to self-categorization theory, if a person’s self changes as a result of intergroup interaction, the endurance of that new self-categorization in different contexts is also dependent on the person’s ability and opportunity to continue categorizing themselves in that way (Turner et al. 1987). Thus, the concept of perceiver readiness is especially relevant to understanding the relationship between collective action, crowd participation, and personal change/transformation. Perceiver readiness can be defined as a person’s preparedness to utilize certain categories in various contexts, to comprehend situ-

ations outside the immediate collective action from the perspective of the collective, and thus to account for the persistence of psychological transformation. Therefore, sustained psychological transformation is a result of perceived lasting changes in social relationships and an individual's increased readiness to categorize accordingly (and thus generalize from a specific categorization). Consequently, someone who becomes a climate activist may be more inclined than others to view the world in environmental terms. Although perceiver readiness has not received much attention in prior research, it has been explored in personality research from the perspective of self-categorization theory, connecting personal and social aspects (e.g., Reynolds et al. 2010). Kathrine Reynolds and colleagues (2012) employ the concept of perceiver readiness to explain some continuity and discontinuity in the self through social processes and social identity rather than fixed personality structures.

The level of interaction with other group members is crucial for the endurance of biographical consequences, as it allows the activist to maintain their environmental self and sustain social values as personal values (Vestergren et al. 2018). The degree of interactivity between group members predicts the endurance of biographical consequences; conversely, a lack of interaction leads to a decline in beliefs and behaviors associated with the relevant environmental identity and self. Environmental activists change their beliefs and behaviors based on the salient environmental identity. The repositioning of the self and identity will persist as long as they perceive themselves to be part of the environmental movement.

The ability to continue to position oneself as, for example, a climate activist is facilitated by how we feel during crowd events and collective actions and by the opportunities to continue engaging with others. Just as with social identity, empowerment is often described as both an antecedent and an outcome of collective action. Empowerment can be understood as a social-psychological state of confidence in one's ability to challenge existing relations of domination (Drury and Reicher 2005). Empowerment can be seen both as a predictor

of participation in a crowd event or collective action (e.g., Hess and Martin 2006; Klandermans 1997; Zimmerman and Rappaport 1988) and as a consequence or outcome of participation in a crowd event or collective action. Reported experiences of empowerment as a result of collective action are often useful in gauging whether an individual will want to engage in collective action again in the future (see Acar 2018; Drury et al. 2003; McAdam 1989; Van Dyke and Dixon 2013; Vestergren et al. 2019).

## **SOLIDARITY AND PREJUDICE REDUCTION**

Experiencing collective action with others can lead to prejudice reduction and consequently can result in solidarity between groups that may not have engaged previously in collective action together. Solidarity can take multiple forms; recent research on political solidarity has defined it as how much a person “stands with” a disadvantaged out-group and demonstrated that this can take place between members of different disadvantaged groups or between a member of an advantaged group toward a disadvantaged group (Neufeld, Starzyk, and Gaucher 2019). The latter, which can be referred to as allyship, involves individuals from an advantaged group supporting and actively engaging with the cause of a disadvantaged group. There is relatively little research on the motivators for advantaged group members to become involved in furthering the social change desired by disadvantaged groups. However, the existing research suggests that interest in and motivation of social justice for one’s own group may transcend boundaries and influence support for other groups as well (Tropp and Uluğ 2019; Uluğ and Cohrs 2017).

One way to create interest in supporting the causes of other groups is through previous collective action participation with other groups. Acar and Uluğ’s (2016) work suggests that collective action can lead to reductions in intergroup prejudice as well as taking steps toward social justice on behalf of others. Participants in this study noted instances of common identification that increased political solidarity during protests. Uluğ and Acar’s (2018) research followed up

on Gezi protest participation three years later and noted that these instances of solidarity continued after the protests; at the group level, there was increased cooperation between groups that were previously excluded, as well as increased sensitivity to other groups' priorities. Yasemin Gülsüm Acar and Canan Coşkan's work on the Academics for Peace in Turkey (2020) showed that academics who participated in collective action through solidarity academies after being removed from their positions in universities experienced a sense of psychosocial support and fellowship with other academics that they had not previously experienced. They found this experience of support meaningful, and this helped them gauge their willingness to continue participating in the solidarity academies.

As an outcome of collective action participation, solidarity indicates a consolidation of the relationships that can be formed during collective action. It allows people who may not be familiar with each other's causes to find common ground and new reasons to support one another's pursuits of social change. There are profound outcomes for the continuation of collective action participation.

## **THE FUTURE OF CROWD RESEARCH**

As we have discussed, studies of the crowd have changed over time, from perceptions of the crowd as "mindless" to that of a crowd behaving on the basis of group norms. Participation in crowd events can bring about profound changes and a desire to continue participating in crowds and collective action. While the social identity perspective has changed the way we approach crowd dynamics, we believe there are areas that remain under-researched, and greater attention to them would immeasurably improve our understanding of the psychological crowd.

First, and perhaps most importantly, is the role of context. As discussed above, the ESIM does add the social "in the moment" context to discussions of the psychological crowd; crowd participation is transformative, and social identity is fluid and contextually impacted. What the ESIM does not address, however, is the political, country, or

cultural context that is relevant to (1) people's willingness to engage in collective action in the first place and (2) the ways they choose to, or can, engage.

In particularly repressive environments, collective action engagement not only takes different forms (e.g., avoidance of large crowd events and preference for online political engagement) but may also change the aims of collective action in general. Repressive environments such as authoritarian states are not open to political or policy changes. Goals may shift from larger rights-based aims to smaller everyday aims that allow people to just "get by." Hence, even though ESIM has been evidenced and is highly useful in a Western industrialized context with Western perceptions and environments of democracy, the crowd dynamics might have further dimensions and complexities in other political or state contexts.

It is also important to note that contextual factors will reduce or remove the impact of one or all of the established antecedents to participation in collective action such as social identity, efficacy, and perceived injustice. Previous research has suggested that the strength and direction of identification and collective action may depend on the status of one's in-group (see Jost et al. 2017). A handful of studies have taken into account the group's status (as advantaged or disadvantaged) in the relationship between identification and collective action (e.g., Bağcı and Türnüklü 2019; Çakal et al. 2016). Furthermore, Mete Sefa Uysal and colleagues (forthcoming) demonstrated that a country's repressive structure and state use of force, in addition to its environmental policies, affected whether people turned action intentions into actual collective action.

As discussed above, allyship and solidarity are possible outcomes of collective action participation that may lead to more sustained action and support for other causes. There is still very little work on allyship and advantaged group members' support for the causes of disadvantaged groups. Further investigation into power dynamics and asymmetries between groups, especially for those in politically risky or conflictual contexts, are essential to further understanding the dynamics of this relationship.

In riskier contexts, people experience less efficacy to bring about social change than in more democratic or secure contexts (see Acar and Uluğ 2022; Ayanian et al. 2021; Odağ, Uluğ, and Ünal 2021). Other factors such as social identity may become more crucial predictors of collective action participation. Further studies need to consider the role (or lack) of efficacy and whether our current measures or conceptualizations of efficacy are relevant or useful outside democratic contexts.

Relatedly, empowerment, in addition to efficacy, is often individualized; focusing on the individual's experience of empowerment or efficacy can sometimes overshadow the role of structural and systemic factors in shaping social inequalities and power dynamics. That is, while social support can increase an individual's sense of efficacy or empowerment, it might not be enough to overcome structural barriers and discrimination faced by the marginalized groups or those in repressive countries in terms of ability to engage in current or future action.

Finally, a great deal of research on the psychological crowd focuses on collective action for social change. However, as discussed above, there are different types of crowds. One understudied type of crowd is that on the political right. Crowds that push for the status quo and that resist change have only recently begun to receive attention (see Acar and Reicher 2021). When these crowds form for collective action, are they motivated by the same antecedents as those acting for change? Do they experience the same outcomes and sources of sustainment? Here the concept of identity content (Turner et al. 1994) is of importance. For example, we can assume that the theoretical framework for processes might be similar, but the identity content would differ hugely.

## **CONCLUSION**

Through this essay we have described the past, present, and hopefully the future of crowd and collective action research. Understandings of the crowd have changed over time; we understand now that there are many types of psychological crowds, with different relationships



to out-groups. As crowd psychologists, we work to understand the way coming together impacts us individually, biographically, but also how coming together can change society. This research requires openness, dynamism, and a recognition that the meaning and purpose of a crowd, especially one seeking social change, is always in flux, and while traditional approaches to the crowd viewed them as agents of chaos, we hope that crowd psychology as an area of research will work to understand them as agents of change, growth, and circumstance.

## NOTES

1. There is a dearth of literature exploring crowd behavior in disasters and emergency evacuations. While such research is also about the crowd, it is often about the way a physical crowd can become a psychological crowd and is not one of choice but of circumstance, and as such we have chosen not to focus on it for this piece. However, interested readers can find more in Alhajri, Templeton, and Moore 2023 and Drury 2018.

## REFERENCES

- Acar, Yasemin. 2018. "Gezi'den sonra ne oldu? Güçlenmenin, politikleşmenin ve örgütlenmenin kolektif eylemlerdeki rolü." *Türk Psikoloji Yazıları* 21: 62–78.
- Acar, Yasemin Gülsüm, and Canan Coşkan. 2020. "Academic Activism and Its Impact on Individual-Level Mobilization, Sources of Learning, and the Future of Academia in Turkey." *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 30 (4): 388–404.
- Acar, Yasemin Gülsüm, and Stephen Reicher. 2021. "How Crowds Transform Identities." In *In the Shadow of Transitional Justice: Cross-national Perspectives on the Transformative Potential of Remembrance*, ed. Guy Elcherot and Neloufer de Mel, 183–96. London: Routledge.
- Acar, Yasemin Gülsüm, and Özden Melis Uluğ. 2016. "Examining Prejudice Reduction through Solidarity and Togetherness Experiences among Gezi Park Activists in Turkey." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 4 (1): 166–79.

- . 2022. “When and Why Does Political Trust Predict Well-Being in Authoritarian Contexts? Examining the Role of Political Efficacy and Collective Action among Opposition Voters.” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 61 (3): 861–81.
- Alhajri, Waleed, Anne Templeton, and Adam Moore. 2023. “Social Norms and Risks at Mass Gatherings: A Systematic Review.” *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 88: 103586.
- Alnabulsi, Hani, and John Drury. 2014. “Social Identification Moderates the Effect of Crowd Density on Safety at the Hajj.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA* 111 (25): 9091–96.
- Ayanian, Arin, Nicole Tausch, Yasemin Gülsüm Acar, Maria Chayinska, Wing-Yee Cheung, and Yulia Lukyanova. 2021. “Resistance in Repressive Contexts: A Comprehensive Test of Psychological Predictors.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 120 (4): 912–39.
- Bağcı Hemşinlioğlu, Sabahat Çiğdem, and Abbas Türnüklü. 2019. “Intended, Unintended, and Unknown Consequences of Contact: The Role of Positive-Negative Contact on Outgroup Attitudes, Collective Action Tendencies, and Psychological Well-Being.” *Social Psychology* 50 (1): 7–23.
- Becker, Julia, Nicole Tausch, and Ulrich Wagner. 2011. “Emotional Consequences of Collective Action Participation: Differentiating Self-Directed and Outgroup-Directed Emotions.” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37 (12): 1587–98.
- Blackwood, Leda, and Louis Winnifred. 2012. “If It Matters for the Group Then It Matters to Me: Collective Action Outcomes for Seasoned Activists.” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 51 (1): 72–92.
- Çakal, Huseyin, Miles Hewstone, Meltem Güler, and Anthony Heath. 2016. “Predicting Support for Collective Action in the Conflict between Turks and Kurds: Perceived Threats as a Mediator of Intergroup Contact and Social Identity.” *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 19 (6): 732–52.
- Drury, John. 2018. “The Role of Social Identity Processes in Mass Emergency Behaviour: An Integrative Review.” *European Review of Social Psychology* 29 (1): 38–81.

- Drury, John, and Stephen Reicher. 2000. "Collective Action and Psychological Change: The Emergence of New Social Identities." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 39 (4): 579–604.
- . 2005. "Explaining Enduring Empowerment: A Comparative Study of Collective Action and Psychological Outcomes." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 35 (1): 35–58.
- Drury, John, Stephen Reicher, and Clifford Stott. 2003. "Transforming the Boundaries of Collective Identity: From the 'Local' Anti-road Campaign to 'Global' Resistance?" *Social Movement Studies* 2 (2): 191–212.
- Hess, David, and Brian Martin. 2006. "Repression, Backfire, and the Theory of Transformative Events." *Mobilization* 11 (2): 249–67.
- Hoerst Carina, and Sara Vestergren. 2022. "Queuing for the Queen of Queuing for the Queue? The Creation of Shared Identities, Friendships, and History." *Crowd and Identities: John Drury's Research Group*, Sept. 26. <https://blogs.sussex.ac.uk/crowdsidentities/2022/09/26/queuing-for-the-queen-of-queuing-for-the-queue-the-creation-of-shared-identities-friendships-and-history/>.
- Hopkins, Nicholas, Clifford Stevenson, Shail Shankar, Kavita Pandey, Sammyh Khan, and Shruti Tewari. 2015. "Being Together at the Magh Mela: The Social Psychology of Crowds and Collectivity." In *Sacred Mobilities: Journeys of Belief and Belonging*, ed. Avril Maddrell, Alan Terry, and Tim Gale, 19–39. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Jost, John, Julia Becker, Danny Osborne, and Vivienne Badaan. 2017. "Missing in (Collective) Action: Ideology, System Justification, and the Motivational Antecedents of Two Types of Protest Behavior." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 26 (2): 99–108.
- Klandermans, Bert. 1984. "Mobilization and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory." *American Sociological Review* 49 (5): 583–600.
- . 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Le Bon, Gustave. [1895] 1947. *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*. Trans. L. G. Crocker. London: Ernest Benn.

- Lofland, John. 1982. "Crowd Joys." *Urban Life* 10 (4): 355–81.
- McAdam, Doug. 1989. "The Biographical Consequences of Activism." *American Sociological Review* 54 (5): 744–60.
- Neufeld, Katelin Helene Siemens, Katherine Beata Starzyk, and Danielle Gaucher. 2019. "Political Solidarity: A Theory and a Measure." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 7 (2): 726–65.
- Neville, Fergus, David Novelli, John Drury, and Stephen Reicher. 2022. "Shared Social Identity Transforms Social Relations in Imaginary Crowds." *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 25 (1): 158–73.
- Neville, Fergus, and Stephen Reicher. 2011. "The Experience of Collective Participation: Shared Identity, Relatedness and Emotionality." *Contemporary Social Science* 6 (3): 377–96.
- Odağ, Özen, Özden Melis Uluğ, and Helin Ünal. 2021. "Identity Dynamics among Left-Leaning, Politically Active Kurds in Germany: The Role of Perceived Injustice, Collective Efficacy, and Online/Offline Participation." *International Journal of Communication* 15: 4639–61.
- Reicher, Stephen. 1984. "The St. Paul's 'Riot': An Explanation of the Limits of Crowd Action in Terms of a Social Identity Model." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 14 (1): 1–21.
- . 1987. "Crowd Behaviour as Social Action." In *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*, ed. John Turner, Michael Hogg, Penelope Oakes, Stephen Reicher, and Margaret Wetherell, 171–202. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 1996a. "'The Battle of Westminster': Developing the Social Identity Model of Crowd Behaviour in order to Explain the Initiation and Development of Collective Conflict." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 26 (1): 115–34.
- . 1996b. "Social Identity and Social Change: Rethinking the Context of Social Psychology." In *Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel*, ed. W. Peter Robinson, 317–36. London: Butterworth.
- . 2022. "God Save the Queue: How the Wait to See the Queen's Coffin Transformed People." *Guardian*, Sept. 20. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/sep/20/queue-queen-coffin-monarchy>.

- Reynolds, Kathrine, Boris Bizumic, Emina Subasic, John Turner, Nyla Branscombe, Kenneth Mavor, and Luisa Batalha. 2012. "Social Identity and Personality Processes: Non-aboriginal Australian Identity and Neuroticism." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 42 (2): 252–62.
- Reynolds, Kathrine, John Turner, Nyla Branscombe, Kenneth Mavor, Boris Bizumic, and Emina Subašić. 2010. "Interactionism in Personality and Social Psychology: An Integrated Approach to Understanding the Mind and Behaviour." *European Journal of Personality* 24 (5): 458–82.
- Sherif, Muzafer. 1936. *The Psychology of Social Norms*. New York: Harper.
- Simon, Bernd, Michael Loewy, Stefan Stürmer, Ulrike Weber, Peter Freytag, Corinna Habig, Claud Kampmeier, and Peter Spahlinger. 1998. "Collective Identification and Social Movement Participation." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74 (3): 646–58.
- Stott, Clifford, and Stephen Reicher. 1998. "Crowd Action as Intergroup Process: Introducing the Police Perspective." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 26 (4): 509–29.
- Tajfel, Henri, and John Turner. 1979. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. William Austin and Stephen Worchel, 33–47. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.
- Thomas, Emma, Kenneth Mavor, and Craig McGarty. 2012. "Social Identities Facilitate and Encapsulate Action-Relevant Constructs: A Test of the Social Identity Model of Collective Action." *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* 15 (1): 75–88.
- Tropp, Linda, and Özden Melis Uluğ. 2019. "Are White Women Showing Up for Racial Justice? Intergroup Contact, Closeness to People Targeted by Prejudice, and Collective Action." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 43 (3): 335–47.
- Turner, John. 1985. "Social Categorization and the Self-Concept: A Social Cognitive Theory of Group Behaviour." In *Advances in Group Processes*, ed. E. J. Lawler, 2:77–122. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- . 1991. *Social Influence*. Milton Keynes: Open U. Press.

- . 1999. “Some Current Issues in Research on Social Identity and Self-Categorization Theories.” In *Social Identity: Context, Commitment, Content*, ed. Bertjan Doosje, Naomi Ellemers, and Russell Spears, 6–34. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Turner, John, Michael Hogg, Penelope Oakes, Stephen Reicher, and Margaret Wetherell. 1987. *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Turner, John, Penelope Oakes, Alexander Haslam, and Craig McGarty. 1994. “Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context.” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 20 (5): 454–63.
- Uluğ, Özden Melis, and Yasemin Gülsüm Acar. 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.
- . 2019. “‘Names Will Never Hurt Us’: A Qualitative Exploration of Çapulcu Identity through the Eyes of Gezi Park Protesters.” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 58 (3): 714–29.
- Uluğ, Özden Melis, and Christopher Cohrs. 2017. “‘If We Become Friends, Maybe I Can Change My Perspective’: Intergroup Contact, Endorsement of Conflict Narratives, and Peace-Related Attitudes in Turkey.” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 23 (3): 278–87.
- Uysal, Mete Sefa, Sara Vestergren, Micaela Varela, and Clemens Lindner. Forthcoming. “‘System Change Not Climate Change’: Effective Environmental Policies and State Repression Moderates the Relationship between Psychological Predictors and Environmental Collective Action.” *Journal of Global Environmental Psychology*.
- Van Dyke, Nella, and Marc Dixon. 2013. “Activist Human Capital: Skills Acquisition and the Development of Commitment to Social Movement Activism.” *Mobilization: An International Journal* 18 (2): 197–12.
- Van Zomeren, Martijn, Tom Postmes, and Russell Spears. 2008. “Toward an Integrative Social Identity Model of Collective Action: A Quantitative Research Synthesis of Three Socio-psychological Perspectives.” *Psychological Bulletin* 134 (4): 504–35.

- Vestergren, Sara, and John Drury. 2022. "Biographical Consequences of Environmental Activism." In *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Movements*, ed. Maria Grasso and Marco Giugni, 503–17. London: Routledge.
- Vestergren, Sara, John Drury, and Eva Hammar Chiriatic. 2017. "The Biographical Consequences of Protest and Activism: A Systematic Review and a New Typology." *Social Movement Studies* 16 (2): 203–21.
- . 2018. "How Collective Action Produces Psychological Change and How That Change Endures over Time: A Case Study of an Environmental Campaign." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 57 (4): 855–77.
- . 2019. "How Participation in Collective Action Changes Relationships, Behaviours, and Beliefs: An Interview Study of the Role of Inter- and Intragroup Processes." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 7 (1): 76–99.
- Walker, Iain, and Heather Smith. 2002. *Relative Deprivation: Specification, Development, and Integration*. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press.
- Zimbardo, Philip. 1969. "The Human Choice: Individuation, Reason and Order versus Deindividuation Impulse and Chaos." In *Nebraska Symposium of Motivation*, ed. William Arnold and David Levine, 17:237–307. Lincoln: U. Nebraska Press.
- Zimmerman, Marc, and Julian Rappaport. 1988. "Citizen Participation, Perceived Control, and Psychological Empowerment." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 16 (5): 725–50.