Nice and Nasty: The Formation of Prosocial and Hostile Social Movements

Sympathiques et méchants : la formation de mouvements pro-sociaux et hostiles

Emma Thomas*
Laura Smith**
Craig McGarty*
Tom Postmes***

Abstract

While existing research recognizes the central importance of social identities in motivating participation in social movements, much less is known about the creation of such groups. In this paper we take a social identity perspective and consider the ways that both "nice" (prosocial) and "nasty" (hostile) social movements can be mobilized through the dynamic construction of social identities. We argue that group interaction plays a key role as the medium through which social movements actively construct and negotiate the content of the group membership. This intra-group interaction can result in consensual norms for social action. We argue that by harnessing the power of this identity formation process, one can practically utilize collectives as

Résumé

Alors que la recherche existante reconnaît l'importance centrale des identités sociales pour motiver la participation aux mouvements collectifs, très peu est connu au sujet de la création de ces groupes. Dans cet article, nous prenons une perspective dérivée de la théorie de l'Identité Sociale et nous considérons le mécanisme par lequel des mouvements «sympathiques» (pro-sociaux) et «méchants» (hostiles) peuvent être mobilisés par la construction dynamique d'identités sociales. Nous raisonnons que l'interaction en groupe joue un rôle central comme processus par lequel les mouvements collectifs construisent et négocient activement le contenu de leurs identités. Des normes consensuelles d'action collective peuvent résulter de cette

_____

*Murdoch University, Murdoch, Perth, Australia, 6150.
E-mail: emma.thomas@murdoch.edu.au
**The University of Queensland, St Lucia, Brisbane, Australia, 4072.
E-mail: l.smith@business.uq.edu.au
***University of Groningen, Grote Kruisstraat 2/1, 9712 TS Groningen, The Netherlands.
E-mail: T.Postmes@rug.nl

instruments for positive social change. Conversely, awareness of these processes can also be used to subvert the formation of hostile movements. We thus use our theoretical platform as a basis for suggested interventions.

interaction intra-groupe. Nous raisonnons qu'en exploitant la puissance de ce processus de formation d'identité, on pourrait employer les collectifs comme instruments de changement social positif. En revanche, être conscient de ces processus peut être utile pour saper la formation de mouvements hostiles. Nous employons notre plateforme théorique comme base d'interventions.

We might expect that those who wish to create social movements in favour of intervention might do so […] by […] constructing norms in such a way that humanitarian action is a central tenant of the group… The implication is that… helping is something that can be *actively created through argument*. It is something that can be publicly mobilized (Reicher, Cassidy, Wolpert, Hopkins, & Levine, 2006, p. 53, emphasis added).

Constructing social identity

Social identities are central constructs in motivating participation in social movements. A wealth of research supports the contention that people will engage in organized, collective forms of action when they identify with relevant groups (Haslam, 2001; Klandermans, 1997, 2002; Reicher, 1984, 1987; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008a). However, not all social groups are equally associated with action (McGarty, Bliuc, Thomas, & Bongiorno, 2009; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008a). Recent research suggests that it is those identities that have become *politicized* that are the more proximal predictors of participation in collective action (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), however what are less well understood are the processes by which such social identities are formed. Although social identity research has obvious practical potential, in order to realize this potential we need to understand how social identities are formed and transformed towards collective expressions of action.

In this paper we seek to bridge this gap by elaborating the ways that both prosocial and hostile social movements are mobilised through the *dynamic construction of social identities*. More specifically, we explore how debates within social movements negotiate the content of the group membership, and how this process can result in consensual norms for social action. We argue that by harnessing the power of this identity formation process, one can practically utilize collectives as instruments for positive social change. Conversely, awareness of these processes can also be used to stop hostile forms of group behaviour from occurring. To this end, we use our theoretical platform as a basis for suggested interventions. However, before it is possible to discuss these propositions in more detail, it is first necessary to provide some working definitions, and describe the key tenets of the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

The Social Identity Perspective

Traditional theorising on crowd behaviour sees it as the result of a loss of individuality as people succumb to an irrational "group mind" (Le Bon, 1895/1947). On the other hand, the social identity approach emphasises the profound psychological reality of social groups and collective behaviour (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, et al., 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). The social identity perspective (an epithet which captures the joint predictions of social identity theory [SIT] and self-categorization theory [SCT]) argues that such group behaviour is the outcome of a shift from personal to social identity (Reicher, 1987), but where social identities constitute an equally valid and important part of the self-concept (Onorato & Turner, 2004). Thus, from this perspective, social movement participation is a reflection of a psychologically meaningful social identity. Consistent with this perspective, and following R.H. Turner and Killian (1987, p.223) we define a social movement as: 'A collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or organisation of which it is part.'A crowd event (such as those studied by Le Bon) could be seen as one instantiation of a broader social movement organization. For our purposes, there are two main reasons why social identities are important in explaining

social movements. The first is that social identities make group behaviour possible (Turner, Hogg, et al., 1987). A social identity acts as a conceptual and psychological "link" between the individual and the group, and thus enables co-action of groups in line with shared understanding of who "we" are. The importance of this shared understanding and agreement, or *consensus*, amongst group members is a point we will return to later. The second reason, related to the first, is that when a social identity is salient (and becomes meaningful in a given context), group members will behave in line with the group norms which describe how group members ought to think, feel and behave. The more people think the group in question is important and self-defining for them, the more likely they will be to act in line with the norms, values and beliefs that define the group (Terry & Hogg, 1996). Thus, social identities shape individual behaviour not because of conformity to external pressures; they shape behaviour because they become internalized aspects of "self", and because their normative dimensions shape our perceptions of what is right and proper and thus our expectations of others' views and behaviour. Consistent with these points, we argue that similar processes underpin the formation of identities that are commonly seen as either prosocial (those that promote inter-group cooperation, social harmony and/or social equality) or hostile (those that promote inter-group aggression, prejudice or hostility; Reicher, Haslam, & Rath, 2008).

Despite the evidence suggesting the significant role of social identities in understanding social movements' actions (Reicher, 1984, 1987, 1996), what is less well understood is the ways that they are formed and transformed. That is, we understand much less about how to actively *create* such groups. In this paper we elaborate on the ways that both "nice" and "nasty" social movements can be mobilized through the dynamic construction of social identities. We argue that interaction plays a key role, as the *medium through which social ideologies may be aired and socially validated*. Through interaction, privately-held views can become a statement of ingroup identity content: A manifesto of "who we are" and "how we should act". And it is through this process of interaction, communication and debate, that social movements mobilise people towards "prosocial" as well as

"hostile" actions. We define prosocial actions as those that are geared to achieving positive outcomes that are nonexclusive and generically prosocial, for example, actions to alleviate poverty and preventable disease amongst people in developing countries. On the other hand, we define hostile actions as those which exclusively benefit one group at the expense of, and sometimes with the willing exclusion or abuse of, one or more other groups in society (i.e., inter-group hostility). While we draw on concepts of inclusion and equality in deploying our definitions of "prosocial" and "hostile" we readily acknowledge that these terms are themselves the sites of controversy and contestation (see Reicher et al., 2006; Reicher et al., 2008). Nevertheless, the implication is that, by moulding and guiding social interaction, it may be possible to both: a) promote prosocial social movements; and b) undermine those inclined towards hostility. Our practical recommendations draw explicitly on this possibility.

Accordingly, we ask the questions: How is commitment to social movements shaped? In the case of social movements which have prosocial goals as their aim, what are the processes that facilitate the formation of social identities to inspire sustained commitment to the cause? Conversely, in the case of social movements that promote hostility and conflict, what are the processes which underline the formation of such groups, and how can we subvert these (noting that the promotion of conflict may at times be a reasonable response to unreasonable circumstances)? Our focus in exploring these questions will be on the practical, and strategic, implications of such processes for practitioners of seeking to effect social change or reduce inter-group hostility.

To begin, we will propose a single framework for understanding the dynamic construction of social identities which engender support for social movements. Our focus here is on exploring the role of communication, debate and consensualization in (im) mobilizing social movements. We suggest that it is this dynamic, iterative process that underpins the formation of, and participation in, social movements (broadly defined, R. H Turner & Killian, 1987). The quote from Reicher et al. (2006) at the start of this paper anticipates our focus nicely: Helping and hostility are behaviours that can be created through argument and dialogue.

Having outlined our general framework for exploring the formation of "nice" and "nasty" social movements, we will then discuss research which directly shows how the process of consensualizing around support for prosocial or hostile social movements can shift people's commitment to act in line with those movements. On the basis of this evidence, a series of practical recommendations will be made for promoting or subverting the formation of such movements.

Group Interaction and Identity Formation

Lewin (1947) provided social psychology with seminal early insights into the power of group decision to influence individual attitudes and behaviour. In particular, Lewin's (1947) research on food preferences in the context of World War II showed that enduring behavioural change was more likely to occur as a consequence of participating in group discussion than attendance at a lecture on the same topic. Subsequent research on the group polarization phenomenon (Myers & Lamm, 1976; Moscovici, 1991; see Turner, 1991, for a review) also illuminated the powerful role of the group as a polarizer of (positive and negative) social attitudes and behaviours.

More recent theorizing suggests that the transformative effects of group interaction evidenced in both Lewin's work and the group polarization phenomenon can be understood as a process of identity formation. In particular, work on the *interactive model of identity formation* (IMIF), as well as work on the *opinion-based group interaction method* (OBGIM) demonstrates that these processes lead to the formation of psychologically meaningful groups. It is to a brief review of this work that we now turn. Our goal in this review is to provide a theoretical framework for understanding how social identities can be geared to positive or hostile social action.

The Interactive Model of Identity Formation

Postmes and colleagues' interactive model of identity formation (IMIF) provides one framework for understanding the dynamic formation of social identities (Postmes, Haslam, & Swaab, 2005a; Postmes, Spears, Lee, & Novak, 2005b). The IMIF suggests that

social identities can be generated through two separate (but interconnected) routes. There is a *deductive* route, whereby the identity and associated norms are deduced from social-structural information about inter-group relations, group history, and invariant features at the group level such as physical features. There is also an *inductive* route, whereby the members of the group infer, or develop, norms through a process of observation, intra-group communication, negotiation and consensualization about what it means to be an ingroup member.

Central to the inductive process is the role of communication, negotiation and consensualization in forming these social identities; indeed, this model arguably constitutes the most explicit statement of the role of these processes in social identity formation (cf. Tajfel, 1974). The process of reaching a shared understanding or agreement is one of *consensualization* around group norms, where the consensus process is the process of transforming individual, or idiosyncratic, views, to a socially shared representation of reality (Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Reynolds, 1997). Indeed, Postmes, Haslam and Swaab (2005, p.14) argue that "Consensualization is not merely about defining who "we" are, but about defining a social identity which guides action, and in that sense helps us decide and realise who we want to be…" Thus, consensus powerfully contributes to the development of a shared sense of "we"; but it is also an outcome of the identity formation process, such that group members expect to agree with other group members. On the other hand, when consensus breaks down, or cannot be achieved, the group and its associated norms that prescribe thought and action lose their impact because they are no longer an uncontested and unchallenged compass for group behaviour (Prentice & Miller, 1993).

What is the evidence that these ideas apply to the formation of "nice" and "nasty" social groups? Evidence for the idea that social movements are formed through a dynamic process of negotiation and consensualization around norms for social action comes, among others, from research in the context of research on: the social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995); the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM; Drury & Reicher, 2000); and the

dynamics of leadership (Reicher, Hopkins, Levine, & Rath, 2005). It is to a brief review of this work that we now turn.

The idea that group norms can explain collective action, and that these are formed in fluid and iterative ways, is a key assumption of the social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995). This model focuses on the cognitive and strategic factors involved in identity definition and enactment. According to SIDE, individuals within crowds act in normative and controlled ways, specific to the social identity of the crowd (see Drury & Reicher, 2000). Rather than experiencing a "loss of self" (as Le Bon proposed), the uniformity of crowd behaviour is the result of a cognitive re-categorization in terms of a common social identity with the crowd (a cognitive process). Furthermore, SIDE also suggests that there is a strategic process by which individuals use their identities as a *resource to promote or resist change.*

SIDE research has tended to use computer mediated communication (CMC) to explore these key predictions, and has shown *inter alia* that social interaction in anonymous groups can produce changes in social identity content (e.g. Postmes, Spears, & Lea, 2000; Postmes, Spears, Sakhel, & de Groot, 2001; Sassenberg & Postmes, 2002). CMC has also been shown to engender perceptions of social support, which promotes participation in social action (Spears, Lea, Corneliussen, Postmes, & Ter Haar, 2002). Thus, SIDE research has increasingly acknowledged the relevance of intra-group processes in the dynamic formation of social identities which facilitate social action.

A similar shift to considering the development of social identity content through inter-group interaction can be seen in the formulation of the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; following Reicher, 1996). ESIM explores the ways that crowd action can be understood as an outcome of dynamic, changing relations between groups (e.g. protesters and police). ESIM argues that by analysing crowd events as developing interactions, one can account for both social determination and social change in collective action. For example, Drury and Reicher (2000) argued that an unexpected inter-group dynamic can emerge if crowd members hold

a different understanding of their social position to that held by an outgroup (e.g., the police). This new inter-group dynamic can then affect the identity content of crowd members. Although the focus of ESIM is primarily on the interactions between groups, it nevertheless acknowledges the crucial role of within-group processes in the interpretation of inter-group dynamics, and in the process of transforming the social identity of the crowd and gearing it toward particular forms of action. Thus, in ESIM interaction is crucial for change to occur; and social identity content is dynamic and dependent upon social interaction (Drury & Reicher, 2000; Reicher, 1984). Importantly, the perceived legitimacy of certain actions is a fluid part of this process.

Consistent with both SIDE and the ESIM, the work of Reicher and colleagues has shown the ways that leaders can profoundly shape the formation of positive (Reicher et al., 2006) and negative (Reicher et al., 2008) social behaviours. For example, Reicher et al. (2006) analysed public documents used to mobilize Bulgarians against the deportation of Jews during World War II. Their social identity model of helping and solidarity outlined the ways that Bulgarian leaders represented identity concerns such that: a) the Jews were treated as part of a common Bulgarian national ingroup; b) the category norms for the Bulgarian identity prescribed support for a persecuted people; c) the Bulgarian ingroup would be threatened by *not* helping. Thus, Reicher et al. (following Billig, 1985, 1996; Edwards, 1991; Wetherell & Potter, 1992) argue that category inclusiveness (a), group norms (b), and category interests (c) can be strategically deployed by those seeking to shape a social movement defined by helping and solidarity.

On the other hand, Reicher and colleagues have documented the ways that similar processes underpin the formation of extreme negative social behaviours (i.e. genocide, Reicher et al., 2008; Reicher, Hopkins, Levine, & Rath, 2005b). Reicher et al.'s five step model of the development of collective hate argues that the horrific events of the Holocaust can also be understood as an outcome of the ways in which category boundaries, ingroup interests and concerns (particularly as they relate to ingroup virtue and morality) were constructed by influential group

leaders. Reicher et al. (2008, p.1338) argue that, while each of these steps may be harmless in isolation, "like the elements of a chemical reaction… may be explosive in combination". A full discussion of these arguments is beyond the scope of the current paper, but note that this research contributes to the other research described above by exploring the powerful ways in which leadership processes impact on followers to shape positive and negative social behaviours (Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005a).

Our focus in this paper is on the ways that group members actively create meaning out of the social context and construct their identities in the bottom-up fashion described by the IMIF. As is evident from the work discussed above, group members do not only attend to the sorts of category constructions that leaders promote (as in the work of Reicher and colleagues); they also engage in discussion and debate amongst themselves about *what it means* to be a member of the group. The IMIF provides an explicit account of *how individuals construct social identities* through a process of group discussion, debate and consensual-ization. Indeed, Postmes et al. (2005b, p.749) have suggested that inductive identity formation holds the key to social change, stating that:

It is through this process of induction that the individual actions of group members (whether they be ordinary group members, powerful individuals, or leaders) can shape group identity, *and it is partly through this process that social change becomes possible* [emphasis added].

Thus, the work of Postmes and colleagues has been particularly concerned with elaborating the ways in which individuals can come together to form a shared representation of social reality (i.e., a social identity; Postmes et al., 2000; Postmes et al., 2005b; Postmes et al., 2001). In this paper we focus on the inductive processes of small group communication and consensualization, in the formation of groups defined by "nice" and "nasty" social action.

Overview

Thus far we have outlined a framework for understanding the formation of groups which are defined by prosocial and hostile social action. Our review so far suggests that the dynamics of identity formation can be understood by exploring small group interaction. By bringing individuals together and allowing them to discuss, debate and consensualize upon group norms, this can shape the nature and meaning of the social identity. We argue that by observing the crystallization and transformation of such identities we begin to understand the formation of prosocial and hostile social movements. Indeed, we argue that the small group dynamics of intra-group interaction can be understood as a microcosm – or *Petri dish* – of social change processes. It is to the more specific implications of intra-group interaction for promoting the formation of prosocial social movements; or subverting the formation of hostile ones, that we now turn.

Prosocial Social Movements

It is well documented that collective forms of protest are a relatively uncommon response to injustice (Hornsey et al., 2006; Klandermans, 2002): It is overcoming apathy that is the challenge when it comes to the formation of social movements defined by positive social action (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009b). However, given the importance of social movements in providing a forum for ordinary people to act on their justice concerns, and also as a vehicle of social change (Moyer, McAllister, Finley, & Soifer, 2001), social psychology has long recognised the importance of considering the psychological conditions under which people will take action to overcome the inequality that they themselves, or others, experience. In this section we seek to highlight an important new method to help us understand the factors that facilitate, or undermine, commitment to positive action. This new method is premised on the ideas outlined above regarding the power of group interaction to subjectively transform individuals to take coordinated social action. In outlining this new method we also develop the theoretical picture of how consensual understandings lead to the formation of new social identities. Given these points, we first outline the

opinion-based group interaction method, and will then discuss the existing research utilizing this method. We will use this review to make three practical recommendations for people seeking to effect positive social change through the formation of relevant, meaningful social groups.

The Opinion-based Group Interaction Method

Concurrent to the development of the IMIF, McGarty and colleagues (Gee, Khalaf, & McGarty, 2007; Khalaf, 2002; McGarty et al., 2009; Thomas & McGarty, 2009) explicitly explored the ways that identities, which are defined by positive social change, can be allowed to develop through a process of small group interaction. The opinion based group interaction method (OBGIM) details a three-step method for observing, and exploring, the formation of positive social movements.

In the first step participants sign on (self-categorize) as supporters of a particular movement, an opinion-based group membership. The cornerstone of OBGIM is the opinion-based group concept outlined by Bliuc, McGarty and colleagues (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007; McGarty et al., 2009). The opinion-based group concept is premised on the idea that shared opinions can be the basis for psychological group formation. Where these opinions relate to support, or opposition to, a variety of social issues, and the social context elicits a sense of shared identity with other people who share that opinion (as per the principles outlined by SCT; Turner, Hogg, et al., 1987), it has the potential to lead to social action on behalf of that opinion-based group. McGarty and colleagues have argued that the opinion-based group concept might be a useful tool in under-standing the dynamics of social cooperation (McGarty, 2006) and the development of participation in collective action (McGarty et al., 2009). Indeed, while much of the existing research has explored positive and negative social action as the outcomes of a sociological categories (e.g. gender; Tougas & Veilleux, 1988; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995), or politicized social movement iden-tity (Simon et al., 1998; Stürmer & Simon, 2004), McGarty et al (2009) have recently argued that a group based on a shared opinion is more readily able to capture the process of transforma-tion from mere (individual) opinion, to group formation, to

active social participation in support of a particular movement. Thus, the first step involves nominal self-categorization as a member of the particular pro-change opinion-based group. In our previous research we have explored groups based on opinions about reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Australia, poverty reduction (anti-poverty) in developing countries, and environmental behaviour.

In the second step, participants engage in a small group planning session, where they are asked to develop, and reach agreement upon, ways to promote the movement they just signed on to. It is argued that, when (nominal) supporters of an opinion come together and collectively devise strategies to advance their cause, this allows group members to engage in a process of communication and consensualization around new norms for social action. That is, through participation in the group planning session, group members are actually developing and crystallizing norms for social action (McGarty et al., 2009; see also Postmes et al., 2005a). Thus, this second step is conceptualized as a means of sharpening opinion-based group identification, but also acts to qualitatively transform the meaning of the group (such that "we" are a group that takes prosocial action). It is in this second step that identity formation and transformation takes place. We believe the psychological processes here are very closely related to the processes of consensualization that Haslam and colleagues discussed in relation to stereotype consensus (Haslam et al., 1997; Haslam et al., 1998; Postmes et al., 2005a). The key difference though is that the focus here is on preparing for socio-political action to produce social change rather than on developing a potentially hostile view of some rival social group. This distinction is more apparent than actual, however, when we note that these collectively derived stereotypes were conceived by Haslam and colleagues as tools to both represent and *change* social reality. This idea harmonises neatly with our overall contention that very similar group processes are involved in both hostile and prosocial action.

In a third and final step, the experimenters take measures of identification with the relevant opinion-based group, commitment to take (positive) social action, and other action-relevant

constructs (group emotions, collective efficacy beliefs, modern racism, authoritarianism). Thus, as with inductive identity formation, OBGIM is premised on the idea that communication and consensualization can promote group norms for positive social action (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009a).

From this research, the key findings can be summarized in the following two points. Note that we are discussing here the evidence for when consensualization and communication *successfully* transformed individuals into a (more) committed collective. We also have indirect evidence about when the method will fail; these "failures" are central to the practical lessons of this paper and will also be discussed (see Message 1 below).

"Successful" OBGIM Boosts Commitment to Act.

Thomas and McGarty (2009; see also Thomas et al., 2009a) showed that participation in the small group planning session boosted commitment to anti-poverty action. That is, those who had been given the chance to discuss and consensualize upon norms for action, were subsequently more committed to taking anti-poverty action, compared to those who read equivalent information about inequality without engaging in group discussion (Thomas & McGarty, 2009) or participated in the planning task individually (Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2010). Blink (2005) has shown similar positive effects in the context of support for reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, and also observed a reduction in modern racism.

Research by Thomas and McGarty (2009) also provides some extra lessons for people seeking to boost commitment to social change through dialogue and debate. Building on the work of van Zomeren and colleagues (van Zomeren, Spears, Leach, & Fischer, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2008a; van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008b) who have emphasized the role of group emotion and collective efficacy as key motivators of social action, Thomas and colleagues (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Thomas et al., 2009a) showed that invoking an *outrage norm* in OBGIM significantly boosted commitment to act, over and above that of standard OBGIM. Drawing on the account of norm formation and consen-

sualization through group interaction outlined above, Thomas and colleagues reasoned that where group members can discuss and consensualize on an emotion norm, this should actively shape the nature of the emergent social group (see Thomas et al., 2009a, 2009b). Thus, they invoked an outrage norm by making it a communication goal for the small group planning session. Consistent with these arguments, it was shown that outrage-norm OBGIM significantly boosted identification with the group and intention to take anti-poverty action.

To explore the effects of group interaction on concrete imme-diate behaviours, Thomas et al. (2010) provided participants with the opportunity to privately select flyers to distribute on behalf of the anti-poverty cause. Consistent with the increased commit-ment to the cause on the action intention scales, it was shown that participation in the group planning session did indeed trans-late to concrete supportive behaviours. That is, those that had participated in group interaction were significantly more likely to take flyers to distribute on behalf of the cause.

OBGIM Boosts Identification with Pro-change Groups.

The effect of group interaction to boost commitment to act is mediated by increases in identification with the opinion-based group (Thomas et al., 2010). Thus, consistent with our arguments above, the process of discussing and reaching agreement on strategies to advance a positive social cause, significantly boosted identification with pro-change social groups. McGarty and colleagues (McGarty et al., 2009) have elsewhere argued that positive social action can be seen as the material outcome of opinion-based group membership. Given that one of the key determinants of social identity salience is social identification (Turner, Hogg, et al., 1987), it follows that any intervention that increases identification with such groups is likely to render such pro-change groups more psychologically prominent than previously. That is, increasing identification with pro-change groups makes subsequent action more likely.

Practical Recommendations for the Facilitation of Prosocial Social Movements

Overall, then, drawing on research conducted in the context of OBGIM, as well as other social psychological insights into the processes underpinning commitment to positive social action (e.g. Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson, & Rapley, 2005; Drury & Reicher, 1999, 2005; van Zomeren et al., 2008a; van Zomeren et al., 2008b; van Zomeren et al., 2004) we offer the following three recommendations for people seeking to bolster commitment to positive social change; those people Reicher, Haslam and colleagues call *agents of change*.

Message 1: Create Opportunities for Group Members to Come to Consensual Understandings Around Norms for Prosocial Action.

Stemming from our review of inductive identity formation and the OBGIM method above, our first recommendation hinges on the critical importance of creating consensual understandings for prosocial action amongst group members. Our research re-viewed above has shown that bringing group members together to engage in discussion and debate about what it means to be a supporter of the cause (specifically relating to normative actions), can provide one mechanism of creating this consensus (Thomas & McGarty, 2009). Through interaction privately held attitudes and beliefs are aired in a social arena, and group members acti-vely construct and negotiate a shared sense of "we" in relation to pressing social issues.

On the other hand, where the OBGIM method has failed to produce a shift in commitment to action, there is good evidence that this was, at least in part, because consensus had been under-mined. Thomas et al. (2010; see also 2009a) showed that where efficacy beliefs were removed this undermined the usual effects on commitment to action brought about by OBGIM. Thomas et al. argued that it is likely that, as well as undermining efficacy beliefs which are themselves important in motivating commit-ment to act (Bandura, 2000; van Zomeren et al., 2004), the lack of efficacy also undermined the groups' ability to form a consensus around productive forms of action. That is, where group members

cannot agree on the stability of the inequality, or indeed prospects for change, it is unlikely that they will reach agreement on productive forms of social action.

Overall then, as intimated by Lewin's (1947) seminal studies: people seeking to bolster commitment to positive social change would do well to engage would-be supporters in discussion (either face-to-face or computer mediated; see Brunsting & Postmes, 2002) with other like-minded people, rather than simply provide them with information. Indeed, it seems that many agents of change are already aware of the powerful effects of dialogue; one website goes so far as to claim that it is through internet blogging that social change can become a reality (http:// thelpproject.blogspot.com/). People seeking to effect positive social change may also consider other methods of establishing consensual understandings amongst group members in the absence of group interaction. For example, it may be possible to imply intra-group consensus by having supporters watch video taped discussions on social issues (as implied by the research of Mackie, 1986; see also Bennett Pelz, 1958).

Message 2: Attend to, and Actively Shape, Consensual Understandings in Relation to Emotion and Beliefs

The research of Thomas et al. (2009b) has pointed to the significant prospects for normative emotion and efficacy beliefs in mobilizing and demobilizing potential supporters. Emotions in particular are capable of conveying a large amount of information, rapidly, to shape group memberships and coordinate productive social action (Peters & Kashima, 2007). Our own research has shown that deploying an emotion norm, by making it a communication goal of a small group interaction, has had powerful effects on commitment to action and concrete actions. Elsewhere we have explored the possibility that, where outrage and efficacy become encapsulated in the context of a salient identity, it is this politicized identity which may be most equipped to take action (the encapsulation model of social identity in collective action; Thomas et al., 2009a). Thus, agents of change would do well to consider ways of productively depicting group attributes relating to normative emotions and beliefs. Statements like: "Supporters of the Make Poverty History campaign find these actions outra-

geous" conveys much about the physiological and phenomenological attributes of supporters. Furthermore, to the extent that this outrage becomes contextually, normatively embodied in "what it means" to be a supporter (see Message 1 regarding consensualization), this should act to make the identity more ready for action because it politicizes the identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

We have argued that moral outrage is a particularly promising emotion in the international development context (Thomas et al., 2009b), but it seems likely that other emotions would be more fruitfully deployed in different contexts. For example, self-focused anger (Leach, Iyer & Pedersen, 2006) may be deployed in contexts where the optimal strategy is on the behaviour change, and regulation, of the advantaged group (for example, prejudice reduction amongst advantaged group members). On the other hand, guilt may be a useful emotion where the strategic goal is apology or other more symbolic outcomes (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Iyer, Leach & Crosby, 2003; Iyer, Leach & Pedersen, 2004). Overall, given that campaign organisers often have well-developed plans for the sorts of social strategies they are seeking to effect (for example, volunteerism, charity or political action) they would do well to consider how these strategies might "fit" with different emotional reactions (as in Thomas et al., 2009b).

As regards efficacy beliefs, it would seem that people who design advocacy campaigns are also skilled and intuitively savvy about the need for core efficacy beliefs. It is important that group members are informed of victories, however small, so that they know that change is possible. Consistent with this point, campaigns often provide supporters with feedback which details successes in the field (Thomas, 2005). However, this may need to be carefully executed. Some research (e.g. Schmitt, Miller, Branscombe, & Brehm, 2008) suggests that, where actions are too easy and efficacy beliefs are high, this can demobilize action-relevant emotions and potentially reduce action overall. Thus, a careful balance must be struck between making supporters believe that action is no longer required because all the problems are solved, and the belief that action will be pointless because the problems are intractable.

Message 3: Empower Supporters by Providing Means for Legitimate Expressions of Social Identity Through Action

The work of Drury, Reicher and colleagues have described the powerful subjective experience of psychological empowerment, brought about through participation in action. Drury and Reicher (2005; Drury et al., 2005) suggest that feelings of empowerment emerge when people actualize, or *realize*, their social identity against the power of dominant forces. That is, their actions upon the world reflect their identity and provide evidence that one is active and powerful.

Empowerment is understood to be characterised by: the process of actualising the social identity (through taking action); a belief that one is active and powerful; and is accompanied by strong affective reactions (Drury & Reicher, 2005). Psychological empowerment has been argued to have personal (Drury et al., 2005) and lasting (Drury & Reicher, 2005) significance for action. Feelings of empowerment can arise simply from the display of one's social identity in the face of dominant forces; more empowering still is the awareness that one's group has gained ground on a powerful adversary. The implication is that giving people – even those only nominally committed to the cause – an opportunity to enact their identity, may be a useful way to move them up the "participatory chain" to take more committed forms of action.

In this research Drury and Reicher have also emphasized the importance of the perceived legitimacy of particular forms of action, but have also shown the ways that these can change as the dynamics of the group evolve. Where actions are not seen as legitimate or meaningful expression of what the group is about and "who we are", these will not be consensually supported by group members.

Overall, the implication of this research is that an identity is not something that is "switched on", which then leads to collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008a). Rather, it is formed over time, often in consultation with like-minded others. Importantly, group members are likely to discuss not only what they should do (action), but how they feel (emotion) and what they believe (effi-

cacy beliefs). Failure to attend to the intra-group processes that shape positive social action will inevitably miss much of the complexity of understanding social movement formation. We believe that OBGIM contributes one important piece of the puzzle, which has implications for theory and practice alike.

Hostile Social Movements

Although social movements can be vehicles of positive social change, they can also be forces of political hostility which dramatically increase social tensions and/or aim to harm outgroup members. For example, riots "against free speech" followed the publication in Denmark of cartoons satirizing the prophet Mohammed (BBC News online, 2006), stirring up inter-religious animosity. Slogans included, "Europe you will pay with your blood" and "7/7 on its way," (BBC news online, 2007). In fact, throughout history there are examples of hostile movements sweeping across countries, the medieval religion-inspired Crusades to name but one.

Much social psychological research has aimed to investigate the question of why a benevolent collection of individuals can turn into a murderous mass. Yet despite these advances in our understanding, social psychological laboratory research generally and social identity research in particular still struggles to satisfactorily explain hostile social behaviour (Billig, 2002; Brewer, 1999; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). For example, the minimal group studies (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971) robustly demonstrated the tendency for isolated individuals to display ingroup favouritism. However, research would seem to suggest that individuals in minimal groups are reluctant to administer negative outcomes, i.e., to punish the outgroup (the positive-negative asymmetry effect, or PNAE; Mummendey et al., 1992; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). Indeed, the "punishment" of an outgroup has been shown to occur only when inter-group comparisons make it seem appropriate (Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2000). Consistent with this point, Smith and Postmes (2009) demonstrated that the PNAE could be attenuated through intra-group dialogue. In small groups, participants discussed appropriate ways in which to divide negative resources (i.e., fines) between ingroup and outgroup members. By forming a

norm through interaction which legitimized outgroup punishment, participants were willing to discriminate against the outgroup. Smith and Postmes (2009) argued that the ingroup norm for inter-group behaviour changed as a function of the intra-group interaction.

Thus, we suggest that each hostile social movement can have at its origin some consensual negotiation of its ideology which is perceived (from within the ingroup) to legitimize inter-group hostility. By focusing our attention on intra-group processes, we nevertheless acknowledge the important role of provocation at the inter-group level. Indeed, research undertaken on the ESIM (described above) neatly captures the ways in which intra-group dynamics are always embedded in broader inter-group contexts of legitimacy and power. However, our focus here is on the ways that hostile social movements can be understood through the lens of inductively constructed social identities (as described by the IMIF; Postmes et al., 2005a; Postmes et al., 2005b). In Staub's (1989) classic thesis on genocide and group violence, he observes that group members often willingly accept and elaborate genocidal group norms, goals, views and ideology: Leaders and followers are both active contributors – the very fact that participants are more than passive obedients makes such systematic and pervasive eradication of entire populations possible. This implies that the outgroup hostility that ensues is a choice, rather than the result of a mere loss of self, as forwarded by traditional deindividuation theory (e.g. Zimbardo, 1969). Therefore, it appears that rather than being disinhibited, hostile collective behaviour is oriented to the local norms of the ingroup. This concept underpins later theories of deindividuation (Postmes & Spears, 1998, p. 238) and recent research into oppression (Postmes & Smith, 2009), which argues that it is important to consider how the motivations of the individual group members evolve in relation to the intra-group dynamic.

Recently, Postmes and Smith (2009) found evidence to suggest that individual members of high status groups orientate themselves to local ingroup norms. If these norms support oppression, group members may oppress members of a lower status outgroup, relatively independent of the level of threat experienced. This

highlights that there are intra-group motivations for hostile political action that may operate relatively independently of inter-group factors. The question remains, as in Staub's analysis of genocide, of how these norms form in the first place.

In an attempt to answer to this question, Smith and Postmes (in press) demonstrated that discussion of negative outgroup stereo-types can increase support for hostile policy towards the outgroup, mediated by perceptions of the ingroup norm for social behaviour and subjective social validation. Stott and Drury (2004) have also demonstrated that consensualization around outgroup stereotypes can feed preferences for social action. Crucially however, Smith and Postmes (in press) found that a perception of consensus about the ingroup's ideology was neces-sary for the formation of norms for action and concomitant identification with the other discussants.

Therefore, this series of studies suggests that (a) intra-group interaction about outgroup stereotypes can increase hostile social action, (b) this is engendered via a process of shaping the ingroup norm, and (c) this is contingent on perceptions of ingroup consensus and the social validation it can provide. Following these conclusions, it seems that any intervention to subvert the formation of insidious social norms needs to either (1) break down the consensus within the ingroup, or (2) promote the formation of more benign identity content. It is to these prac-tical recommendations that we now turn. First, having established that the perception of consensus is a powerful predictor of group-based action, we now look to the question of why groups reach consensus, and how this can be avoided whilst retaining the salience of the group as a relevant entity.

Practical Recommendations for the Demobilization of Hostile Social Movements

The crucial factor uncovered by the research reviewed above, which we must remember in the formulation of practical recommendations, is that social consensus and social validation are the motors of norm formation. Thus, norms for social action cannot emerge if individuals do not feel validated or perceive a lack of consensus about legitimate intergroup action and

intergroup stereotypes. Therefore, an intervention could focus on the transmission of a less stereotypical impression of the outgroup, a norm for dissent rather than consensus, less pressure towards uniformity, and the development of a norm of peaceful rather than harmful action. In the section below, we propose three sequential methods of decreasing or neutralizing hostility directed towards outgroups. Using this as a foundation, we then build a series of practical recommendations for the demobilization of hostile social movements.

Issues to Consider when Designing Interventions for Hostile Movements

Before discussing these practical recommendations, let us note that there are several issues which are unique to this question of intervening in hostile action. Individuals who participate in such groups inevitably see their aims and actions as positive and, if not absolutely justifiable, then certainly necessary for some greater good. Therefore, it is likely that they would not want to actively engage in an intervention unless coerced. However, it would be important to minimise participants'perception of coercion in the scheme by encouraging free and honest participation and expression of diverse viewpoints. This would simultaneously support the goal for active debate, and the intervention could be framed in this way.

A second reason why the demobilization of hostile movements is complicated is that rather than strengthening commitment to a cause, intervention for negative action requires inverting or neutralizing the (externally-perceived) negative "valence" of the ingroup's identity. An entrenched ideology, such as that used by terrorists to justify murder, may be difficult to change. However, encouraging a norm of nuanced argument, with a goal of intra-group dissent, may to some extent disable the group's willingness to enact hostile norms.

Finally, one of the recurring dynamics highlighted by the ESIM is that inter-group contexts tend to become more hostile when powerful outgroups impose their understanding of the inter-group context in ways that are subjectively illegitimate to the ingroup. Thus, when police treat (hitherto peaceful) protesters

as potentially violent offenders, it produces a redefinition of 'who we are' and 'what we are doing' in ways that are more likely to promote inter-group hostility (Drury & Reicher, 2000). On the other hand, shifts *away* from inter-group hostility are facilitated by a sense of legitimacy in relations with outgroups, groups that have power to shape social reality (e.g. police, regulatory authorities). The effectiveness of any demobilising strategy (such as those identified below) is thus contingent upon the extent to which powerful outgroups work to develop legitimacy in social relations. More generally, awareness of the inter-group dynamics that frame those within the group is central to efforts to combat the development of inter-group hostility. Having described these caveats, let us now turn to our core recommendations.

Pressure Towards Consensus

The social comparison approach (Festinger, 1950) outlines two major sources of pressures toward uniformity of opinions or attitudes within the group: Social reality and group locomotion. Group locomotion pressure occurs when uniformity of opinion is desirable for a group so they can move towards a common goal. The principle of social reality pressure assumes that there must be a basis for the validity of beliefs. If a fact cannot be checked as valid from physical reality, it must be checked by reference to whether other people share the opinion that the fact is valid. This is known as *subjective validity* and is achieved through social validation processes. Within groups, such social validation is intimately bound up with the formation of group norms. When consensus breaks down, this process of validation no longer operates smoothly, meaning that support for the movement will falter.

Message 1: Break down consensus, encourage dissent.

According to Prentice and Miller (1993), if "consensus (or the appearance of consensus) breaks down, the norm loses its influence" (Prentice & Miller, 1993; p. 244; see also Asch, 1952). It follows that if there is no perception of consensus or pressure towards uniformity, group behaviour may remain or become more moderate. The easiest and most effective intervention would be to break down this impression of uniformity in order to prevent

adherence to extreme group norms. Of course, according to SCT, in any group there will be some pressure towards conformity, and a concomitant assumption that group members think and feel the same way about relevant issues and outgroups. This phenomenon is likely to be more accentuated among extreme groups (Baray, Postmes, & Jetten, 2009). At the same time, even the most ideologically homogeneous groups are characterized by a rich diversity of viewpoints and perspectives which, when exposed, would pose serious difficulty for ingroup members'assumptions of homogeneity. Any dissenters should therefore be encouraged and given a platform for their views, and care should be taken to maximise the number of spokespersons of the movement.

The recipe for turning groups away from hostility, therefore, is to conquer them by dividing them. This remedy is not unlike Janis'(1982) cure for groupthink. However, the purpose is not to undermine the need of the group to seek consensus, but rather to undermine the perception that it exists. This should weaken the movement by making it insecure in its normative expectations. However, the dilution of norms is unlikely to be enough. The only long-term way in which to subvert the enaction of these hostile norms would be to reformulate them towards a more peaceful orientation.

Message 2: Question the moral legitimacy of hostility by exposing it.

Although intergroup hostility is not uncommon, it is hardly as prevalent as is often assumed. Certainly, the dominant mode is for groups to live peacefully and harmoniously, and to desire peace and harmony as end outcomes. Where hostility does occur, it is striking that its defendants typically justify the ends which the violence they preach is meant to secure, implicitly underlining the immorality of the violence itself. This, however, is an insecure basis for action, and is always open for debate: How great is the immorality of the harms contemplated relative to the gains achieved? Raising this debate, and adding weight to the immoral end of the scale, is therefore an effective tool to combat hostility. It follows that those who wish to steer the group away from hostility, whether internal to the group or outside of it, should unceasingly expose the immorality of hostility and question

those willing to perpetrate it. Perhaps the most effective way of doing this is by exposing it in detail for all to see (although subjectively illegitimate behaviour on behalf of the outgroup may exacerbate such efforts). The role of third-party outside observers and of insiders with the capacity to act as moral judges (clerics, law enforcers, etc.) is crucial in this respect. If they are seen to condone hostility, important barriers to it are removed. If they remain steadfast in declaring it immoral and resisting it, its chances of success are greatly reduced.

Message 3: Erode the foundations of group formation.

The most powerful way of thwarting a social movement is to question its very existence. Many successful social movements have a very narrow basis in terms of numbers. Their continuity depends on the response they get, and the degree of acknowledgement this response implies. The point may be illustrated by the Western response to the security threat posed by Al Qaeda. Although many in the intelligence agencies apparently questioned whether this organization existed as a stable entity prior to 9/11, the decision to wage war against them has solidified their leadership of the extremist Islamists and validated it from the perspective of their passive supporters. Far from weakening them, the violent prosecution of them and their power base has strengthened the movement, and possibly brought it into existence.

A more effective treatment would be to individualize all acts of inter-group hostility as stemming from a variety of perspectives and viewpoints (and certainly as evidence of individual maladjustment and irresponsible behaviour, too), and to refuse to treat perpetrators as members of a larger organization. The object would be to question the validity of the social category underlying such actions. Removing the recognisable group basis of terrorist groups may also be effective in demobilizing passive supporters of terrorism, who would no longer have a concrete group with which to identify.

Conclusions

In this paper we have sought to explore the ways that the dynamic, iterative process of identity formation can shape human social behaviour to produce prosocial and hostile social movements. We have placed particular emphasis on the importance of norm formation and consensualization in the development of social identities which have at their core "nice" and "nasty" forms of normative actions. We argued that small-group interaction gives us a special, methodological, "window" into these processes. Let us briefly review the key arguments put forward here, before describing what we see as the two next steps for people seeking to understand the formation of prosocial and hostile social movements.

We began by outlining a framework for understanding these processes, based on the recent work of Postmes and colleagues. The interactive model of identity formation provides one account of how social identities can be formed through an inductive, bottom-up, process of communication, negotiation and consensualization around norms for action. Consistent with this approach, we briefly outlined the work of Reicher and colleagues, who have shown the ways that leaders can rhetorically shape group members'responses, by strategically representing normative forms of action. We used this review to provide a framework for understanding the ways that group-level helping and hostility can be created through argument and dialogue about who "we" are.

We then moved on to consider concurrent research which has explored the role of the opinion-based group interaction method (OBGIM) in promoting commitment to positive social change. We suggested that this method, with its focus on interaction and consensualization provides one way of understanding commitment to positive social movements. We went on to outline the existing OBGIM research which provides some insight into the factors that might facilitate the formation of positive social movements, and those that may undermine them. Our key focus was on the critical importance of providing potential supporters of

change with a means for establishing consensual understandings in relation to productive norms for action, emotion and beliefs.

We then considered the implications of intra-group processes for understanding more sinister forms of social behaviour; namely, inter-group hostility and oppression. Building off the research of Smith and Postmes, we explored the ways that consensualization and normative pressures could be used to subvert the formation of hostile social movements. In particular, we argued that to the extent that consensual understandings are undermined in these groups, there will be no clear, prescriptive guide for negative social actions. Where breaking down consensus is a less viable option, we also suggested that encouraging nuanced group norms for debate, and peaceful norms for action, might also usefully challenge the negative valence of the group action.

Overall then, we have sought to build on the framework offered by the social identity perspective, by exploring the ways that intra-group processes of debate and identity construction critically influence the nature and content of the identity. Drawing on the account of identity formation put forward by the interactive model of identity formation, we argued that group interaction is not just a tool of social influence (as traditional SCT research suggests; e.g. Turner, 1991); it is also a tool of identity formation. While SCT traditionally posits a top-down process of social influence deriving from an individual's self-definition as a group member, the IMIF makes the point that a shared sense of "us" can be constructed in bottom-up ways from the attributes of individuals. We have also emphasized the fluid, iterative and dynamic nature of this process (following the work of Drury, Reicher and colleagues). Underpinning all of this is the importance of understanding which groups, and which identity concerns, underpin action. Put another way: if these social actions are the expression of the meaningful collective, what is it that defines those collectives?

Here, we suggest that the opinion-based group concept may have a particularly important role to play. Note that the opinion-based group concept is distinct from the methodology mentioned above; opinion-based groups attempt to provide some means of understanding, and describing, the groups that participate in

collective forms of protest (Bliuc et al., 2007; McGarty et al., 2009), while the method mentioned above provides a means of crystallizing identification with such groups. McGarty et al. (2009) have argued that, particularly for social issues where membership of the group cannot be reduced to any other sociological, institutional, religious or political affiliation (e.g. pro-life, anti-war), opinion-based groups can usefully describe the collective basis for group formation. It was also argued that opinion-based groups provide prescriptive normative content, which can provide a useful guide for social action.

One further implication is that if opinion-based groups facilitate the formation of prosocial social movements because of the clear norms for social action, then deploying more ambiguous social categories (those where there are less clear norms for action) may be a useful way to subvert hostile social movements. By deploying social categories about which there is debate around the central meaning of the identity (e.g. nationhood; "All Australians are against immigrants") may provide one further way to undermine consensual understandings of the group. Further discussion about the nature, and meaning, of identities involved in positive and negative forms of action would further contribute to our understanding of these social behaviours.

Finally, we wonder about the utility of considering constructions of *ingroup morality* in the formation of prosocial and hostile groups. In hostile group formation, one of the key problems in undermining the formation of such groups is that its members derive positive value, and self-worth, from the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Leach, Ellemers and Barretto (2007) have recently argued that ingroup morality is an important, but hitherto under-explored, dimension upon which groups gain positive distinctiveness. It may be that by specifically attending to the development of group morality may provide an additional piece of the picture for those seeking to bolster commitment to prosocial movements; or undermine hostile ones.

We began this paper by arguing that the full practical benefits of the social identity approach will fail to be recognized while there is a gap in knowledge about the processes that underpin the formation of social movement identities. In this paper we advo-

cated a focus on the intra-group processes by which group members negotiate identity content as one means of understanding the development of prosocial and hostile social movement participation. In doing so we sought to advance theoretical understandings of social identity processes, but also provide a practical means for practitioners to "trial" their social change interventions (where small group interaction acts as a Petri dish, or microcosm, of everyday social interaction). And most importantly, by understanding the processes underpinning development of identities, we may be better placed to inform on the enhancement of potentially prosocial social movements (and community social consciousness) and the challenging of those defined by intergroup hostility and outgroup harm.

References

Asch, S. (1952). *Social psychology*. New York: Prentice-Hill.

Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 75-78.

Baray, G., Postmes, T., & Jetten, J. (2009). When 'I' equals 'we': Exploring the relation between social and personal identity of extreme right-wing political party members. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 48*, 625-647.

BBC News online (2006, February 3). *Mohammed cartoons spark fury*. Retrieved February 20, 2009, from http://www.hereandnow.org/shows/2006/02/show-rundown-for-232006

BBC News online (2007, July 18). *Four men jailed over cartoon demo*. Retrieved February 20, 2009, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/6904622.stm
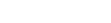
Bennett Pelz, E. (1958). Some factors in "group decision". In E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, & E. L. Hartley (Eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 212-219). New York: Holt.

Billig, M. (1985). Prejudice, categorization and particularization: From a perceptual to a rhetorical approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 15,* 79-103.

Billig, M. (1996). *Arguing and thinking: A rhetorical approach to social psychology.* Revised edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Billig, M. (2002). Henri Tajfel's 'Cognitive aspects of prejudice'and the psychology of bigotry. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 41,* 171-188.

Blink, C. (2005). *Opinion-based group interaction as an attitude change strategy: The experimenter as facilitator and inhibitor.* Honours Thesis. The Australian National University.

Bliuc, A.-M, McGarty, C., Reynolds, K. J., & Muntele, D. (2007). Opinion-based group membership as a predictor of commitment to political action. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37,* 19-32.

Branscombe, N. R., & Doosje, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Collective guilt: International perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brewer, M. (1999). The psychology of prejudice: Ingroup love or outgroup hate? *Journal of Social Issues, 55,* 429-444.

Brunsting, S., & Postmes, T. (2002). Social movement participation in the digital age: Predicting offline and online collective action. *Small Group Research, 33,* 525-550.

Drury, J., Cocking, C., Beale, J., Hanson, C., & Rapley, F. (2005). The phenomenology of empowerment in collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 44,* 309-328.

Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (1999). The intergroup dynamics of collective empowerment: Substantiating the social identity model of crowd behaviour. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 2,* 381-402.

Drury, J., & Reicher, S. (2000). Collective action and psychological change: The emergence of new social identities. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 39*, 579-604.

Drury, J,. & Reicher, S. (2005). Explaining enduring empowerment: A comparative study of collective action and psychological outcomes. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 35,* 35-58.

Edwards, D. (1991). Categories are for talking: On the cognitive and discursive bases of categorization. *Theory and Psychology, 1,* 515-542.

Festinger, L. (1950). Informal social communication. *Psychological Review, 57*, 271-282.

Gee, A., Khalaf, A., & McGarty, C. (2007). Using group-based interaction to change stereotypes about people with mental disorders. *Australian Psychologist, 42,* 98-105.

Haslam, S. A. (2001). *Psychology in organizations: The social identity approach*. London: Sage.

Haslam, S. A., Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., McGarty, C., & Reynolds, K. J. (1997). The group as a basis for emergent stereotype consensus. *European Review of Social Psychology, 8,* 203-239.

Haslam, S. A., Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Reynolds, K. J., Eggins, R. A., Nolan, M., et al. (1998). When do stereotypes become really consensual? Investigating the group-based dynamics of the consensualization process. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 28*, 755-776.

Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup bias. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *53*, 575-604.

Hornsey, M., Blackwood, L., Louis, W., Fielding, K., Mavor, K. I., Morton, et al. (2006). Why do people engage in collective action? Revising the role of perceived effectiveness. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 36,* 1701-1722.

Iyer, A., Leach, C. W., & Crosby, F. J. (2003). White guilt and racial compensation: The benefits and limits of self-focus. *Personality and social Psychology Bulletin, 29* (1), 117-129.

Iyer, A., Leach, C. W., & Pedersen, A. (2004). Racial wrongs and restitutions: The role of guilt and other group-based emotions. In N. Branscombe & B. Doosje. (Eds.), *Collective guilt: international perspectives* (pp. 262-283). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Janis, I. L. (1982). *Groupthink: Psychological studies of policy decisions and fiascoes* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Kelly, C., & Breinlinger, S. (1995). Identity and injustice: Exploring women's participation in collective action. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 5,* 41-57.

Khalaf, A. (2002). An effective stereotype change program for mental disorders. PhD thesis. Australian National University.

Klandermans, B. (1997). *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Klandermans, B. (2002). How group identification helps to overcome the dilemma of collective action. *American Behavioural Scientist, 45,* 887-900.

Le Bon, G. (1895/1947). *The crowd: A study of the popular mind.* London: Ernest Benn.

Leach, C., Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2007). Group virtue: The importance of morality (vs. competence and sociability) in the positive evaluation of in-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 234-249.

Leach, C. W., Iyer, A., & Pedersen, A. (2006). Anger and guilt about in-group advantage explain the willingness for political action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 32*, 1232-1245.

Lewin, K. (1947). *Group decision and social change*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Mackie, D. M. (1986). Social identification effects in group polarization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50*, 720-728.

McGarty, C. (2006). Hierarchies and groups: The roles of salience, overlap, and background knowledge in selecting meaningful social categorizations from multiple alternatives. In R. J. Crisp & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *Multiple social categorization: Processes, models and applications.* Hove, East Sussex, UK: Psychology Press.

McGarty, C., Bliuc, A.-M., Thomas, E. F., & Bongiorno, R. (2009). Collective action as the material expression of opinion-based group membership. *Journal of Social Issues, 65,* 839-857.

Moscovici, S. (1991). The discovery of group polarization. In D. Granberg & G. Sarup (Eds.), *Social judgement and intergroup*

relations: Essays in honor of Muzafer Sherif. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Moyer, B., McAllister, J., Finley, M., & Soifer, S. (2001). *Doing democracy: the MAP model for organizing social movements*. Gabriola Island, Canada: New Society.

Mummendey, A., Simon, B., Dietze, C., Grünert, M., Haeger, G., Kessler, S., Lettgen, S. & Schäferhoff, S. (1992). Categorization is not enough: Intergroup discrimination in negative outcome allocation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 28*, 125-144.

Myers, D. G., & Lamm, H. (1976). The group polarization phenomenon. *Psychological Bulletin, 83,* 602-627.

Onorato, R. S., & Turner, J. C. (2004). Fluidity in the self-concept: The shift from personal to social identity. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34,* 257-278.

Peters, K., & Kashima, Y. (2007). From social talk to social action: Shaping the social triad with emotion sharing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 93*, 780-797.

Postmes, T., Haslam, S. A., & Swaab, R. (2005a). Social influence in small groups: An interactive model of social identity formation. *European Review of Social Psychology, 16,* 1-42.

Postmes, T., & Smith, L. G. E. (2009). Why do the privileged resort to oppression? A look at some intra-group factors. *Journal of Social Issues, 65,* 769-790.

Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (1998). Deindividuation and anti-normative behavior: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 123*, 238-259.

Postmes, T., Spears, R., & Lea, M. (2000). The formation of group norms in computer-mediated communication. *Human communication research, 26,* 341-371.

Postmes, T., Spears, R., Lee, A. T., & Novak, R. J. (2005b). Individuality and social influence in groups: Inductive and deductive routes to group identity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89,* 747-763.

Postmes, T., Spears, R., Sakhel, K., & De Groot, D. (2001). Social influence in computer-mediated communication: The effects of anonymity on group behaviour. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27,* 1242-1254.

Prentice, D. M., & Miller, D.T. (1993). Pluralistic ignorance and alcohol use on campus: Some consequences of misperceiving the social norm. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *64,* 243-256.

Reicher, S. (1984). The St. Pauls'riot: An explanation of the limits of crowd action in terms of a social identity model. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 14,* 1-21.

Reicher, S. (1987). Crowd behaviour as social action. In J. C. Turner, M. A. Hogg, P. J. Oakes, S. Reicher, & M. Wetherell (Eds), *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Reicher, S. (1996). '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,* 115-134.

Reicher, S., Cassidy, C., Wolpert, I., Hopkins, N., & Levine, M. (2006). Saving Bulgaria's Jews: An analysis of social identity and the mobilisation of social solidarity. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 36,* 49-72.

Reicher, S., Haslam, S. A., & Hopkins, N. (2005a). Social identity and the dynamics of leadership: Leaders and followers as collaborative agents in the transformation of social reality. *The Leadership Quarterly, 16,* 547-568.

Reicher, S., Haslam, S. A., & Rath, R. (2008). Making a virtue of evil: A five-step social identity model of the development of collective hate. *Social and Personality Compass, 2-3,* 1313-1344.

Reicher, S., Hopkins, N., Levine, M., & Rath, R. (2005b). Entrepreneurs of hate and entrepreneurs of solidarity: Social identity as a basis for mass communication. *International Review of the Red Cross, 87,* 621-637.

Reicher, S., Spears, R., & Postmes, T. (1995). A social identity model of deindividuation phenomena. In W. Stroebe & M.

Hewstone (Eds.). *European Review of Social Psychology.* Chichester, UK: Wiley.

Reynolds, K. J., Turner, J. C., & Haslam, S. A. (2000). When are we better than them and they worse than us? A closer look at social discrimination in positive and negative domains. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*, 64-80.

Sassenberg, K., & Postmes, T. (2002). Cognitive and strategic processes in small groups: Effects of anonymity of the self and anonymity of the group on social influence. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 41,* 463-480.

Schmitt, M. T., Miller, D. A., Branscombe, N. R., & Brehm, J. (2008). The difficulty of making reparations affects the intensity of collective guilt. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 11*, 267-279.

Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist, 56*, 319-331.

Simon, B., Loewy, M., Stürmer, S., Weber, U., Freytrag, P., Habig, et al. (1998). Collective identification and social movement participation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74,* 646-658.

Smith, L. G. E., & Postmes, T. (2009). Intra-group interaction and the development of norms which promote inter-group hostility. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39,* 130-144.

Smith, L. G. E., & Postmes, T. (in press). The power of talk: Developing discriminatory group norms through discussion. *British Journal of Social Psychology.*

Spears, R., Lea, M., Corneliussen, R., Postmes, T., & Ter Haar, W. (2002). Computer-mediated communication as a channel for social resistance: The strategic side of SIDE. *Small Group Research, 33*, 555-574.

Staub, E. (1989). *The roots of evil: The origins of genocide and other group violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stott, C., & Drury, J. (2004). The importance of social structure and social interaction in stereotype consensus and content: Is the

whole greater than the sum of its parts? *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34,* 11-23.

Struch, N. & Schwartz, S. H. (1989). Intergroup aggression: Its predictors and distinctness from in-group bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56,* 364-373.

Stürmer, S., & Simon, B. (2004). Collective action: Towards a dual-pathway model. *European Review of Social Psychology, 15,* 59-99.

Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information, 13,* 65-93.

Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations.* New York: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H., Billig, M. G., Bundy, R. P., Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1,* 149-178.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Terry, D., & Hogg, M. (1996). Group norms and the attitude-behaviour relationship: A role for group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22,* 776-793.

Thomas, E. F. (2005). The role of social identity in creating positive beliefs and emotions to motivate volunteerism. *Australian Journal on Volunteering, 10*, 45-52.

Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. (2009). The role of efficacy and moral outrage rorms in creating the potential for international development activism through group-based interaction. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 48,* 115-134.

Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., & Mavor, K. I. (2009a). Aligning identities, emotions and beliefs to create commitment to sustainable social and political action. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 13*, 194-218.

Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., & Mavor, K. I. (2009b). Transforming 'apathy into movement': The role of prosocial emotions in motivating action for social change. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 13*, 310-333.

Thomas, E. F., McGarty, C., & Mavor, K. I. (2010). Groups in action: Social identity and norms about emotion and efficacy in the pursuit of international development. Unpublished manuscript. The Australian National University.

Tougas, F., & Veilleux, F. (1988). The influence of identification, collective relative deprivation, and procedure of implementation on women's response to affirmative action: A causal modelling approach. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 20,* 15-28.

Turner, J. C. (1991). *Social influence.* Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Turner, J. C., Oakes, P. J., Haslam, S. A., & McGarty, C. (1994). Self and collective: Cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20*, 454-463.

Turner, R. H., & Killian, L. M. (1987). *Collective behaviour.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008a). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin, 134*, 504-535.

van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., & Leach, C. W. (2008b). Exploring psychological mechanisms of collective action: Does relevance of group identity influence how people cope with disadvantage? *British Journal of Social Psychology, 47*, 353-372.

van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Leach, C. W., & Fischer, A. H. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and group efficacy. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*, 649-664.

Wetherell, M., & Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism: Discourse and the legitimiation of exploitation.* London: Harvester/Wheatsheaf.

Zimbardo, P. G. (1969). *The human choice: Individuation, reason, and order versus deindividuation, impulse, and chaos.* Nebraska, NE: University of Nebraska Press.