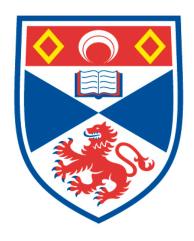# OUT OF MANY, ONE : AN EXPLORATION OF SHARED IDENTITY IN CROWDS

Philip Thomas Anderson

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

2019

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Abstract

In a crowd, people sometimes experience a feeling of togetherness and one-ness in which the crowd comes to be seen as 'we' and 'us' rather than 'they' and 'them'. This thesis explores the psychological process that underlies this feeling of one-ness through the shared identity model of crowd behaviour.

Part of the social identity tradition, the shared identity model makes a key distinction between a social identity that is shared, and a shared identity. The former is instantiated in the representational sense that 'I am an X' where X stands for a social category, while the latter is instantiated in the meta-representational sense that 'We are all Xs together', a reciprocal recognition of the identity of the self and others.

Qualitative methods, including immersion in crowd events, participant observation, semi-structured interviews both in the field and otherwise, audio diaries, photo-elicitation and focus group discussions were used to explore shared identity in political crowds and in music festival crowds. Field interviews were conducted at three climate change protests, and three focus groups were recruited to discuss their experiences at Scotland's Climate March 2015. Eighteen participants were recruited for semi-structured interviews about their music festival experiences. All interviews and group discussions were transcribed and analysed using a form of thematic analysis. The results showed evidence of shared identity in the form of participants' descriptions of 'we-ness' and 'one-ness', feelings of belonging and feelings of love for others, including strangers, in the crowd.

Factors which lead people to perceive themselves as sharing identity, such as synchronised behaviours and shared emotions, and factors that may be consequences of shared identity, including relational and emotional transformations were identified. The results demonstrate that shared identity is by no means an automatic state, but a nuanced, sometimes subtle and often variable process.

Preface

From Scotland, this small country in a small corner of the globe, it feels like we are in a time, perhaps even an era of dis-integration, of *dis*unification. The UK is about to leave the European Union, and partly as a consequence, the Scottish independence lobby is rumbling again[1], threatening to disunite the United Kingdom, or depending on your view, promising to make Scotland one nation again.

Surprise turned to shock and dismay as I watched the Brexit result unfold through the early hours of Friday 24th June 2016. I had to leave early, to get over to Turnberry, on the west coast of Scotland, to join a demonstration against billionaire businessman Donald Trump, who was due to helicopter in that morning to open his latest acquisition, the re-named Trump Turnberry Hotel. Less than five months later, he was elected President of the United States of America.

The original motto[2] of the United States of America is *E pluribus unum,* traditionally translated as *Out of many, one.* Conceived by some of the founding fathers in 1762 as a declaration of the unity of a country forged from the union of the 13 independent states, the motto, which appears today on the Great Seal of the United States, has grown to represent something different, a vision of America as one nation forged from diversity. Former President Barack Obama often invoked the motto. Take for example this extract from his speech on the fifteenth anniversary of 9/11 in 2016, an evocative and empowering response to terrorism:

> …we reaffirm our character as a nation - a people drawn
> from every corner of the world, every color, every religion,
> every background - bound by a creed as old as our founding,
> e pluribus unum. Out of many, we are one. For we know that
> our diversity - our patchwork heritage - is not a weakness; it
> is still, and always will be, one of our greatest strengths[3].

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[1] For example, *Thousands march in Dundee in support of Scottish independence 18/08/2018:* https://www.thecourier.co.uk/fp/news/local/dundee/708587/thousands-march-in-dundee-in-support-of-scottish-independence/ accessed 20/08/2018.
[2] Since 1956 the official motto has been "In God we Trust".
[3] President Obama's Speech on the 15th Anniversary of 9/11 (2016) http://time.com/4486785/president-obama-speech-911/ accessed 18/07/2018.

Try to imagine President Trump saying those words. Like me, you might conclude *he could not*.

On 16th August 2018, William H. McRaven, a retired Navy admiral who was commander of the U.S. Joint Special Operations Command from 2011 to 2014, and a man admired for his integrity[4], wrote in an open letter to President Trump:

> Through your actions, you have embarrassed us in the eyes of
> our children, humiliated us on the world stage and, *worst of
> all, divided us as a nation.* (my emphasis).

A nation, as Benedict Anderson (2006) once said, is an imagined community. A nation can never be congregated in person, in one place at the same time, it can be one only in the imagination. A crowd of people gathered together for one purpose, for one cause on the other hand is, as Reicher (2017) points out, an imagined community made manifest. In such a crowd people congregate with others they don't know, have never met (and may never meet) and sometimes with people they can't even see. Strangers.

And yet under just those circumstances, in crowds people often experience a visceral and intensely emotional feeling of being *in it together*, of *unity* and *togetherness*, a fundamental feeling that they *belong,* here, and now. A sense of *one-ness* with everyone in the crowd. I have experienced it myself. This thesis explores this collective experience in crowds, a collective understanding, perhaps even a collective certainty that, in Barack Obama's words:

Out of many, we are one.

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[4] https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/revoke-my-security-clearance-too-mr-president/2018/08/16/8b149b02-a178-11e8-93e3-24d1703d2a7a_story.html?utm_term=.87ad68746689.

Chapter 1   Shared identity and crowds

> …human beings like to ritualize and formalize their
> relationships with one another. Demonstrations, whose
> original purpose in labour movements was utilitarian - to
> demonstrate the massed strength of the workers to their
> adversaries, and to encourage their supporters by
> demonstrating it, become ceremonies of solidarity whose
> value, for many participants, lies as much in the experience
> of 'one-ness' as in any practical object they may seek to
> achieve. (Hobsbawm, 1959, p. 150)

In this extract from *Primitive Rebels*, British historian Eric Hobsbawm (1959) sees
through the purely functional purpose of demonstrations, or political protests, and
describing them in a characteristically memorable turn of phrase as "ceremonies of
solidarity", puts his finger on the value or meaning of the experience itself - the
feeling of togetherness or one-ness.

Hobsbawm would have made a wonderful social psychologist, but as a historian, the
task of identifying the psychological processes that underly these experiences in the
crowd was not his. It is mine, and I propose to answer it through an analysis of social
identity, and specifically shared identity in the context of crowds.

In this introductory Chapter I will first specify what I mean by 'shared identity', and
then I will explain why it is appropriate, indeed important, to study it in crowds. I
conclude the Chapter with an overview of this thesis.

1.1 What is shared identity?

Late on a cold, dark and rainy winter's afternoon in Edinburgh, as people drifted
away at the end of a climate change protest, Scotland's Climate March 2015[5], I
interviewed four men who were affiliated with the Scottish Green Party[6]; I have
given them the fictitious names Alec, Graham, Peter and Stuart. We could barely see
each other in the distant light from the street lamps and the rain had seeped through
my coat and was running coldly down my back. The four looked to be in much the
same condition, so the interview was short and to the point. They talked about a

---

[5] For a full description of Scotland's Climate March 2015, see Chapter 5.
[6] A Scottish political party which campaigns principally for environmental issues.

sense of community and common purpose at the Climate March, what they called a "collective identity". Towards the end of the interview, I asked them to describe what they had felt, when they felt a sense of togetherness in the crowd.

> Alec 53-54[7] Empowerment sounds like a slightly heavy word
> for it but it does feel like that, you feel like there's a
> collective ability to achieve things, even if it's just a fleeting
> feeling. []8.
> Graham 58-60 I would use recognition, there's a sense of
> recognising in others things that you hold dear to yourself,
> recognising in yourself that the things you feel are important
> are expressed by other people, so a word I would use would
> be recognition [].
> Peter 61-62 Yeah, yeah, I like recognition, I think. I wouldn't
> have said that myself, but now you say it that's probably
> better than…
> Stuart 63 Solidarity, there's a good word, solidarity.
> Alec 64 Solidarity with between different people who all, all
> have a common purpose.
> Peter 65 What about camaraderie?
> Alec 66 That word too!
> Graham 67 That might be when we're in the warm and
> having a beer! A bit of camaraderie then!

Alec described feelings of *empowerment,* a feeling that collectively something can be achieved. Graham suggested *recognition* that people in the crowd saw the same things as important, and Peter jumped to agree with him. Stuart talked of *solidarity*, suggesting mutual support and unity of feeling and action[9]. Peter's word, *camaraderie* talked of mutual trust and friendship[10].

The value, as Hobsbawm put it, to this group lay in what the feeling of one-ness involved; feelings of empowerment in the crowd, a recognition of important shared beliefs and values, and a sense of emotional closeness, mutual trust and friendship in the crowd. And all of this, extraordinarily, in a *crowd* - a gathering comprised almost entirely of strangers. What is the psychological mechanism or process that makes this

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[7] These are the line numbers from the transcript.
[8] [] in this and subsequent extracts and quotations indicates omitted words.
[9] From French solidarité or solidary: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/solidarity
[10] From the French 'camarade', or comrade: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/camaraderie, accessed 03/05/2018

possible? To begin to explain this, we need to look at a distinction as old as crowd psychology itself.

Crowds are always gatherings of people who are physically present, but an analytical and practical distinction can be made between what is known as a *psychological crowd* and a physical crowd (for example, Le Bon, 1895/2005; Martin, 1920; Park, 1939/2013; Reicher, 2008, 2011; Stieler & Germelmann, 2016). The crowd at Scotland's Climate March described by the group of four 'Greens' was an example of a psychological crowd, a gathering of people who had come together in pursuit of shared beliefs, values and goals. In contrast, everyday crowds in shopping malls, or at railway stations are examples of the second type, the physical crowd, a gathering of people who happen to be in the same place at the same time, and in which each person may have a similar, or common, goal (to shop, or to travel to their destination) but in which there is no *shared* goal or purpose. But how do people come to see themselves as sharing beliefs, values and goals with others? The answer lies in the ways people define themselves; in people's perceptions of their identity in a given context.

The social identity approach, which I examine in detail in Chapter 2, specifies that the mechanism through which people identify or define themselves as, say, a Scot, a teacher, a psychologist or a climate change activist, is social identity; and that social identity is the psychological mechanism that makes group behaviour, and by extension, crowd behaviour, possible (Turner, 1984). When people categorize themselves in terms of a social identity, they categorize themselves as a member of a class or group of people who share (group) beliefs, values and goals. However, as Reicher (2011) points out, it is perfectly possible for an individual to define herself in terms of a social identity without perceiving herself as sharing that identity with co-present others. For example, in a climate change protest, some might feel that *real* environmentalists should shout and chant, while others might feel that true environmentalists should act with quiet dignity. Both 'sides' might then reject the environmentalist category in which they previously defined themselves.

It is also possible for people to perceive themselves as sharing a specific social identity with others without realising that those others perceive themselves as sharing a quite *different* identity, and we will see an example of this in Chapter 8.

An important point underlies this seemingly simple statement. It is that what people share when they share identity is not objective, but subjective. The identity they perceive themselves as sharing need not be (objectively) the same identity - instead, the defining element of shared identity is people's *perception* that they do so; people's perceptions of their own identity and that of others and perceptions of how others perceive them. So the question is not whether objectively the same identity is shared but whether people perceive or *recognise* themselves and others as 'we' and 'us', as 'in it together', as sharing the same identity in a sense of one-ness, and as we will see in Chapter 6 this has important implications for perceptions of belongingness in crowds.

So there is an important distinction between a social identity that is shared in the sense that the identity represents a class or category of which others are also a part - what Reicher (2011) calls a representational sense of shared identity (p. 438) - and a social identity that is shared in the sense that the individual not only perceives or defines herself in terms of a specific class or category, but also believes that others perceive or define her as well as themselves as members of that class or category - what Reicher calls a meta-representational sense of shared identity (p. 438).

While representational identity involves simply the perception 'I am an X' where X represents a class or category, meta-representational shared identity involves perceptions of the nature: 'I am an X' *and* 'I see you as an X', *and* 'I think you see me as an X', *and* 'I think you think I see myself as an X', and so on in an infinite regress. Put more simply, 'we all see each other as Xs together'. Henceforth, I will reserve the term 'shared identity' for this meta-representational sense of shared social identity.

It is not suggested that shared identity is something that happens automatically in a crowd, but instead that it is something that is accomplished or achieved (Reicher, 2011). And *when* it is achieved, shared identity in this meta-representational sense

has consequences for how people think about each other, how they relate to each and how they feel towards each other and themselves. Given the differences between social identity and shared identity it seems logical that the antecedents and consequences of the two different forms will also be different; yet as we will see in Chapter 2, in the social identity approach the two have been conflated, so that the antecedents and consequences of both are assumed to be the same.

Analytically, Reicher (2018) suggests that three transformations may be involved in the movement from social identity to shared identity in crowds. First, there may be a *cognitive* transformation, a consequence of self-categorization, which results in a movement from personal or individual identity to a social identity. When people categorize or define themselves in a social identity, they come to believe and value what the group believes and values, and group goals become their goals. In turn, the appraisal or recognition that others share important beliefs and values tends to give people a solid base, a confirmed, validated, certain, assured view of the world; a feeling of self-assurance, from which the individual gains confidence to act in what has become a shared world (see also Hohman, Gaffney, & Hogg, 2017). In this sense, social identity is seen as an antecedent of shared identity.

Reicher (2011; 2018) proposes that two more transformations may be consequences of shared identity. The first of these is a *relational* transformation. When people perceive themselves as sharing identity, in a shift towards intimacy, people's relations with each other may become transformed so that people come to feel a sense of togetherness and unity, a sense of community and a sense of connection and interconnection with others, including strangers, in the crowd. This relational transformation may find expression in a number of ways. For example, there is evidence that people who share identity become more likely to *help* those with whom they do so (Levine & Cassidy, 2010; Levine, Cassidy, Brazier, & Reicher, 2002; Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005); they are more likely to *respect*, and *trust* each other (Haslam, 2004, p. 38), and to *mutually support* each other (Reicher & Haslam, 2006; Reicher & Haslam, 2010).

Such a relational transformation may in turn lead to an *emotional* transformation by virtue of which emotions come to be experienced at a group, rather than an

individual, level. People may come to feel a sense of emotional warmth towards others (including strangers) in the crowd. They may also experience an intense feeling of energy, bubbling excitement or exhilaration in the crowd, aptly described by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim, (1912/1995) as '*effervescence*'. This intense feeling of excitement may in part at least be derived from a sense of empowerment and agency that comes from collectively 'realising' or enacting a shared identity (Reicher & Haslam, 2006).

Let us return to our group of four 'Greens', shivering together at the end of Scotland's Climate March. The words they used to describe their sense of togetherness in the crowd fit precisely with the cognitive, relational and emotional transformations proposed by Reicher (2018). Their feelings of *recognition* reflect a cognitive transformation in the sense that they perceived themselves and others as sharing important beliefs, values and goals; their feelings of *solidarity* and *camaraderie* reflect a transformation towards intimacy in their relations with others in the crowd; and in an emotional transformation they fleetingly felt *empowered* by their collective ability to enact their shared identity.

I have provided an overview of shared identity in crowds. But why should social psychology study crowds at all?

1.2 Why study crowds?

To answer this, I need first to say something about the subject matter of social psychology - what social psychology is about - and secondly, I need to describe the nature of the social world of which crowds are a part, society itself. Each of these subjects could on their own easily take up the whole of my thesis, so instead of going into this in detail, I will content myself with the declaration of two assumptions.

My first assumption concerns the role and function of social psychology, and it is based on Turner and Oakes's (1986) discussion of what they call the "paradox" (p. 237) of social psychology - how to integrate, without reductionism, the processes of individual psychology with the social processes of society without denying the reality and relevance of either. Against individualism, they make a number of claims

which are relevant to the question of the purpose of social psychology, of which this is the most relevant:

> Social psychological processes are or pertain to the psychological or subjective aspects of society. The task of social psychology as part of psychology (the science of individual mental processes) is *not* to provide social explanations of behaviour (this can be left to sociology, politics, etc.) *nor* to provide social explanations of, i.e. to psychologize social behaviour, but *to explain the psychological aspects of society...* (Turner & Oakes, 1986, p. 239, original emphasis).

So my first assumption is that the purpose of social psychology is, as Turner and Oakes (1986) suggest, to explain the psychological aspects of society. But what is society?

My preferred answer is provided by Roy Bhaskar, one of the best-known philosophers of science and the initiator of the philosophical movement of Critical Realism, a movement that rejects a fundamental contrast between social and natural sciences, thus making room for the possibility of naturalism, or the scientific study of society. Bhaskar (1979/1998) argues that societies are irreducible to people:

> [P]eople do not create society. For it always pre-exists them and is a necessary condition for their activity. Rather, society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce or transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. (p. 36).

He goes on to say this about how society might be scientifically studied:

> Society, as an object of inquiry, is necessarily 'theoretical', in the sense that, like a magnetic field, it is necessarily unperceivable. As such it cannot be empirically identified independently of its effects; so that it can only be known, not shown to exist [] not only can society not be identified independently of its effects, it does not *exist* independently of them either. (p. 45, original emphasis).

Following Bhaskar, my second assumption is that society is real, and that it pre-exists and is reproduced and transformed by, individual and group activities, but does

not exist independently of its effects. So if social psychology is to explain the psychological aspects of society, it must do so through the study of the effects of society. I think one of the best ways of doing this is by studying crowds, for a number of reasons.

The first is that crowd events are in themselves interesting effects of society. For example, political protests often take place at times of social upheaval, and so crowd events can be indicators of social change. Secondly, crowd events may be seen as the reproduction and transformation of society *in action*. Under the right conditions, collective action in crowds may change society itself (Milgram & Toch, 1954/1969; Reicher, 2008; 2017), and what happens in crowds may change the ways crowd members think of themselves and the nature of their beliefs and values (Reicher, 2017). So crowd behaviour may be one of the means by which the individual collectively both changes and is changed by society. Thirdly, crowds are methodologically accessible (Milgram & Toch, 1954/1969; Reicher, 2017); by their nature, they are public events, which the social psychologist can observe and participate in.

In short, it may be possible to witness the transformation and reproduction of society by carefully observing interactions amongst real people and real groups, motivated to do things that really matter to them, in real crowds. Psychological crowds are thus an invaluable resource for social psychology, because understanding the psychology of crowd processes may help us to explain the psychological aspects of society (Reicher, 2017).

In psychological crowds, people share beliefs, values and goals; they think, feel and do things together. In the next Section, I briefly review three interesting characteristics of psychological crowds and crowd processes that are of particular importance. I start with the emotional and passionate nature of the psychological crowd.

1.3 Crowd processes

1.3.1 The passion of the crowd

One of the most striking features of psychological crowds is how highly emotional and intensely passionate they can be; this has been recognised since the beginning of crowd psychology itself (for example, see Allport, 1924; Durkheim,1912/1995; Ehrenreich, 2007; Hopkins et al., 2015; Le Bon, 1895/2005; Martin, 1920; McDougall, 1920/1939).

As we will see in Chapter 2, for 19th century psychologists such as Gustave Le Bon (1895/2005), the passion of the crowd, what he called "the exaggeration of the sentiments" (p. 28), was invariably negative. For example:

> Did the human organism allow of the perpetuity of furious passion, it might be said that the normal condition of a crowd baulked in its wishes is just such a state of furious passion. (pp. 30-31).

The exaggeration of the sentiments, or furious passion was one of what he called the "special characteristics" of the crowd; the others were all just as negative and included irritability, incapacity to reason and the absence of judgment. Thus, the highly emotional and passionate character of the crowd was treated as evidence of the *irrationality* of the crowd, and the meaningless nature of crowd behaviour.

However, more recently some of the work done on crowds in the social identity tradition has shown that emotionality should not be conflated with irrationality (for example, Neville & Reicher, 2011), and instead that emotionality has an important impact on identity (see for example Smith, 1993; 1999; Livingstone, Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead, 2015; Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, Bruder, & Shepherd, 2011).To understand crowd behaviour, the emotionality of the crowd needs to be examined and understood.

One of the interesting things about emotions is that they are embodied and communicative (Chovil, 1991; Buck, 1991); in the crowd they are an observable manifestation of what people are thinking and feeling (for example, Heerdink, van

Kleef, Homan, & Fischer, 2013; 2014; Reicher, 2012). As the American philosopher and phenomenologist Alphonso Lingis (2000) puts it:

> The hilarity, the fear, the rage, the relief, the agony, the desperation, the supplication are what are most visible about those we look at []. It is through its feelings, drawing our eyes into their fields of force, that a body emerges out of its self-contained closure and becomes visible. (pp. 16 - 17).

In a crowd, just as actions can be observed, so too can emotions; the emotional states of others can be perceived or inferred from facial expressions (for example, Horstmann, 2003; Keltner, 1998), posture and movement (for example, Argyle, 1972; Mandal, 2014), and shared behaviours such as singing and dancing together (Páez, Rimé, & Wlodarczyk, 2015).

Interestingly, though, it is not just what people do, but how they do it in crowds that makes a difference. There is a growing body of evidence showing that participating in the kind of *synchronised* behaviours that are common in protest crowds, such as marching and chanting together, tends to promote cohesion and bonding.

1.3.2 Synchronised behaviours

In *Keeping Together in Time*, American historian William H. McNeill (1995) shows that co-ordinated rhythmic movements can create powerful shared feelings which help keep social groups together. McNeill describes how he felt as a raw army recruit in Texas in 1941 when, along with other recruits, he underwent basic training which involved close-order marching in time. Recruits were drilled for hour after hour, counting their steps out loud, and moving together in time. McNeill noticed that this prolonged, rhythmic muscular movement aroused amongst almost all participants a kind of generalized emotional exaltation, which he calls 'muscular bonding'.

Muscular bonding is something visceral, something you feel, and McNeill speculates that it has been of critical importance in the development of human society, perhaps even predating language as the basis of social cohesion. He claims that throughout history, moving and singing together has enhanced social cohesion, making

collective tasks easier and more efficient. In his conclusion, McNeill associates synchronised behaviours with human belonging:

> Human beings desperately need to belong to communities that give guidance and meaning to their lives; and moving rhythmically while giving voice together is the surest, most speedy, and efficacious way of creating and sustaining such communities that our species has ever hit upon [] Large and complex human societies, in all probability, cannot long maintain themselves without such kinesthetic undergirding. (p. 152).

Interestingly, we will come across feelings of belonging in the crowd in the empirical Chapters.

More recently, there has been an explosion of interest in the effects of synchronised behaviours. For example, Hove and Risen (2009) found that finger-tapping in synchrony increases social affiliation. Valdesolo, Ouyang, and DeSteno (2010) found that synchronised rocking in rocking chairs promotes cooperative behaviours. Kirschner and Tomasello (2010) tested social bonding in 4-year-old children, and found that joint, synchronised music making - singing along together or playing instruments together - enhances prosocial behaviours. Lakens (2010), and Lakens and Stel (2011) found that people use movement rhythms to infer entitativity, and rapport within a group.

With few exceptions these studies have concentrated on dyads or small groups of 3 participants (for example, Wiltermuth & Heath, 2009; for meta-analyses, see Rennung & Göritz, 2016; Mogan, Fischer, & Bulbulia, 2017). However, some more recent studies have successfully replicated the prosocial effects of synchronized behaviours in larger groups. For example, in a study of nine naturally occurring rituals, Fischer, Callander, Reddish and Bulbulia (2013) found that rituals which included synchronised body movements were more likely to enhance prosocial attitudes. Jackson et al. (2018) recruited 172 participants (and hired a sports stadium) to conduct an experiment which examined the interactive effects of physiological arousal (walking at a faster pace than normal) and synchronised marching together in time, on prosociality. They found that both factors positively affected group bonding

and co-operation, but that the effects of physiological arousal were consistently stronger, suggesting that group bonding is more likely to be achieved when people are physiologically aroused, in a relatively fast, focussed march rather than a leisurely stroll. In a study involving 8 groups of between 23-34 participants who either read a list of words out loud together or individually, von Zimmermann and Richardson (2016) found that verbal synchrony in large groups produced social affiliation and increased co-operation. Strikingly, they also found that participants who spoke words out loud together liked each other more.

Synchronised behaviours, such as marching and chanting together may therefore *in themselves* contribute towards feelings of togetherness, unity and one-ness. People may march and chant, dance and sing together because they share identity with each other; and likewise, in marching and chanting or dancing and singing together people may come to perceive themselves as sharing identity with others. What people do in crowds affects how they feel in crowds and *vice versa.* This brings me to the circularity of crowd processes.

1.3.3 Circularity of crowd processes

The circularity of psychological processes in the crowd is long established (Hopkins et al., 2015). It can be found in Le Bon's (1895/2005) characterisation of the spread of and intensification emotions by suggestion and contagion and in Allport's (1924) concept of social stimulation in the crowd:

> Many of the persons, moreover, who stimulate their
> neighbors see or hear the intensified response which their
> behavior has produced in the latter, and are in turn
> restimulated to a higher level of activity. This effect is again
> felt by their fellows. Thus the effects of social stimulation
> increase themselves by a kind of *circular 'reverberation'*
> until an unprecedented violence of response is developed. (p.
> 301, my emphasis).

The American sociologist and symbolic interactionist Herbert Blumer proposed in 1939 that the process underlying collective behaviour was a circular interaction or inter-stimulation in which the feelings and actions of one individual in the crowd

reproduces those of another individual and reflects it back to her, thereby reinforcing those feelings and actions (cited in McPhail, 1991, pp. 10, 15).

As we will see in Chapter 2, more recently evidence of the circularity of crowd processes has emerged in the shared identity model (Section 2.4), for example in the work of Novelli, Drury, Reicher, and Stott (2013). Studying psychological spatiality in crowds, they found correlations between identification with the crowd, physically being in a central location in the crowd, and positive emotion. The more people identified with the crowd the more they tended to be in the thick of the crowd, and the more they enjoyed the event. But *also* the more people enjoyed the event, the more they tended to be in the thick of the crowd and the more they identified with the crowd.

Not only may actions in crowds cause emotions, and emotions cause actions, so too how people define themselves in crowds, their identity and who they share it with, may be affected by emotions, and emotions may be affected by shared identity. This leads me to consider causality, and the extent to which causal relations can be identified from the data analysed in this this thesis.

1.4 Causality

We will see in Chapter 3 that the data analysed in this thesis is qualitative, comprised principally of the transcripts of interviews and group discussions, and as such the data cannot speak to causal relationships. But while the data cannot answer questions of causality, properly analysed and interpreted it can provide insights into participants *perceptions* of the factors which lead to their experience of shared identity and their *perceptions* of the factors which may be consequences of the achievement of shared identity. Of course, it is possible that participants' perceptions, or my interpretation of what they say may be wrong. While therefore there can be no *certainty* that any of the factors I identify as consequences of shared identity might not instead (or also) be antecedents and *vice versa*, throughout the thesis I interpret what participants say, to identify their perceptions of how they come to perceive that they share identity with others and their perceptions of the consequences of shared identity.

In the next Section, I provide a brief overview of this thesis.

1.5 Thesis overview

In Chapter 2, I review classic crowd psychology such as that of Gustave Le Bon and Floyd Allport and then look at more recent developments, specifically the social identity approach and its application to crowds. I identify aspects of crowd behaviour that are of particular interest, and conclude the Chapter with my research questions. I set out my methodological strategy in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 presents an analysis of field interviews conducted at climate change protests in Edinburgh, London and Paris, and in Chapter 5 I provide a detailed description of Scotland's Climate March 2015, in Edinburgh. Chapter 6 is devoted to an analysis of focus group discussions held with groups who had taken part in the Climate March.

I explain why I have chosen to extend my exploration of shared identity to encompass music festival crowds in Chapter 7, and go on to present a case study of a specific music festival, Boomtown Fair, in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 presents an analysis of interviews with festival-goers across a wide variety of music festivals, and includes a comparison between political crowds and music festival crowds.

Finally, in Chapter 10, I review my key findings and draw conclusions.

Chapter 2 Literature review and research questions

2.1 Classic crowd psychology

Classic crowd psychology theories, dating from the late 19th and early 20th century, fall into two principal types. Transformation theories suggest that, simply by taking part in crowds, individuals are transformed from reasoning citizens to mindless, emotion-driven primitives (Le Bon, 1895/2005; McDougall, 1920/1939; see also Mackay, 1841/1995). Predisposition theories, on the other hand explain crowd behaviour in terms of individual behavioural predispositions (Allport, 1924; Martin, 1920).

Each of these types of theory has been extensively critiqued over the last few decades and so I will do no more than highlight some of the more important elements of each type of theory and outline the critiques. I start with the best known of all crowd psychology theories, Gustave Le Bon's study of the crowd.

2.1.1 Transformation theory: Gustave Le Bon

Le Bon's (1895/2005) *The Crowd: A study of the popular mind*, was once described by Gordon Allport as the most influential work in the first half-century of social psychology (cited by McPhail, 1991, p. 3) and it is still influential today (Reicher, 2017). To understand Le Bon's approach to crowd psychology, his agenda, we need look no further than his Introduction:

> Today the claims of the masses are becoming more and more sharply defined, and amount to nothing less than a determination to utterly destroy society as it now exists… (p. 8).

Le Bon's crowd psychology was driven by a fear of the power of the crowd in a changing world (Moscovici, 1985) and his objective was to present the crowd as the enemy of reason, order and society, or in other words to pathologize or demonise the crowd (see, for example, Reicher, 1987; Reicher & Haslam, 2013; Stott & Drury, 2017). The premise of his theory was that, simply by being part of a psychological crowd, the individual is reduced to a barbarian, or an imbecile, or an automaton:

> …by the mere fact that he [*sic*] forms part of an organised
> crowd, a man [*sic*] descends several rungs in the ladder of
> civilisation. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a
> crowd, he is a barbarian - that is, a creature acting by instinct.
> (p. 24).

For Le Bon, not only is the transformation automatic, it is also absolute and invariable, as if a switch is thrown. He cites three causes of this transformation. First, the individual, merely from the weight of numbers in the crowd, feels a sense of "invincible power" (p. 22) on which, due to her perception of her anonymity in the crowd, she feels able to act with impunity. Secondly, in the crowd, "every sentiment and act is contagious*"* (p. 22) so that emotions and actions rapidly become collective emotions and actions. Thirdly, this form of contagion is itself an effect of the most important cause, which is suggestibility (p. 32). He goes on:

> We see, then, that the disappearance of the conscious
> personality, the predominance of the unconscious personality,
> the turning by means of suggestion and contagion of feelings
> in an identical direction, the tendency to immediately
> transform the suggested ideas into acts; these, we see, are the
> principal characteristics of the individual forming part of the
> crowd. He [*sic*] is no longer himself, but has become an
> automaton who has ceased to be guided by his will. (p. 24).

So for Le Bon, simply by taking part in the crowd, the individual loses their ability to think for themselves, indeed their identity, becoming guided not by their own will, but by that of "a sort of collective mind" (p. 19).

Floyd Allport (1924) forcefully rejected Le Bon's idea of a collective mind, insisting that it is not the crowd but the individual who thinks, feels and acts.

2.1.2 Predisposition theory: Floyd Allport

The whole of Chapter I of Allport's (1924) text book on social psychology, titled "Social psychology as a science of individual behaviour and consciousness" is an attack on then current theories of crowd consciousness, collective mind, group mind and social mind. For Allport, the 'drivers' or causes of individual behaviours are groups of "prepotent" reflexes or responses which are either avoidance reactions, such as withdrawing, rejecting and struggling, or approaching responses such as the

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stimulations of hunger and sex. (p. 79). All human conduct is, according to Allport, a result of these prepotent responses (or modifications of them). Social behaviour, including crowd phenomena is likewise guided by the drive to fulfil prepotent responses:

> All of the fundamental, prepotent reactions are therefore operative in crowds of various sorts; and conversely, all spontaneous, mob-like crowds have their driving forces in these basic individual responses. [] (pp. 294, 295, original emphasis).

Against Le Bon, Allport concluded that there is no collective crowd mind. Instead, there is only a collection of individuals, and as he famously claimed:

> The individual in the crowd behaves just as he [*sic*] would alone, *only more so.* (page 295, original emphasis).

So similarities of behaviour in the crowd do not result from a collective consciousness, but from similar, fundamental, prepotent *individual* needs and wants. Collective behaviour arises simply from individuals responding in the same way, at the same time, to a given stimulus.

2.1.3 Classic crowd psychology: assessment

Each of these theories has been has been extensively critiqued over the last few decades (for example, Brown & Turner, 1981; McPhail, 1991, pp. 1-60; Turner & Oakes, 1986; Reicher, 1987; 2008) to the extent that it is not useful to undertake a further critique here. For example Reicher (1987) argues that Le Bon strips crowd events of context, such as the social issues which might have provoked protest, and the response of authority to the crowd (such as police or military actions), leaving the crowd as the only 'actor' left in the arena, so that any acts of violence or destruction can only be the acts of the crowd. And in a world stripped of context, crowd behaviour inevitably presents itself as random and meaningless.

> All that appears is the crowd, like some psychopathic jack-in-the-box. It suddenly and mysteriously emerges, goes through its automatic and uniformly vicious motions and then equally mysteriously disappears. (Reicher, 1987, p. 175).

By decontextualizing the crowd, Reicher argues, Le Bon renders crowd behaviour not only incomprehensible and meaningless, but also invariably *pathological*, and pathologically violent and destructive to boot.

Allport's crowd psychology is very much the psychology of the individual. In attacking the idea of any form of group consciousness such as Le Bon's "collective mind", he reduces group processes to individual interactions, so denying the psychological reality of the crowd. In throwing out the bathwater of the collective or group mind, Allport also throws out the baby of the psychological crowd itself, because by insisting that crowd behaviour is simply individual behaviour, magnified, he strips the psychological crowd of its distinctively *social* psychological nature, rendering the individual in the crowd thoroughly *asocial*. The result is that the theory is incapable of explaining the social interactions that constitute social reality. As McPhail (1991) comments:

> The explanations of individual behavior upon which
> predisposition theories are based are not up to the challenge
> of predicting or explaining the range of individual and
> collective behavior of which crowds are composed…The
> phenomena to be explained do not succumb to an explanation
> based on the predispositions individuals carry within them
> from place to place. (p. 54).

The basic premise of both transformation and predisposition theories is that crowd behaviour is primitive, instinctual behaviour that is inevitably negative and destructive. Both Le Bon and Allport, albeit following different routes, end up in the same place: in the crowd, individual personality and responsibility are diminished or lost, or put another way, *identity* is diminished or lost.

Against this approach, Reicher and other social identity theorists argue that in the crowd people do not lose identity, but rather *shift* to a social identity, and that crowd behaviour, far from being unreasoned and irrational is patterned and meaningful, shaped by the nature of the identity that is shared (for example, Drury & Stott, 2011; Reicher, 2008; 2011; 2017; Stott & Drury, 2017).

In the next Section, I first describe some of the major ideas of the social identity approach; a combination of social identity theory, which emerged in the 1970s to challenge individualistic social psychology theories such as Allport's, and self-categorization theory, which explains the mechanisms underlying social identity and develops and expands on social identity theory. Secondly, I review a theory of crowd behaviour which emerged from the social identity approach, first as the social identity model of crowd behaviour, and then as the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour. Thirdly, I review a model of crowd behaviour which has emerged from the social identity approach over recent years, and which I call the shared identity model of crowd behaviour.

2.2 The social identity approach

The social identity approach comprises two related theories, social identity theory ('SIT': Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1981) and self-categorization theory ('SCT': Turner, 1982, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). I start with SIT.

2.2.1 Social identity theory

The central idea of SIT is that an individual's membership of a group may be internalized so that group memberships become part of the individual's sense of self. A series of studies conducted in the early 1970s, which became known as the 'minimal group studies' (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Bundy, 1971) surprised experimenters by showing that even when groups were distinguished on bases explicitly designed to be as meaningless as possible, social categorization as a group member was sufficient *in itself* to induce participants to favour the ingroup, at the expense of the outgroup. Social categorization as a member of a specific group resulted in a distinct *social identity*, defined by Tajfel, (1981) as:

> [] that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [*sic*] knowledge of his [*sic*] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership. (Tajfel, 1981 p. 255, original emphasis).

So social identity is a mental representation of identity as a member of a social group or category (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Group memberships may be internalized, and if they are, they become part of the individual's self-concept. People's sense of who they are therefore includes their group memberships.

The shift from what Turner (1982) called "personal identity", in which the self might be thought of as 'I', to a social identity, in which the self might be thought of as 'we' involves a shift towards group (rather than personal) beliefs, values and norms. SIT specifies that the mechanism by which people define or categorize themselves (and others) in terms of a social identity is a form of social *comparison*. As Tajfel and Turner (1979) say:

> Social groups…provide their members with an identification of themselves in social terms. These identifications are to a very large extent relational and comparative: they define the individual as "better" or "worse" than, members of other groups. (p. 102).

SIT proposes that people seek to achieve and maintain positive self-esteem by defining their social identities positively; that is, by positively differentiating their group from other comparison groups, or outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel, 1981). Put another way, people want the groups of which they are a part to be positively and distinctively valued, and to achieve this, they look for positive ways in which to distinguish their group from other groups. This tends to engender ingroup favouritism, but it does not automatically do so. Tajfel and Turner (1979) identify three variables which determine the extent to which ingroup favouritism is a consequence of social categorization. The first is the extent to which the individual identifies with the category or group, so that the self comes to be defined in terms of the group social identity. The second is the extent to which the social situation requires comparison and competition between groups; and the third is the extent to which the outgroup is perceived to be relevant in the social situation, which in turn depends on the status of the ingroup in both absolute and relative terms (Haslam, Ellemers, Reicher, Reynolds, & Schmitt, 2010).

SIT is a fundamentally *social* theory, explaining the social world in dynamic and interactionist terms (Tajfel, 1981, p. 44). But it does not answer some important questions, of which perhaps the most obvious are: When and why do people categorize themselves in terms of a specific social identity? What are the antecedents and consequences of such categorizations? These questions are addressed by self-categorization theory.

2.2.2 Self-categorization theory

Self-categorization theory ('SCT': Turner, 1982, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994) specifies that under specific circumstances an individual may classify or categorize her self as similar to or the same as certain classes or categories of people (or ingroups), and as dissimilar to or different from other classes or categories of people (or outgroups).

Such self-categorizations are cognitive representations of the self (Turner, et al., 1987, p. 44) or self-definitions, in which the individual categorizes herself as who she *is*, and who she *is not*. The meta-contrast principle (Turner, et al., 1987, p. 46-47) specifies that people will be 'grouped' or assessed as belonging to the same category to the degree that the differences between the people in the group (intra-group differences) are seen as less than the differences between that group and other groups (inter-group differences). Self-categorization is therefore fundamentally a comparative process in which the self is categorized both as a member of an ingroup, and as not a member of an outgroup.

But who is perceived as ingroup and who is perceived as outgroup depends on the social context, so that in a given social context a certain category of people may be perceived as the outgroup but in a different context, exactly the same category may be perceived as part of the ingroup, and *vice versa*. For example, a supporter of the Green Party, a political party which promotes environmentalism, might in everyday life see the supporters of other political parties as political adversaries and therefore as an outgroup, but in the midst of a crowd during a climate change protest, she may see exactly the same political adversaries who are co-present and part of the protest

as allies or comrades, supporting 'her' climate change cause, and in consequence as part of an ingroup.

To be clear, it is not necessary that a group is physically present for them to constitute an outgroup; the outgroup may be psychologically but not physically present (Turner, et al., 1987, H.5: p. 51). For example, at a climate change protest, the outgroup may be those to whom the protest is designed to send a message - perhaps national governments who are seen as doing too little to combat climate change. Nor, contrary to popular perception, is it necessary for an outgroup to be a group the ingroup is *against* (an antagonist outgroup); all that is required in self-categorization is what might, to distinguish it from an antagonist outgroup, be termed a comparison outgroup (although strictly the term is tautologous).

But when do individuals come to categorize themselves in terms of one specific social identity, rather than another? SCT explains this in terms of the *salience* of self-categories.

Salience

SCT specifies that people are more likely to categorize themselves as members of a given class or category to the extent that the category is salient; and that the salience of a self-category is determined by an interaction between two factors. The first factor is how 'accessible' the category is to the individual person; and the second factor is how well the category 'fits' the contextual social reality (Haslam, 2004 pp. 34-36; Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011 pp. 64-70; Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991; Turner, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987, pp. 54-55, and 117-141).

The 'accessibility' of a class or category is a measure of how readily a person may use that category and is sometimes described in terms of *perceiver readiness* (Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011; p. 69) - how ready the individual is to use the category. In turn, perceiver readiness depends on the perceiver's past experiences, including their previous use of the category in other contexts, and what they are trying to achieve in the present context - their current motivations (Turner et al., 1987, pp. 55; 117-141). For example, people who have taken part in climate change

protests previously, or who want to demonstrate their commitment to fighting climate change, may be more ready to categorize themselves as environmentalists.

The 'fit' of a category is a measure of how well a category fits with perceived social reality, in comparative and normative terms (Turner et al., 1987, pp. 55; 117-141). *Comparative fit* is based on the meta-contrast principle (Haslam, 2004, p. 31; Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011, pp. 66, and 85-88; Turner et al., 1987, pp. 46-47, 117-141), which states that people tend to be perceived as grouped together, or as forming part of the same category if the relevant differences amongst those people are perceived to be smaller than the relevant differences between that group and other groups. What constitutes a 'relevant' difference is determined by the contextual frame of reference, or who is being compared with whom. For example, if only students are chanting at a climate change protest, and other protesters are not, then while chanting, students may be more likely to categorize themselves as student climate change activists, rather than more generally as environmentalists.

But comparative fit on its own is not enough. Even if the differences within a specific group are perceived as smaller than the differences between the group and other groups, people will not categorize themselves as members of that group unless they perceive that group members are behaving in the ways expected of that category or identity. This component is called *normative fit*, a measure of how well what people say and do fits with the perceiver's understanding of the norms of the category or group (Haslam, 2004, p. 34; Turner et al., 1987, pp. 55-56; 117-141). For example, in a student group at a political protest, chanting along with the rest of the group might be regarded as normative, and if so a failure by some students to chant might lead to a different categorization - non-chanting students may be seen as not part of the group, or chanting students may see themselves as members of a different category.

Depersonalization

SCT specifies that psychological group formation is premised on the individual's self-definition as a member of a shared social categorization and that this requires a shift from the perception of the self as a unique individual, to the self as representative of some shared social category. The psychological process underlying

this shift is depersonalization (Turner et al., 1987, pp. 50-56). When people self-stereotype as group members, they come to perceive themselves as interchangeable with other ingroup members. The self becomes defined in terms of the group stereotype; that is, defined in terms of the beliefs, values and norms of the group (Turner 1982). Depersonalization represents not a loss of identity, but a *shift* in identity; from personal identity to a social identity, as a consequence of which the self and others come to be perceived more as stereotypical representatives of the category to which they belong (Turner et al., 1987, p. 51;Voci, 2006). Another way of thinking about this is to think of the self as expanding to include other category members:

> The self-category is socially inclusive. It extends beyond the individual perceiver to include and define as self members of the social environment who are not the individual perceiver. Moreover, influence from these others is accepted precisely because they are not *others,* but *self*, members of a self-defining social category. They are *we* and *us*, not *you* or *them*. (Turner & Onorato, 1999 p. 29, original emphasis).

There are several consequences of depersonalization.

Group norms

The first is that people come to think and act in accordance with *group beliefs, values and norms* (Turner et al., 1987, pp. 68-88) and that they work actively to define what these beliefs, values and norms should be (Turner & Onorato, 1999). Importantly, SCT specifies that when people perceive themselves as members of a shared category they not only *expect* to agree with each other on issues which are important, but they also *actively strive* to reach agreement on these issues (Haslam, 2004, p. 36).

Validation

Secondly, it naturally follows that ingroup members will look to other ingroup members for validation of their (group) beliefs, values and norms, in the construction of a shared worldview. For example, Turner and Oakes (1986) say:

> [] the function of consensual validation is to validate the objective, veridical character of one's perceptions and [] it has such a power because of and not in opposition to the

> soundness of judgement of the individuals comprising the
> consensual group []. (p. 246)

Turner (1991) notes that group behaviour is characterised by uniformities of individual beliefs and action. These uniformities arise from social or group norms, or moral rules about what it is right to do, feel and think. He goes on:

> If a social norm is a shared belief that a certain course of
> action is appropriate in a given situation, then, when
> individuals act in line with the norm, they experience their
> behaviour as subjectively valid. (p. 4).

Thus group members find confirmation or validation, not only in shared beliefs and values, but also in shared understandings of how such beliefs and values should be put into practice.

Trust

Thirdly, when people perceive themselves as members of a shared category or identity, they tend to trust other category members more. For example, Platow, McClintock and Liebrand (1990) show that ingroup strangers are more likely to be trusted than outgroup strangers. Their findings are supported and extended by a study by Tanis and Postmes (2005) which shows that when people have no personal information to go on, trust becomes a matter of group membership. Furthermore, Platow, Foddy, Yamagishi, Lim and Chow (2012) show that people are more likely to trust ingroup strangers than outgroup strangers, even when they do not have to trust anyone, but only if they know that the stranger is aware of their shared ingroup identity.

Social co-operation

Fourthly, SCT proposes that depersonalization leads to the perception that group needs and goals are identical to the needs and goals of ingroup members (Turner, et al., 1987, H15, p. 65) and that in turn this leads to intragroup co-operation (Blader & Tyler, 2009; Tyler & Blader, 2003). There is also evidence that shared social identification leads to intra-group helping behaviours. For example, Levine, Prosser, Evans and Reicher (2005) found that an injured stranger is more likely to be helped if he or she is an ingroup member; and Levine, Cassidy, Brazier and Reicher (2002)

show that bystanders are more likely to help victims who are described as ingroup as opposed to outgroup members (see also Levine & Cassidy, 2010; and more generally, Reicher & Haslam, 2010).

2.2.3 The social identity approach: assessment

The social identity approach firstly offers an explanation of how in a specific context people may come to perceive or represent themselves in terms of a social identity as members of a specific category or class of people (and not as members of some other class); and secondly identifies that in consequence of such identification, people may come to feel a sense of 'we-ness' and togetherness in a psychological group.

But as we saw in Chapter 1, there is an important analytical distinction between a representational sense that 'I am an X' and a *meta*-representational sense that 'We see each other as Xs together'. In a crowd, I might perceive myself as an 'X' but it by no means follows that I perceive others as Xs nor that I perceive them as perceiving me as an X and so on. Indeed, it is perfectly possible to take part in a crowd and to feel alienated from the others in the crowd. The phenomena are *different* and may reasonably be expected to arise from different causes, and to have different consequences; but although both are addressed by the social identity approach, the two tend to be subsumed under the term 'social identity' and thus to be conflated.

For example, in defining a social or psychological group, Turner (1982) says:

> (1) …a social group can be defined as two or more
> individuals who share a common social identification of
> themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive
> themselves to be members of the same social category. (2)
> This definition stresses that members of a social group seem
> often to share no more than *a collective perception of their
> own social unity* and yet this seems to be sufficient for them
> to act as a group. (p. 15, my numbering).

The conflation lies in the 'gap' between sentences 1 and 2. The first sentence relates to the perception of the self as a member of the same social category as one or more other person, and represents a *social* identity, of the form 'I am an X'. The second

sentence talks of a collective perception of social unity, and represents shared identity, of the form 'We are all Xs together.' What is missing (the gap) is an explanation of how people shift from one to another. Because the social identity approach conflates social and shared identity, the question of the gap never arises, so that what is in the gap remains unexamined and unexplained.

The conflation persists in the seminal explication of SCT, *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory* (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Hypothesis 4 states:

> That psychological group formation takes place to the degree that two or more people come to perceive and define themselves in terms of some shared ingroup-outgroup categorization (p. 51).

This suggests that a psychological group is formed simply if more than one person categorizes themselves in the same category in terms of a specific ingroup-outgroup comparison. Although the categorization is described as a *shared* categorization, there is no specification of how this sharedness comes to be perceived or experienced. Again, what is missing is an explanation of how self-categorization in a *social* identity leads to *shared* identity.

So although SCT accounts for both social identity and shared identity, because it does not distinguish between the two, it implicitly assumes that the antecedents and consequences of social and shared identity are the same. Importantly, this has resulted in an under-analysis of the phenomenon of (meta-representational) shared identity in the social identity approach, so that whether people experience shared identity and if so, how this comes about and its consequences remain largely unanalysed.

Furthermore, we have seen that one of the most striking features of crowds is how highly emotional and intensely passionate they can be (sub-Section 1.3.1). But as an essentially cognitive theory, SCT is silent on any effect that feelings or emotions may have in the self-categorization process, save as cognitive appraisals or evaluations (Hogg, 1993; Hogg & Hains, 1996; 1998). For example:

Attraction, 'liking', etc., are all employed specifically to indicate positive attitudes towards others in the sense of evaluations rather than emotional or affective states [] they represent appraisal from the perspective of social norms or values [] it is assumed that the self is evaluated at some level [] by the same process that leads to liking or disliking for others. (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987, p. 57).

As consequences of self-categorization and social identity, *inter*group emotions have been studied for more than two decades (Smith, 1993; Smith, 1999; see also Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007; Mackie & Smith, 2017; Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2008). But intergroup emotion theory as its name suggests is principally concerned with *inter*group relations rather than *intra*group emotions. Very little research has investigated how shared (intragroup or intracrowd) emotions may contribute to the process of self-categorization; but an exception can be found in the work of Livingstone and colleagues.

As we have seen, two elements are involved in determining whether a social category becomes salient or prominent in a given context, and therefore the likelihood of self-categorization in terms of that social category: *comparative fit* (identity-relevant differences between ingroup members are smaller than identity-relevant differences between ingroup members and outgroup members) and *normative fit* (identity-relevant similarities and differences between ingroup members are consistent with the content of ingroup identity). Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, Bruder and Shepherd (2011) found that feelings of happiness towards the ingroup and anger towards the outgroup increased identification with the ingroup, enhancing group cohesion. To explain this, they suggest that in addition to comparative and normative fit, there may be a third element in the self-categorization process: *emotional fit*, essentially a perception that the self's and other ingroup members' emotions are aligned. While comparative and normative fit are cognitive, emotional fit is both; people *perceive* the emotion of others and *feel* their own emotion, neatly combining cognition with affect.

Furthermore, Livingstone, Shepherd, Spears and Manstead (2015) found that when participants were angry about an identity-related matter, they self-categorized more

with others who shared that emotion than with others who did not. Livingstone and colleagues' studies suggest that shared emotions, especially if combined with an emotional disjunction with an outgroup, may have an effect on the self-categorization process, either as antecedents of self-categorization, or as part of the self-categorization process itself.

In the next Section, I consider how the social identity approach has been applied to crowds.

2.3 Social identity and crowd behaviour
2.3.1 The SIM

The early theory, the social identity model of crowd behaviour ('SIM': Reicher, 1984; 1987), was constructed out of an analysis of crowd behaviours during the St Pauls (Bristol, England) riots of 1980. Reicher (1984; 1987) shows that rioters shared a social identity which reflected a collective understanding of what it meant to be part of the St Pauls community; they thought of themselves and described themselves in terms of a St Pauls identity. The content of that identity reflected what Reicher calls "black experience"; although not all of the people engaged in the St Pauls riots were black, St Pauls identity was defined in terms of oppression and domination by an outgroup - the police. Through a careful analysis of the course of events, Reicher demonstrates that the behaviour that became normative was not random, but targeted. For example, violent behaviour was directed against the perceived oppressors, the police. Attacks on property, which could reasonably be seen as attacks by the community on the community itself, were in fact limited to shops owned by non-St Pauls people and other buildings which represented financial institutions, a capitalist world from which St Pauls people were largely excluded. Thus, Reicher shows that the social identity approach can provide a social psychological explanation of crowd behaviour through an understanding of a shared identity that not only shaped, but was also shaped by, crowd behaviours.

2.3.2 The ESIM

The elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM: Drury & Reicher, 2000; Drury & Reicher, 2005, 2009; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998) develops the SIM through firstly, an elaboration of the content of the social identity that is shared in the crowd, and secondly a greater focus on how the actions of the outgroup (generally the police) affect protesters' perceptions of the social identity they may share with others; how outgroup actions can change (rather than simply vary) that identity, the effects of such changes on crowd behaviours, how such behaviours are responded to by the outgroup, and so on.

Firstly, the model reconceptualizes the nature of both context and social identity. Social identity is reconceptualized as people's perceptions of how they are positioned relative to others - their social location in a network of social relations - *together with* the types of action that are seen as legitimate from that position. Context is reconceptualized as external forces which enable or constrain such actions. To simplify, forces which enable identity-related action might be, for example, the presence of others who share social location, or in other words, who share identity. Forces which constrain such action might be the actions of an outgroup such as the police. Thus, social identity and context are internally related, or the two sides of one coin: "That is, identity constitutes context and vice versa." (Drury & Reicher, 2009, p. 712).

Secondly, the ESIM specifies that where there is a difference (an asymmetry) between how people in the crowd perceive themselves in terms of their social location and how the outgroup perceives them, and where the outgroup has the power to 'enforce' their understanding of the social location of crowd members, then through the action of the outgroup and the response of the crowd, crowd members' perception of their social location, or social identity, may not just vary[11] in accordance with a pre-existing identity, it may *change* to a different identity, which may even be an identity that had previously been rejected.

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[11] Drury and Reicher (2000) "…distinguish identity change from mere variability (cf. Turner et al., 1994) which we see as contextually determined differences among an existing repertoire of identities." (p. 582).

Thirdly, if an outgroup such as the police treats the crowd as if it was both homogenous and a threat, thereby imposing on the whole crowd a common fate (Campbell, 1958), this can convert a previously law-abiding crowd into what the police may consider a threat to public order, which needs to be controlled, for example by forming cordons, baton-charges and other ways of restraining the movement of the crowd. To law-abiding crowd members such actions may be perceived as not only indiscriminate, but also illegitimate. What may happen then is that the whole crowd - all the different groups and factions of which the crowd is made up - unites against the police and law-abiding citizens become radicalized.

Empowerment

One of the most striking of the ESIM's findings is the feeling of *empowerment* people sometimes experience during crowd events. Drury and Reicher (2009) see this as both an input and an output of the interactions between ingroup and outgroup. The ESIM suggests that the crowd may be unified as a result of outgroup actions which restrict the freedom of the crowd to act, and which are perceived as illegitimate. United, crowd members may through an enactment of their collective identity, come to feel empowered.

In a study of a demonstration against the poll tax[12], Drury and Reicher (1999) found explicit evidence not only of empowerment, but of empowerment which endured. They found that feelings of empowerment affected people's lives beyond the protest itself, and that these feelings tended to influence people's motivation to take part in collective action in the future.

A study of two anti-roads protests (Drury & Reicher, 2005) shows that these feelings of empowerment are not necessarily based on the objective success or failure of collective action, but instead depend on the extent to which people are able to enact their shared identity, imposing on the world their construction of what the world should be like. In doing so they change the world by bringing it into line with the meaning of the identity they share with others in the crowd. Reicher and colleagues call this process of identity-based empowerment 'collective self-objectification' or

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[12] The community charge or 'poll tax' was a flat-rate local taxation scheme intended by the Conservative government to replace rates, which were based on property values. During 1989 and early 1990, a nation-wide movement developed against the tax (Allport, 1924).

'collective self-realisation' (CSR). This is important for two reasons. The first is practical: it is through their perceptions of collective empowerment that people take collective action that can lead to social change. The second is theoretical: empowerment goes some way to explaining the emotionality of crowds and as such reintroduces the idea of the "value and emotional significance" of group memberships that was a key part of Tajfel's (1981) definition of social identity (sub-Section 2.2.1).

Circularity of crowd processes

As we saw in sub-Section 1.3.3, psychological processes in crowds tend to be bi-directional or circular, so that antecedents can become consequences, and *vice versa*, and the ESIM provides further evidence of circularity in the ways in which the understandings and actions of the outgroup may change the identity of the ingroup, which can in turn affect how the ingroup responds to the outgroup, and so on. It also provides evidence of emotional circularity, or at least bi-directionality. For example, in a cross-sectional study Hopkins et al., (2015) investigated pilgrims' reports of feelings of "sublime bliss" at the Magh Mela, a Hindu festival at Prayag in north India which takes place every year during Magh (a period of 45 days from roughly mid-January to mid-February) and in which literally millions of pilgrims take part. Hopkins et al. suggest that two psychological transformations implicated in shared identity might help to explain such feelings. The first is collective self-realisation (CSR: the successful enactment of a social identity, in this case as pilgrims) and the second is emotional intimacy in the crowd, which Hopkins et al. call 'relationality'.

They hypothesised that higher levels of shared identity would be associated with a positive experience (sublime bliss), mediated by CSR and relationality. In other words, greater shared identity through higher CSR and higher relationality predicts a more intensely positive experience. Data were obtained through an orally administered questionnaire delivered to 416 pilgrims attending the 2011 Mela, measuring pilgrims' perceptions of shared identity, relationality, CSR and positive experience, and analysed using principal axis factoring. The results showed a complex association amongst shared identity, CSR, relationality and positive experience. There was a significant and positive effect of perceptions of shared

identity on positive experience with significant indirect effects *via* both relationality and CSR *and* there was also evidence of bi-directionality. The analysis confirmed firstly a significant indirect effect of CSR on positive experience *via* shared identity and relationality; and secondly a significant indirect effect of relationality on positive experience *via* shared identity and CSR. Not only may greater shared identity through higher CSR and relationality result in a more intensely positive experience, but so also may higher CSR through shared identity and relationality, and higher relationality through shared identity and CSR. In other words, relationality and CSR may contribute to greater shared identity, producing a more positive experience.

Hopkins et al. explain their findings of bi-directionality in terms of the circular nature of crowd processes, suggesting that a feedback loop mechanism may be involved, contributing towards what they describe as "a spiralling of emotional intensity" (p. 29), so that shared identity may contribute to relationality and a sense of relationality may contribute towards shared entity. Likewise, positive experience may result from CSR and a sense of relationality, and a sense of relationality may contribute towards a sense of relationality and CSR. In this sense, bi-directionality may have a circular effect, as an antecedent becomes a consequence and *vice versa*.

2.3.3 SIM and ESIM: assessment

The SIM and the ESIM show how SIT and SCT can be applied to crowd behaviour, providing convincing explanations of actual crowd events, and demonstrating that far from identity being lost, in crowds people may gain a collective identity which in turn shapes crowd behaviours so that that they can be understood as meaningful and patterned, rather than random and senseless. The ESIM also demonstrates something of the circular nature of crowd processes, findings that we will see replicated in the shared identity model in the next Section.

Furthermore, one of the great achievements of the ESIM is that by explaining feelings of empowerment in terms of the enactment of shared identity in the face of a hostile and powerful outgroup, it reintroduces *emotion* to the essentially cognitive social identity approach (Drury & Reicher, 2009, p. 719), and in doing so, the ESIM helps to explain some, at least, of the *passion* of the crowd (sub-Section 1.3.1). But

rather than shared identity, the SIM and the ESIM are focussed on the dynamic nature of social identity, on the phenomenon of psychological change in collective action and how what is described as a contextually specified "common social identity" (for example, Drury & Reicher, 2000, p. 581; Drury & Reicher 2005, p. 37) makes collective action possible. Specifically, the ESIM suggests that collective action is possible only when people both share (and in my interpretation this means *objectively* share) and perceive themselves to share a common social identity, but this conceptualization of a common social identity but has not (given the focus of the theory) been developed, leaving the concept of largely unexamined, and lacking in clarity. Nevertheless, in my interpretation the concept of common social identity, at least so far as it is subjectively experienced, is the same as the concept of shared identity.

However, there is a lack of empirical evidence of the achievement of a common social identity, or shared identity, in the SIM and ESIM literature; it tends to be assumed, rather than empirically demonstrated. For example, from the beginning, Reicher's (1984) definition of a crowd assumes that it is made up of people who categorize themselves in a common social category or identity:

> [] a crowd is a form of social group in the sense of a set of individuals who perceive themselves as members of a common social category, or to put it another way, adopt a common social identification. (p. 4).

In line with the assumption on which SCT's analysis of a psychological group is based, for the SIM (and ESIM) a psychological crowd is a crowd of people who share a social categorization. In the SIM and ESIM therefore, shared identity tends to be presupposed rather than demonstrated. Hopkins et al. (2015) represents an exception from this criticism, and there are others which are part of what might be described as the shared identity model of crowd behaviour.

2.4 The shared identity model

As we saw in Section 1.1, Reicher (2011; 2018) sets out the theoretical bases of the shared identity model. There is now a growing body of empirical work which tends to support these theoretical bases.

Neville and Reicher (2011) examined collective experiences in different types of crowds, to explore the ways in which shared identity and the relational transformation I discussed in Section 1.1, in which social relations amongst group members improve, can have affective or emotional consequences in crowds. In Study 1, the first author attended six football matches, in Study 2, took part in a small (between 70 and 150 people) student demonstration against proposed changes in university accommodation, and in Study 3, took part in a music festival. In each of the studies participants were directly asked about the extent to which they shared identity with co-present others, how they felt they related to those others and how it felt, emotionally, to be in the crowd. Qualitative methods were used in Studies 1 and 2, and quantitative methods (questionnaires) in Study 3.

They found firstly, that when participants appraised themselves and co-present others as sharing identity, social relations in the crowd were positively transformed towards a sense of connection, intimacy and mutual recognition, which might extend to feelings of validation of beliefs, emotions and behaviours. Secondly, this relational transformation could contribute to an emotional transformation in two forms; a sense of empowerment and agency that they treat as a consequence of the collective enactment of a shared identity; and a general emotionality and intensity of experience. Indeed, in a reference to the circularity of crowd processes (sub-Section 1.3.3) they indicate that there may be an amplification effect in the relationship between the relational and the emotional transformations.

The present research differs from these studies in a number of ways. Firstly, as we will see in Section 2.5, the focus of the present research is on the question of whether there is evidence of shared identity in the crowd, rather than on the emotional consequences of shared identity and relatedness. Therefore, although the present research examines similar processes in crowds, it does so from a different perspective, focussing first on clearly establishing whether or not there is shared identity in the crowd, and then addressing how people come to percieve that they share identity and the consequences of such perceptions. Secondly, the present research looks at shared identity in different crowds. It does not look at football crowds, a particular type of entertainment crowd in which identity as a football

supporter of a specific team tends to be highly salient, and rather than focussing on small student demonstration relating specifically to student identity, it examines climate change protests involving thousands of protesters from a variety of backgrounds, protesting against climate change, a global issue of importance to the hundreds of thousands of people who took part in climate change demonstrations across the world. Finally, rather than using quantitative methods at a single music festival, the present research qualitatively examines people's experiences at a wide range of music festivals.

Two other studies have looked at specific aspects of the consequences of shared identity. In the first, Novelli, Drury, Reicher, and Stott (2013) conducted two studies: in Study 1, 48 participants completed an online questionnaire concerning their experiences at an open air music event in Brighton, in 2002, measuring their perceptions of being too crowded (or otherwise), their sense of identification with the crowd, and positive emotions, such as cheerfulness, or joy; and in Study 2 they conducted a cross-sectional survey at a political march and rally in London in 2007, gathering data from 56 participants during the assembly stage of the demonstration and at the rally at the end of the demonstration. The questionnaire measured participants' location in the crowd ('in the thick of it' or otherwise), identification with the crowd and positive emotions. Their objective was to test the extent to which people's emotional responses to *crowding* are a function of social identification with the crowd.

People's aversion to being physically too close to others has been studied extensively in psychology over several decades (for example Evans & Wener, 2007; Hayduk, 1978, 1983; Worchel & Teddie, 1976). The psychological concept of 'personal space' has been defined by Hayduk (1978) as:

> [] the area individual humans actively maintain around themselves into which others cannot intrude without arousing discomfort. (p. 118).

Yet, as Canetti (1960/1973) describes, in what he calls spontaneous crowds, people:

> … hurry to be there where most other people are… they have
> a goal which is there before they can find words for it. This
> goal is the blackest spot where most people are gathered. (p.
> 16).

Novelli et al.'s (2013) analysis of the data gathered in Study 1 showed that identification with the crowd (negatively) predicted feeling too crowded, and a significant indirect effect of identification with the crowd on positive emotion through feeling too crowded. In other words, crowdedness mediated the effect of identification with the crowd on positive emotion. In Study 2, the pattern of results was very similar to Study 1: identification with the crowd was significantly positively correlated with participants' perceived central location in the crowd and with their positive emotion. The more participants identified with the crowd the more they perceived themselves as being in the thick of the crowd and the happier they felt. These studies suggest that in crowds, physical proximity which breaches personal space boundaries is not *inherently* aversive and instead that how people respond to crowding depends on their identification with the crowd. People who *identify* with the crowd tend to welcome others who they perceive as sharing that identity within their personal space, and indeed positively enjoy physical proximity with others when they perceive that they share identity with them.

Interestingly, Novelli et al. (2013) also found in both Study 1 and 2 that a reverse mediation model, in which crowdedness or central location respectively mediated the effect of positive emotion on identification with the crowd, was also significant; the more people enjoyed the event, the more they tended to be in the thick of the crowd and the more they identified with the crowd more evidence of the circularity or bi-directionality of crowd processes I discussed in sub-Section 1.3.3.

Finally, in a study of people's perceptions of crowd safety in a dense crowd at the Holy Mosque, Mecca, during the 2012 Hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, Alnabulsi and Drury (2014) showed that negative perceptions of crowd safety were moderated by identification with the crowd. Participants who identified strongly with the crowd felt supported and safe, and the denser the crowd, the more supported and safe they felt. Alnabulsi and Drury also comment on the possible bi-directionality of their findings, suggesting that participants who strongly identified as Muslims may have gravitated

to the densest areas of the crowd. Indeed, they go on to refer to their findings as an example of what they call a possible 'virtuous circle' of identification, social support and well-being.

2.5 Conclusion and research questions

We have seen that classic crowd psychology assumes that taking part in crowds inevitably and automatically results in a loss of identity. The social identity approach offers a more convincing explanation of crowd behaviour, showing that identity is not lost in crowds, but instead that people may *shift* from a personal or individual identity to a social identity, thereby explaining meaningful patterns in crowd behaviour. However, in the social identity approach social identity and shared identity have been conflated, obscuring the distinction between them. In the ESIM, the impact of shared identity becomes clearer, but nevertheless, the ESIM tends to presuppose, without providing evidence of, the achievement of shared identity in the psychological group or crowd. In the shared identity model, some progress has been made in de-conflating social and shared identity, but the question of whether there is shared identity in crowds has barely been asked.

My first research question is therefore:

1. Is there shared identity in the crowd?

We have seen that the conflation of social and shared identity in the social identity approach has obscured the processes by which people come to perceive themselves as sharing identity in crowds, and the consequences of their doing so. My second and third research questions, which are contingent on the first, are therefore:

2. How do people know they share identity in the crowd?
3. What are the consequences of shared identity in the crowd?

In the next Chapter I discuss my methodological strategy for answering these questions.

Chapter 3 Methodological strategy

3.1 Introduction

My choice of methodological strategy is dictated by the subject matter of my research (Reicher, 2000). As the sub-title of my thesis, *An exploration of shared identity in crowds* suggests, my aim is to explore and understand how people relate to others, and particularly others they do not know, in crowds, focussing therefore on people's feelings, perceptions, understandings. I do not start with stated hypotheses, which, in the Popperian tradition may be null-tested, but instead am guided in my exploration by the research questions I have set out in Section 2.5. This kind of research calls out for qualitative methods.

The 'arena' for my research is the crowd. From a research point of view, part of the beauty of crowds is that by their nature they tend to be public events in which participants can readily be observed, and as cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, (1973/1993) says, what is observed can be "inscribed" (p. 19), or written down, analysed and interpreted. He goes on:

> Cultural analysis is (or should be) guessing at meanings,
> assessing the guesses, and drawing explanatory conclusions
> from the better guesses, not discovering the Continent of
> Meaning and mapping out its bodiless landscape (p. 20).

When people achieve shared identity, they do so on the basis of their *perception* of a social identity they share with others. Such perceptions are of course, as Geertz suggests, subjective and they may best be understood through talking to people, writing down what they say, and analysing and interpreting how they understand their experiences.

Perhaps the key word here is 'interpreting' (or as Geertz puts it, "drawing explanatory conclusions from the better guesses"). My aim is not simply to categorize and recount what people say about their experiences in crowds, but to interpret their meaning. And as the critical realist Roy Bhaskar (1979/1998) we met in sub-Section 1.2 says, "meanings cannot be measured, only understood." (p. 46).

It is well-established that ethnography and other qualitative methods are best suited to exploratory work which seeks to understand the meaning of people's feelings and perceptions (for example, see Howitt, 2010, pp. 83, 108, and 130; Brown & Locke, 2017; Maxwell, 2013); accordingly, in this research I use qualitative methods, which I review in the following sub-Sections.

3.1.1 Ethnography

Ethnography is a method of data collection in which the researcher participates in a group or culture, either longitudinally over time, or for the duration of a specific cultural event (Howitt, 2010, p. 112). The term is often used synonymously with 'participant observation' but ethnography involves much more than simply observing.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) describe ethnographic work as involving a number of elements. The first is that people and their actions and feelings are studied in a natural setting. Secondly, data is collected from a number of sources, including participant observation, informal conversations, and what Hammersley and Atkinson call "documentary evidence" (p. 3), such as newspaper reports, online blogs, social media, etc. The third element is that ethnographic work does not involve a fixed and detailed research design, but is relatively unstructured; and the data is reduced using categories, or themes which are developed out of the analysis process itself. Fourthly, ethnographic work tends to be in-depth, which means that the number of cases (or in quantitative terms, sample size) is relatively small. Finally, the analysis of data tends to involve the "interpretation of the meanings, functions and consequences of human actions" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 3), and so the 'outputs' of ethnographic work tend to be descriptive explanations which may cohere into theories, rather than quantification and statistical analysis. As Hammersley and Atkinson comment, ethnographic research tends therefore to be relatively open-ended, and the approach is ideally suited to exploratory work.

It was obvious to me that to understand crowd experiences I would need to immerse myself in crowds, to get a view of what was going on from the inside. Throughout the research phase I therefore took part in every political protest I could find, and a

list of these crowd events is in Appendix 2. Sometimes I also interviewed people in the crowd (what Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007 call "informal conversations"). These field interviews are especially interesting, as they provide an insight into people's perceptions and feelings while they are actually in the midst of the crowd; people do not have time to ponder their response and as a result, field interviews offer a sense of raw immediacy, access to the thoughts and emotions that are coursing through the interviewee as she recounts first-hand her experiences, then and there, in the crowd.

The other qualitative methods I used included focus group discussions, a method used in Chapter 6, in which groups of people who had attended the same crowd event, in the same group were invited to discuss amongst themselves, with minimal guidance from the researcher (or Moderator) their experiences in the crowd at a specific event.

3.1.2 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions involve the recruitment of a relatively small number of participants to take part in an informal group discussion focussed on a specific question or issue. A focus group discussion is, as its name suggests, quite different from a collective interview (*cf* Howitt, 2010, p. 89), in the sense that it is crucial that the discussion takes place amongst the participants themselves, rather than between the Moderator and each of the participants; the Moderator's job is to guide a discussion which is primarily amongst participants, rather than to ask questions of each participant, and broadly, the less the Moderator is required to intervene, the better the quality of the data (Wilkinson, 2003). The discussions tend to be naturalistic, involving joking, arguing, challenge and disagreement, and as Wilkinson comments, the dynamic quality of group interaction is a striking feature of focus group discussions. As Hennink (2014) says:

> One of the most common applications of focus group discussions is for exploratory research. The group setting makes focus groups an ideal method to explore a topic about which little is known and to understand issues from the perspective of the study population. (p. 16).

For the Moderator, one of the challenges of a focus group discussion is to ensure that everyone has their say, and that no one dominates the discussion to the exclusion of others. In part, at least, this can be a function of the number of participants in the group. Howitt, (2010) suggests that a focus group typically involves 6 to 10 participants, but comments that "the recommended range varies" (p. 90). For example, Breen, (2006) recommends groups of between 4 and 6 participants, and in practice, this is a more manageable number. It is important that participants in the group share a similar background, or have shared experiences which are relevant to research issues (Hennink, 2014).

The number of focus groups required depends on the achievement of 'saturation' - the point at which no new themes emerge from discussions. A review by Guest, Namey and McKenna (2017) suggests that

> [] more than 80% of all themes were discoverable within two
> to three focus groups and 90% of themes could be discovered
> within three to six focus groups. Also, we were able to
> identify the most prevalent themes within our data set with
> only three focus groups. (p. 18).

In the present research, focus group discussions were video-recorded, which made transcription easier and more accurate (after transcription, to preserve participants' anonymity the video-recordings were destroyed). Each focus group discussion started with a photo-elicitation session, described in the next sub-Section, and lasted for approximately 80 to 85 minutes.

3.1.3 Photo-elicitation

Photo-elicitation has been defined, quite simply, as an interviewing technique in which researchers elicit information from participants using photographs (Richard & Lahman, 2014). In photo-elicitation sessions, a photograph is produced for discussion with the interviewee, or as in the current research, with the focus group. The photographs used may be taken by, or sourced by the researcher, or they may be taken by, or sourced by the participant (Lapenta, 2011). In this research, the photographs were taken by one or more member of the focus group, and presented by them to the group. Richard and Lahman (2014) observe that when participants make

their own photograph choices, they tend to feel empowered by the process, and may gain a sense of agency in the group discussion.

Harper (2002) suggests that photo-elicitation interviews elicit a different *kind* of information, because images "evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words". The visual aspect itself tends to prompt the participant to explain, rather than requiring prompting from the Moderator (Richard & Lahman, 2014, p. 15), promoting a more collaborative than interrogative approach, which in turn tends to lead to a higher level of engagement by participants (Lapenta, 2011; for an example of a study using photo elicitation in the context of focus groups, see Harrington & Schibik, 2003). Thus, photo-elicitation can complement interviews or focus group discussions as a data collection method.

In Chapters 8 and 9, I present my analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted retrospectively, after participants had taken part in a crowd event.

3.1.4 Semi-structured interviews

In retrospective semi-structured interviews, participants are encouraged to talk about their experiences some time after their participation in the relevant event. In this type of interview, the researcher engages with the interviewee, establishing rapport with them before going on to ask open-ended questions which have been prepared in advance. The researcher then guides the interviewee, probing for more information when necessary, but the objective is that it is the interviewee who does most of the talking (for a brief commentary on semi-structured interviews see Howitt, 2010, pp. 58-62).

In the present research, interviews were conducted in a quiet environment, in which participants could be encouraged to describe and discuss their experiences in some depth. As interviews lasted for a median time of just over 31 minutes (range 22.15 to 44.10 minutes) participants had enough time to discuss their experiences fully, and the data generated by the interviews was both extensive and richly detailed.

3.1.5 Audio diaries

Some of the participants who took part in the retrospective interviews analysed in Chapters 8 and 9 were recruited in advance, before they took part in a crowd event. They were asked, while they were in the crowd, to record an audio diary of their experiences, detailing specifically how emotionally close they felt to others in the crowd at various times during the event. The recordings were analysed as part of the subsequent interview.

3.1.6 Transcription conventions

All focus group discussions (including photo-elicitation sessions), interviews and audio diaries were transcribed using an orthographic transcription method (Howitt, 2010, p. 140), focusing primarily on what was said, but also recording pauses of 3 seconds or more, and identifying (with italics or an exclamation mark) any special emphasis participants put on specific words and phrases.

3.1.7 Thematic analysis

All transcripts were analysed using a form of thematic analysis, a widely-used method of analysis used to identify, analyse, and report patterns or themes within data such as transcripts of interviews or group discussions (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Howitt, 2010, pp. 163-186).

Conceptually, the thematic analyses I undertook in the present research involved five stages. Although for clarity I set out each stage distinctly, in practice some stages were carried out simultaneously, and throughout, I often felt the need to return to the transcripts themselves. The analyses therefore recursively moved back and forth amongst the stages.

In the initial stage, following transcription, the transcripts were systematically read and reread over and over, until I was thoroughly familiar with the material. The second stage involved initial coding, which was guided primarily by the data itself, and by my research questions, and carried out by making brief handwritten notes in the margins of the transcripts. In the third stage, I reviewed codings and noted common features and connections amongst codes. I then categorized codes by

similarity or connection into groups of codings, or themes. In stage four, I reassessed the construction of the themes by re-reading the transcripts to ensure that the initial codings were not taken out of context, and to check the validity of the interpretation of similarities and connections. This was an iterative process, which continued until I was satisfied that the themes fairly and accurately represented the data; during this stage, themes were confirmed, modified or abandoned as required.

Finally, during the course of writing this thesis, I reviewed the content of the themes again as the overall picture of the combination of the themes became clear. Generally this involved a re-reading of each interview as a whole, so that the analysis of the data continued through the writing up process (Drury & Reicher, 2000).

3.1.8 Triangulation

So far, we have considered the methods used separately, but in practice the analysis of the results of these methods can, to the extent that they relate to the same or a similar crowd event, be triangulated - combined, or integrated so that each analysis tends to support or corroborate the others (Fielding, 2012).

For example, in my analysis of data from climate change protests, by treating each individual field interview, my field notes, and each focus group discussion (including the related photo elicitation session) as a separate dataset, the analysis of each can be triangulated with the analysis of each of the others and with external sources. This means that for example, the analysis of each field interview can to varying degrees be supported or corroborated by the analysis of the other field interviews from the same and similar events, my field-notes, and focus group discussions, as well as by contemporaneous press reports and online accounts (Drury & Stott, 2001). Where the accounts *converge* this may be taken as an indication that the same psychological process underlies those similar experiences. Where they *diverge*, or deviate, this raises the possibility that different psychological processes are at work, and requires careful examination and explanation.

3.2 Ethical approvals

All studies were approved by the University of St Andrews University Teaching and Ethics Committee. Copies of the ethical approvals are attached in Appendix 1.

In the following three Chapters, I first analyse the field interviews I conducted in climate change protests in Edinburgh, London and Paris (Chapter 4). In Chapter 5, I provide a detailed description of one of the protests, Scotland's Climate March 2015 in Edinburgh, providing the background for my analysis of focus group discussions relating to that Climate March in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4   Climate change protests: Edinburgh, London and Paris

4.1 Introduction

At the end of November and the beginning of December 2015 I took part in climate change protests in Edinburgh, London and Paris, immersing myself in the crowds, and observing, taking video footage and recording field notes on a digital hand-held audio-recorder. My primary objective was to gain an understanding of the experience of the crowd from the inside, but I also conducted a small number of field interviews. At a political protest, of course, protesters are not there to be interviewed, but to express beliefs and values that are important to them, to protest, so I was careful to approach protesters only when I felt it appropriate to do so, for example, during a lull in chanting, or in a gap between speakers. At the three climate change protests, I conducted twelve such interviews in total, and in this Chapter I present my analysis of them, addressing each of my research questions in turn.

First, I analyse the interviews for evidence of the achievement of shared identity at the climate change protests, looking for evidence of feelings of togetherness, unity and one-ness in the crowd. Secondly, I examine in detail what people say about how they come to perceive themselves as sharing identity with others in the crowd at these events. Thirdly, I identify the feelings and actions interviewees describe as following on from any sense of one-ness they may have felt in the crowd, or in other words the consequences of shared identity. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of the key findings of the analysis.

Before we start, I want to say something about the nature of the interviews. In many cases, I interviewed people in the thick of the crowd, while we were marching, or while we were jostling together, waiting for speeches or music. The field interviews were conducted 'on the hoof' and often in a noisy and distracting environment. There was always something happening, and I found myself rushing to get my questions out, before the next thing distracted my interviewee, or brought the interview to a sudden and premature end.

The very positive aspect of this is that because interviewees' thoughts and feelings were recorded while they were actually in the crowd, and sometimes in the thick of it, the interviews have a raw immediacy and a sense of authenticity about them. But given the hurriedness with which the interviews were conducted, and their briefness, I will treat my findings from this analysis as provisional, unless and to the extent that they are triangulated by the more organised, systematic and *in-depth* focus group discussions on Scotland's Climate March in Edinburgh which I conducted shortly after the climate change protests, and which I discuss in Chapter 6.

4.2 The climate change protests

In 2015, in cities across the world, hundreds of thousands of people[13] took part in climate change protest rallies ahead of COP 21, the United Nations Conference of Parties on climate change, held in Paris from 30th November to 12th December. The objective of the protests was to put pressure on world leaders to agree ambitious climate change targets, promoting renewable energy, and limiting man-made global warming[14]. Protests were planned in Edinburgh, London and Paris in November and December, and as big crowds were expected this was a good opportunity to carry out research. I joined Scotland's Climate March in Edinburgh on 28th November 2015, the People's Climate March in London on 29th November 2015 and a climate change protest in Paris on 12th December 2015.

The organisers of Scotland's Climate March estimated that at least 5,000 people took part[15]. The image in Figure 1 (taken from my own video footage) shows marchers as

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[13] Estimates of crowd numbers are notoriously unreliable, but according to some estimates at least 600,000 people took part in rallies in 175 countries across the world: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/live/2015/nov/29/global-peoples-climate-change-march-2015-day-of-action-live. Accessed 28/03/2017.
The People's Climate March in London on 21 September 2014 was said to have attracted 311,000: https://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/22/nyregion/new-york-city-climate-change-march.html?_r=1 accessed 28/03/2017.

[14] https://www.theguardian.com/environment/live/2015/nov/29/global-peoples-climate-change-march-2015-day-of-action-live;
http://www.stopclimatechaos.org/march accessed 24/02/2017.

[15] So far as I am aware, Police Scotland declined to provide an estimate of crowd numbers. Media reports suggested that "thousands of protesters took part, and sometimes the organisers' estimate of "more than 5,000" is quoted. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-34953495 accessed 5th December 2015;
http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14110785.Mass_rally_in_Edinburgh_as_protestors_demand_action_on_climate_change_ahead_of_UN_summit/ accessed 5th December 2015.

they left The Meadows, a large area of open parkland in Edinburgh, at the beginning of the March.

Figure 1: *Scotland's Climate March 2015*

In London, the organisers estimated that between 50,000 and 70,000 people took part in the People's Climate March[16]. The image in Figure 2 (taken from my own video footage) shows the March as it progressed along Park Lane.

Figure 2: *The People's Climate March 2015, London*

A government ban on public protests in Paris, following the terrorist attacks on 13th November 2015, was lifted on the morning of 12th December so that a limited climate protest could take place. Accurate estimates of numbers are not available,

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[16] https://www.theguardian.com/environment/live/2015/nov/29/global-peoples-climate-change-march-2015-day-of-action-live?page=with:block-565b1c4be4b0fbf505ff934f#block-565b1c4be4b0fbf505ff934f; http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-34957789; https://campaigncc.org/climatemarchlondon, each accessed 01/12/2015.

perhaps because of the impromptu nature of the protest, but from my own observation and contemporary press reports[17], a reasonable estimate is that at least 2,000 people took part. The image in Figure 3 (taken from my own video footage) shows protesters at the Eiffel Tower laying on the ground a 100-metre-long red banner to symbolise the 'red lines' protesters demanded negotiators should not cross, such as limiting global warming to an increase of no more than 2%[18].

Figure 3: *Climate Protest 2015, Eiffel Tower, Paris*

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Data gathering and procedure

Interviewees were approached opportunistically, at times when they were not engaged in listening to speeches, or chanting, or talking with their friends. Interviews tended to be brief, with a median duration of around 5 minutes (range 1.50 minutes to 23 minutes).

I introduced myself to potential interviewees as a researcher from the University of St Andrews, saying that I was interested in how people relate to each other in

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[17] https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/13/world/europe/climate-activists-gather-in-paris-to-protest-outcome-of-conference.html;accessed 30/12/2015: "Several thousand climate activists from across Europe and many from farther afield gathered peacefully near the Arc de Triomphe on Saturday to protest the outcome of the COP 21 climate conference about 12 miles away."
https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/earth/paris-climate-change-conference/12047392/Paris-climate-change-deal-Protesters-mark-red-lines-to-symbolise-lines-they-dont-want-negotiators-to-cross.html:
"Thousands of protesters gathered in central Paris on Saturday for what was dubbed a 'red line protest'…"
[18] https://environmental-action.org/blog/d12-red-lines-at-the-cop21-conference-closing/, accessed 10/05/2018.

crowds. After obtaining consent to audio recording, I would start by asking interviewees how they felt in the crowd. They would usually respond by talking spontaneously about how they related to others in the crowd, but if necessary, I would guide them towards that topic by saying that *other people* had told me that they had *sometimes* experienced a feeling that everyone in the crowd was 'in it together' and asking whether they recognised that feeling. My objectives in formulating my questions in this way were firstly to make it clear that the idea of togetherness was something other interviewees had expressed, to avoid giving the impression that I was the expert, telling interviewees what was going on in crowds, and secondly to avoid any implication that feelings of togetherness were *always* felt in political crowds, or that such feelings were normative. At the end of the interview, I handed interviewees my business card, which identified me as a PhD candidate at the University of St Andrews. On the front were my contact details and, on the back, a very brief description of the research and my supervisor's contact details.

4.3.2 Interview transcription and themes

The field interviews were transcribed using an orthographic transcription method (Howitt, 2010, p. 140), described in sub-Section 3.1.6 and the transcriptions can be found in the disk which accompanies this thesis. The transcribed interviews were analysed using the form of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) described in sub-Section 3.1.7, constructing themes inductively, and noting their connection to the research questions.

4.4 Analysis

Each Extract from the field interviews is coded using an Extract number, a fictitious name, the city in which the interview took place in parentheses and the line numbers from the relevant interview transcript. In each Extract, the interviewee's emphasis (if any) is shown by underlining or an exclamation mark. Any words in square brackets were unclear in the recording and represent my best estimate of what was said, and words in these brackets {} are my explanatory comments. Square brackets without words, like this [], indicate that words have been omitted. A line of dots like this … indicates a pause of 3 seconds or more. Short phrases from the interviews which are

not long enough to count as Extracts, are quoted in the body of the text, designated by double inverted commas, " ".

Sub-Sections 4.4.1, 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 address my research questions in order, and I start with my first question: Is there shared identity in the crowd?

4.4.1 Shared identity?

One-ness

In Paris, Joan and Michael, each aged around 22, were standing together, watching the crowd. I asked how they felt towards the people who were there. Joan responded:

> Extract 4.1 Joan (Paris) 24-28 Togetherness and unity. []
> Wait, I think actually if you come together, with a common
> cause, you become like a collective and one… yeah! one
> humanity almost [].

At the end of Scotland's Climate March, as people were leaving, I asked Sheila, aged around 25, whether she recognised the feeling of being in something together with the whole crowd:

> Extract 4.2 Sheila (Edinburgh) 13-16 [] you just sort of feel
> like everyone's like there for, there for one purpose []
> everyone's on the same page. []

Like Joan, Sheila perceived everyone there as thinking and feeling the same way about climate change - a common cause. At the People's Climate March in London, I asked Alison, a woman of around 20 who was marching with her friend, a similar question:

> Extract 4.3 Alison (London) 39-40 [] when we come together
> and when we're in a mind-set like we are now, yeah, you
> know, we can… but there is that connection and we all kind
> of we <u>do</u> want the same thing [].

Alison perceived everyone in the crowd as connected and as wanting the same thing. Her repeated use of the word "we" to describe the crowd shows that she thought of herself and the crowd as we and us, and not me and them.

Notice that in Extracts 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, interviewees explicitly talked about a "common cause" or "one purpose" or everyone wanting the "same thing". The *basis* of their sense of one-ness was their perception that they shared climate change beliefs, values and goals.

It is interesting to reflect that they could not *know* about everyone's beliefs, values and goals, but in the context of a climate change protest march it probably seemed obvious to them that others were there to support the climate change cause. They *presumed* that others shared their beliefs, values and goals, and in doing so they demonstrated that at the very least, they had considered what others might have been thinking or feeling, the first indication of meta-representational perception, which as we saw in Section 1.1 is the kind of perception that is thought to be involved in the achievement of shared identity.

Belonging

Two interviewees, one at Scotland's Climate March in Edinburgh, and the other at the People's Climate March in London described a sense of *belonging* in the crowd. Logically, the feeling of belonging, or in other words the feeling of being part of a whole, is closely related to the feeling of one-ness.

Alison (London) contrasted her general feeling of isolation, her perception that she was "the only one" (6) who cared about climate change, with her feeling of belonging in the climate change crowd:

> Extract 4.4 Alison (London) 13-16 [] 9 times out of 10 your average person just thinks, oh, you know, climate change is not real [] so yeah, I think definitely it does give you that sense of like a belonging, and good so there's other people who think the same [].

Her assertion that other people (the crowd) thought the same was again based on a presumption, and it indicates that she had considered what others thought. It also indicates that she saw people in the crowd as coming together for one (climate change) purpose, demonstrating a close connection between the concepts of belonging and shared identity.

Later, she described how belonging felt:

> Extract 4.5 Alison (London) 102-103 I mean that feeling
> inside, that's, that's emotional, and that's human that's like
> the bare human kind of experience.
> Interviewer 104 Is that the feeling of belonging that we talked
> about earlier?
> Alison 105 Yes.

The feeling was an emotional one, which Alison described as a "bare" human experience; it was a fundamental feeling about how people related to each other.

I was interested in whether the feeling of belonging was related to a sense of power in the crowd, and asked her to comment. Her response indicates firstly how closely related to shared identity the feeling of belonging is, and secondly that she saw belonging as involving *reciprocity*:

> Extract 4.6 Alison (London) 108-109 I think it's more the
> feeling of one-ness and knowing that we're all looking out
> for each other.

Looking out for each other is more properly a *consequence* of shared identity (sub-Section 4.4.3), but this is an important part of context; it helps to explain what belonging is, and shows that the concepts of belonging and one-ness are closely related.

Jane, a Scottish grandmother (of ten) aged in her 70s, was marching in Edinburgh with her daughter-in-law, Sally, aged around 30. I asked Jane how she felt about the people in the crowd:

> Extract 4.7 Jane (Edinburgh) 57-58 [] this is a coming
> together, as an endorsing of each other, it's making us feel we
> belong, in a group of people who have a concern for
> something which has an urgency about it.

Notice that she did not just think of herself as belonging, she saw the whole crowd - "us" and "we" - as belonging. Like Alison, Jane linked her feeling of belonging to her understanding of herself and the crowd as people who all shared the same climate change beliefs, with the same "urgency". In coming together, she said, people in the

crowd endorse each other. Endorsement represents public approval or support[19], so it may be construed as *validation*, an important consequence of shared identity which I explore in sub-Section 4.4.3. For now, I want to highlight the element of reciprocity in belonging that this comment reveals; Jane did not feel that she was endorsed by the crowd, she felt that people in the crowd endorsed *each other*. Again, this suggests the type of meta-representational perception which is implicated in the perception of shared identity.

Pursuing this point, I asked whether she thought that to feel a sense of belonging, it is necessary that you feel that others think you belong, too:

> Extract 4.8 Jane (Edinburgh) 67-81 But then you have to contribute to that belonging, you can't just feel that it's your right to belong, if you don't embrace other people as well. [] in this kind of belonging you're sharing a belief and an understanding of where we should be going so it's a different kind of belonging in all situations but nonetheless you feel a part of the whole. [] And whether it's whether it's home or community or world, I think you need to feel you've got a responsibility to it and to each other.

So for Jane, belonging is feeling part of a whole, in a network of reciprocal rights and obligations. Belonging involves a close connection - an "embrace" - with other people who share beliefs, values and goals, and it involves responsibilities as well as rights. In short, belonging is a two-way street, and so to feel you belong, you need to feel that others see you as belonging, too. Just like shared identity, belonging involves meta-representational perceptions.

There is one more theme I want to discuss in the context of one-ness and belonging. We saw in Extract 4.5 that Alison described belonging as an emotional feeling, and a "bare" human experience. When I asked her "what do you actually feel about the other people?" (116), she answered with one word: "Love" (117).

Love

In my surprise, I responded with a less than articulate "Yeah?" (118) but luckily, she went on:

> Extract 4.9 Alison (London) 119-120 Yeah, you feel like love
> and happiness and you feel like you know those people,
> although you don't know those people [].

Her feelings of love are all the more intriguing for her honest acknowledgement that it was a feeling for people she did not know, a feeling for strangers; she felt love for them and she felt she knew them, while understanding perfectly well that she did not.

In inter-personal psychology, love is often conceptualised as an expansion of the self to include the loved one, the ultimate expression of we-ness and one-ness (for example, Aron, & Aron, 1996)[20]. As we have seen, similarly, the social identity approach conceptualises depersonalization as breaking down the barriers between the self and others, an expansion of the self to include collective others (sub-Section 2.2.2). Expressions of love for the crowd may therefore be treated as perceptions of identity with collective others, or in other words, as instantiations of shared identity.

I asked Sally, who was marching with Jane, what emotions she felt towards the crowd:

> Extract 4.10 Sally (Edinburgh) 106-108 For me it would be a
> very positive energy, positive attitude, and something grateful
> to have, that sometimes you don't find it and, yes, if it's
> about feelings, it's a good feeling, a positive feeling, and I
> think that is the only way you can change things…

She was interrupted by Jane, who wanted to talk about common purpose, but when Sally continued, she talked about care, and love.

> Extract 4.11 Sally (Edinburgh) 110-111 Yes, and different
> objective but the same purpose, which is caring, looking after

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[20] In the need to belong literature it is treated as the ultimate expression of belongingness (Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

each other, love, about things about resources, about other
people.

Later, when I asked for examples of occasions when Jane or Sally felt an intense feeling of all being in something together, Sally responded, referring to music festivals, and specifically to a time when she was at Benicassim Festival, a big international music festival in Spain. I asked her to describe her feelings for others at the festival:

> Extract 4.12 Sally (Edinburgh) 224 It's kind of, a kind of
> love, I think…
> Interviewer 225 A kind of what, sorry?
> Sally 226-228 Love. It's kind of enjoyable, and you don't
> have any bad feelings or thoughts about others so you just,
> yes, you feel that you are connected, that there is a kind of
> love, similar to that, euphoria. So, you look around, your self,
> you just are integrated in the same…
> Jane 229 It's called belonging! {laughs}

Sally had already talked about feelings of love in the context of the Climate March. Now she described a similar feeling - a kind of love - which she experienced at a music festival; indeed she insisted on it, despite my evident incomprehension. The feeling was of being connected, or integrated in the crowd, or as she might have been about to say, integrated in the same experience. Interestingly, Jane suggested that the feeling of love, of being connected and integrated was also the feeling of belonging.

To be clear, Sally was not saying that what she felt at the music festival was the same feeling she felt in the crowd at Scotland's Climate March. It was similar, but not of the same intensity:

> Extract 4.13 Sally (Edinburgh) 237-238 In a crowd like this?
> It's not at that level, because, well, it's not at that peak level,
> but it is quite, it's more thoughtful, rather than…

In London, when I asked Jonathan, aged around 25, how he felt about the other people in the crowd, again, to my evident surprise, he referred to loving feelings and linked this to feelings of being *related* to the whole crowd:

> Extract 4.14 Jonathan (London) 9 I felt quite loving towards
> them.
> Interviewer 10 Sorry?
> Jonathan 11 I felt quite loving, and happy, and like we're all
> related. Yeah.

Alan, aged around 45, was standing on his own at the junction of Park Lane and Piccadilly in London, holding a placard and watching the crowd walking by. He also talked about loving feelings, self-consciously acknowledging that this might seem "hippyish":

> Extract 4.15 Alan (London) 39-44 So people come together,
> they feel, there's a certain amount of resentment [inaudible]
> but there is also at risk of sounding a bit hippyish, there's a
> love thing going on here, people [] care about this planet they
> care about each other, they care about what's going to happen
> to their children, their friends' and relatives' children and the
> people that come after us, they care.

But although Alan used the word love, he may have been making a subtly different point; the "love thing" that was going on may have represented a climate change crowd norm of caring for others and for the planet. This is interesting, because if this interpretation is correct, it suggests that climate change identity in itself - the content of the identity - may include a caring dimension, so that if people categorize themselves as climate change activists or environmentalists, this may carry with it, as part of their self-definition in that identity, the idea that they are caring people.

On any view, these interviewees' feelings of care and love for the crowd represent powerful emotional feelings for others, including strangers, in the crowd. As expressions of one-ness and belonging, they may be seen as the ultimate expression of shared identity.

In the next sub-Section, I address my second research question, which asks about the perceptions that lead people to feel that they share identity in the crowd: How do people know they share identity?

4.4.2 How do you know?

Of all the questions I asked interviewees in climate change crowds, the one they found most difficult to answer was 'how do you know that you are connected in the crowd (or in it together)?' Joan and Michael (Paris) put it down to "a vibe", or "a feeling in the air". Alison (London) insisted "you just know... your gut feeling". But others were able to identify some of the factors that may contribute to the achievement of shared identity more concretely.

Being there together

I asked Jonathan how he knew that he was connected with the crowd:

> Extract 4.16 Jonathan (London) 23-29 I think it's something very subtle… because we're all here because we care about the Earth and so that is the main thing, so there's that knowledge.

The physical presence of others indicated to Jonathan that everyone there shared the same beliefs and values; everyone was there *because* they cared about the planet. In Paris, Tom, aged around 28, said something similar:

> Extract 4.17 Tom (Paris) 22-25 The only reason they'd be here is because of the particular cause. [] And there were different, there are different viewpoints within that crowd, but ultimately I think there's, they want the same thing.

Physical presence in a climate change protest may be taken to signify that people share a common purpose. But there were other people there too, people who were not climate change protesters and who may not have believed in the cause, such as the police, and perhaps, spectators, and there was no evidence of a sense of connection with them. What was essential was that people were there *as* something, as climate change protesters or activists. But just as we discussed in sub-Section 4.4.1, interviewees could not *know* this; Tom and Jonathan *presumed* that everyone who was there, taking part in the protest, shared climate change beliefs and values.

This presumption (which as we have seen involves the kind of meta-representational perception thought to be involved in the achievement of shared identity) may be

supported or strengthened by the display of climate change symbols, such as banners and placards, badges and clothing. Just as the police are marked out as *not* being climate change protesters by their uniforms and associated paraphernalia, the display of climate change symbols may contribute to the presumption of shared climate change beliefs and values.

Symbols of togetherness

Banners and placards may be seen as symbols of togetherness - representations of the cause that everyone was there to support. Surprisingly, interviewees had little to say about this, even though banners and placards proliferated in each of the climate change protests, and despite the prominence of symbolic red line banners that were carried through Paris and laid down at the Eiffel Tower (see Figures 1-3). However, two interviewees talked about banners.

I asked Sheila (Edinburgh) what was "triggering" (23) her feeling of being bonded with others:

> Extract 4.18 Sheila (Edinburgh) 24-25 Just, just when
> everyone was standing round, so just, I think it was just all
> the banners and things like that, yeah.

Referring to his earlier response, I asked Tom (Paris) how he knew "there's that connection" with the crowd (40):

> Extract 4.19 Tom (Paris) 41-43 [] you can tell with the
> commonality of the chants, the commonality of the slogans
> that are used, banners, climate change, system change not
> climate change, anti-systemic slogans, so you [inaudible],
> ultimately there's an essential commonality, you can see that.

Symbols of protest, such as banners and placards may support or reinforce the presumption of shared beliefs and values, or in themselves may encourage feelings of one-ness and belonging, leading to perceptions of shared identity.

Chanting recognised chants such as 'system change not climate change' is something protesters *do* together, and doing things like marching and chanting together may *bring* people together.

Doing things together

As we saw in sub-Section 1.3.2, it is well-established that taking part in synchronised behaviours such as marching and chanting together tends to generate feelings of togetherness and unity or solidarity and camaraderie.

In Section 1.1 we heard from a group of four men at Scotland's Climate March who were affiliated with the Green Party. Asked whether they felt a sense that everyone was in it together, one of the group, Peter, contrasted his feelings at the Rally at the end of Scotland's Climate March with his feelings while he was marching in the crowd:

> Extract 4.20 Peter (Edinburgh) 14-17 Yeah, I felt that a little bit more when, when we were marching than when we were stood at a rally, because I thought, I think sometimes if people are doing something like marching and actually doing something rather than being passive, I think you feel a little bit more of a collective experience.

Peter realised that marching together intensified his feeling of togetherness; he felt a stronger sense of togetherness while *marching* together in the crowd rather than while *standing* together at the Rally, listening to speeches. There are two points to note. The first is that marching together may cause people to feel together. The second is that when Peter was marching with the crowd the feeling of collective togetherness was stronger than at other times, which means that for Peter, shared identity is not either 'on' or 'off', during a crowd event, but variable - sometimes it is stronger and sometimes weaker.

In Paris, I asked Joan and Michael how they knew everyone was in it together:

> Extract 4.21 Michael (Paris) 40-41 Listen to him over there {referring to a group of people shouting protest chants}, my, my scalp is tingling now. I can just hear them like, and they're so together and… I don't know…
> Joan (Paris) 42-46 But it's amazing like, over there they were doing a microphone, but one girl was speaking and then like twenty people were shouting what she said [] But, yeah, I guess we're all interconnected in terms of energy [].

Joan described the feeling in terms of "energy". So did Stuart, one of the group of four 'Greens' at Scotland's Climate March:

> Extract 4.22 Stuart (Edinburgh) 27-33 I think, like, compared to a lot of the marches, because there was so little chanting and stuff on it, you tend to find marches that have the most energy and stuff are the ones where there's a lot of chanting and things. [] but you tend to find ones, if everyone's chanting the same thing, there's a much more collective sense of energy there.

Chanting generates a feeling of energy in the crowd, perhaps a feeling of Durkheimian effervescence?

Graham, another member of the group of 'Greens', said:

> Extract 4.23 Graham (Edinburgh) 35-36 You need that to, to almost come together with, a song, some music, a chant, a, a cheer, allows you to express that sense that you're talking about, of like collective identity.

Chanting and singing along together are expressions of the feeling of a collective or shared identity. And where there is singing and music in crowds, there is often also dancing:

> Extract 4.24 Peter (Edinburgh) 41-43 [] there was a very strong sense of collective identity when you had, like, I was just coming in {to the Ross Bandstand area in Princes Street Gardens} and there was, there was music going on, people were dancing, it was very, very, a lot of energy.

Similarly, when I asked Jonathan (London) if he could identify what was happening when he felt the feeling of togetherness most intensely, he talked about dancing together in the crowd:

> Extract 4.25 Jonathan (London) 18 I suppose around, you know areas where there was drumming, and people were dancing.

If dancing together tends to intensify feelings of togetherness, then it may play a part in the achievement of shared identity. Conceptually, given the circularity of

psychological processes in crowds we discussed in sub-Section 1.3.3, dancing together may also be a *consequence* of shared identity - people may dance together *because* they share identity.

4.4.3 Consequences of shared identity

We saw in Section 1.1 that Reicher (2018) suggests that the consequences of the achievement of shared identity can be categorized in three dimensions. The first dimension is a consequence of self-categorization in a social identity, involving a cognitive transformation in which the individual's beliefs and values become collective beliefs and values, and in which the individual tends to look to the collective to validate their worldview. A shared worldview in turn promotes confidence and self-assurance. Secondly, there may be a transformation in the way people relate to each other; people tend to trust and respect those with whom they see themselves as sharing identity, and help and cooperate with them more. Thirdly, the individual's emotions may become transformed, in the sense that emotions are experienced in relation to or on behalf of the group rather than the individual; and in the sense that the individual may feel empowered by her collective enactment of the shared social identity. Reicher (2018) proposes that the second and third dimensions are consequences of shared identity.

I have referred to the three transformations as dimensions, because although for clarity it is useful, analytically, to treat them as separate constructs, in practice, they may coincide. Take, for example, the following Extract from my interview with Alison in London:

> Extract 4.26 Alison (London) 2-6 [] there's loads of
> likeminded people, you know, obviously here we've all got
> the same attitude, and, and you know, we want the same kind
> of, like, resolutions, so yeah it's good, it's definitely a boost.

Reflecting all three transformations in one sentence, she felt that at the People's Climate March she was with people who thought the same ("like-minded people"), felt the same ("the same attitude") and wanted the same (the same "resolutions"). The people she referred to were "we" not they, and the feeling was positive, giving Alison a boost, perhaps a boost to her confidence or self-assurance.

Nevertheless, it is possible to provide examples of each of the three transformations from the field interviews. Importantly, I do not claim that these are objective consequences of social and shared identity (see Section 1.4), but in my interpretation they are evidence of interviewees' *perceptions* of these factors as such consequences. First, I look at the evidence of a cognitive transformation.

Cognitive transformation

We saw in Extract 4.7 that Jane (Edinburgh) felt a sense of belonging in the crowd, which she described as a coming together and an "endorsing of each other", a feeling of mutual support. When I prompted her (by saying that belonging is interesting), she went on:

> Extract 4.27 Jane (Edinburgh) 60-62 Belonging, to me, is
> everything. Belonging to me whether it's in a family, or if it's
> in a community, belonging gives us roots and gives us a
> ballast on which you can go forth in your life and that's my
> agenda.

The words "roots" and "ballast" suggest that Jane felt that it was through a sense of belonging that people felt at home, a sense of being (dwelling) in their place in the world. It is not unreasonable in the context to conclude that for Jane, a sense of belonging was a sense of being in a place where others shared and *endorsed* her beliefs and values, which in turn allowed her to "go forth", or in other words, to live a life which is rooted in those beliefs and values.

Graham, one of our group of four 'Greens' at Scotland's Climate March described how he felt that the presence of other supporters of the Scottish Green Party was "reassuring" (10); and he felt it was "good to know" (10) that others outside the Party shared Green beliefs and values. When I asked what the feeling of togetherness was, as we saw in Section 1.1, he went on to talk about recognition:

> Extract 4.28 Graham (Edinburgh) 58-60 [] recognition,
> there's a sense of recognising in others things that you hold
> dear to yourself, recognising in yourself that the things you
> feel are important are expressed by other people, so a word I
> would use would be recognition.

Recognition involves a perception of shared beliefs and values that are important to the individual and to others in the crowd - these are no longer *my* beliefs and values, but *our* beliefs and values - and to this extent they are validated beliefs and values.

We have already seen that Alison (London) felt that, outside of the climate change crowd, "9 times out of 10" people do not believe in climate change issues (Extract 4.4). But in the crowd, things were different:

> Extract 4.29 Alison (London) 3-6 [] we've all got the same attitude, and, and you know, we want the same kind of, like, resolutions, [] I think sometimes when you're, for me if I'm kind of looking and researching online and stuff you feel like oh God you're the only one, but it's nice to have it, you know, with that crowd atmosphere.

In the crowd, she did not feel alone; the crowd supported her, confirming and validating her climate change beliefs. Later, Alison went on to talk about a transformation in her relations with the crowd.

Relational transformation

The second of the transformations Reicher (2018) describes is a transformation in how people relate to each other in the crowd, in a shift towards intimacy. Spontaneously and in her own words, Alison (London) described such a transformation:

> Extract 4.30 Alison (London) 112-114 [] when you actually come together, you realise they're exactly like you, they only want the best for you as you want the best for them. And yeah, that's what I mean, that's true humanity, that is.

When she felt the crowd come together, she *realised* that everyone was the same and her relationship with the crowd *changed*, so that she wanted the best for them, and felt that they wanted the best for her.

In Paris, I asked Joan and Michael how they felt towards the other people in the crowd:

> Extract 4.31 Joan (Paris) 24 Togetherness and unity.

Michael 25-26 You're just surrounded by people who are like
in the same mind-set, and we're showing solidarity with
them.

They perceived the crowd as united, sharing the same beliefs and values (the same mind-set, a common cause). Michael said they were showing *solidarity,* (as we saw in Section 1.1, a term also used by Alec and Stuart from the group of four 'Greens' at Scotland's Climate March), which suggests mutual support and unity of feeling and action, a shift in relations amongst people in the crowd.

Others tended to talk about their relations with the crowd in terms of camaraderie or comradeship (mutual trust and friendship). For example, in Paris, Sandra, aged around 60, a teacher from USA, described feeling "completely safe" (4) in the crowd. She went on to explain that she felt able to engage with strangers in the crowd, and it is not unreasonable to think that the two may be related:

Extract 4.32 Sandra (Paris) 66-70 [] all day today I have
walked up to people and I don't know, I, I assume they don't
know how to speak English but I go up to them and I ask
them a question or I, and they're so open and friendly,
yeah… [] so a sense of camaraderie. Yeah. I mean, even
though it's such a large crowd.

Relations were transformed to the extent that she felt able to approach and engage with strangers in the crowd. Notice that she felt a sense of camaraderie *despite* it being such a large crowd; she seemed surprised to find herself feeling this sense of connection with people in such a big crowd.

Alan (London) compared how people relate to each other on the London Tube[21], with how they related to each other at the People's Climate March:

Extract 4.33 Alan (London) 44-48 So there is there's a
commonality, so you can suspend those, the normal, the
norms, it's funny because you can jump on the Tube on the
way here, some of the norms are in place, such as don't make
eye contact, don't start conversations spontaneously, until
you get here, [inaudible: that's all gone?] you can jostle in

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[21] The London Tube: London's underground railway system.

amongst people, have conversations with complete strangers. That's, that's it, it's a completely different protocol.

The "protocol" on the London Tube tends to involve *not* making eye contact with or speaking to strangers, but at the People's Climate March, these norms did not apply. It was easy, normal, and perhaps even normative to make eye contact and strike up conversations with strangers.

In Paris, I asked Tom how he felt about others in the crowd:

> Extract 4.34 Tom (Paris) 4-7 I feel a lot of warmth for them, and solidarity [inaudible]. [] I feel happy that they're here, supporting the same cause that I'm supporting, so I feel solidarity, that there are people who are willing to resist…

Tom felt solidarity with the crowd, a feeling of mutual support and unity. He also makes explicit a sense of warmth towards others which is implicit in Sandra's (Paris) and Alan's (London) comments in Extracts 4.32 and 4.33. These feelings of emotional warmth are evidence of an emotional transformation in relations with the crowd.

Emotional transformation

The third of the transformations Reicher (2018) proposes, the emotional transformation, comes in two forms. Firstly, emotions may come to be experienced at a group, or crowd level, rather than at an individual level, so that as we have seen, there may be evidence of emotional warmth amongst people in the crowd, a very positive feeling that seems to be directed towards and also received from, the crowd. Secondly, there may be evidence of feelings of excitement, exhilaration and empowerment; the power of the crowd experienced by the individual.

I asked Jane (Edinburgh) how she knew she belonged:

> Extract 4.35 Jane (Edinburgh) 89-90 I only know how <u>I</u> feel when I feel that I belong and that is I feel the warmth of the company round about me, in my family, and in the community, because people endorse me in a way which is lovely.

Her feeling of emotional warmth may be an instance of the first form of the emotional transformation.

When I asked Sandra (Paris) what she felt towards others in the crowd, she described a different feeling, a feeling of excitement linked to a feeling of not being alone in her climate change beliefs and values:

> Extract 4.36 Sandra (Paris) 43-44 I don't know how to
> describe it, just an excitement, a sense of, I'm not as alone,
> people all over the world care about this [].

The feeling of not being alone in her climate change beliefs was a positive, *exciting* experience, which may be an instance of the second form of emotional transformation. Of course, this is also evidence of validation, which as we have seen may be part of the cognitive transformation; others believed what she believed, and so (by implication) her beliefs were validated by others.

When I asked Joan and Michael (Paris) about their feelings towards others in the crowd, Joan talked about the crowd coming together around a common cause. She went on to talk about how it felt to start acting as a group:

> Extract 4.37 Joan (Paris) 28-30 [] you act, you start to act as a
> group, especially well that's, it can go either way, sadly, but
> like when it goes to positive it's great and everyone, today it
> was fantastic [].

I asked Alan (London) whether he recognised the feeling of everyone being in something together:

> Extract 4.38 Alan (London) 8-12 Absolutely, yes, absolutely.
> I think we're a very gregarious species and to be in a bunch,
> to be in a group is vital for us []. But the bigger the group the
> more empowered people are, so a group, a clan [], or better
> still, a crowd, a big big crowd, so the more, the, the, the
> greater the number of people, the more they have in common,
> the more empowered they feel.

For Alan, the bigger the crowd, *and* the more they share beliefs and values, the more empowered they feel.

We saw in Section 1.1 that one of the group of four 'Greens' at Scotland's Climate March, Alec, summed up his feelings in the crowd in one word:

> Extract 4.39 Alec (Edinburgh) 53-54 Empowerment sounds like a slightly heavy word for it but it does feel like that, you feel like there's a collective ability to achieve things, even if it's just a fleeting feeling. [].

Empowerment was the feeling of being able to collectively achieve the goals of the protest, or in other words the feeling of being able to collectively enact a shared identity as a climate change protester. Alec described the feeling as "fleeting" indicating that the feeling of shared identity comes and goes, ebbs and flows. Another of the group, Peter, had spoken about the importance of marching together (Extract 4.20). He went on:

> Extract 4.40 Peter (Edinburgh) 19-20 Yeah, certainly in terms of my feelings, it was the hour that we were marching down here that made me feel a little bit more powerful than standing watching people talking.

Notice that he says *we* were marching. This can reasonably be interpreted as a reference either to his group or to the crowd, but as he has previously referred to marching together as a "collective experience" in Extract 4.20, it is better interpreted as a reference to the crowd. His comments are therefore not about personal or individual power, but the power of the crowd. There is evidence here, too, of variability in shared identity. Peter felt "a bit more powerful" while marching (and therefore presumably less powerful when he was not).

We heard earlier from Sandra (Paris) about her feelings of excitement in the crowd. The following Extract comes from the very beginning of her interview, when I asked her how she felt about the people in the crowd:

> Extract 4.41 Sandra (Paris) 8-10 And just now I was feeling just tremendous …excitement, listening to the power of the people and thinking maybe this, I know that's not what you want but just…it's growing! A sense of: this is making a difference.

Sandra's description of her rising excitement as she experienced the power of the people is all the more engaging because her claim that "I know this is not what you want" shows that she assumed I was there to research the *negative* aspects of crowd behaviour. Her excitement and her growing feeling of the power of the crowd was expressed in her sense that the protest was *making a difference,* and it was doing so through the power of the people.

4.5 Discussion

4.5.1 Shared identity

My analysis of the field interviews provides evidence of the achievement of shared identity in the crowd at climate change protests at Edinburgh, London and Paris, thus (provisionally) answering my first research question. It does so in terms of three interconnected aspects.

Firstly, in what I have called the language of shared identity (Section 1.1), there were expressions of one-ness, we-ness and a sense of (inter) connection with "everyone" in the crowd.

Secondly, some interviewees talked about a sense of belonging in the crowd, a sense of being part of a whole, and a sense of being part of a community. In the social identity approach, a sense of belongingness is treated as part of the subjective experience of psychological group formation:

> We are concerned here with group membership as a
> psychological and not a formal-institutional state, with the
> subjective sense of togetherness, we-ness, or *belongingness*
> which indicates the formation of a psychological group
> (Turner, 1982, p. 16, my emphasis).

Belongingness is treated as interchangeable with togetherness and we-ness, so that the feeling of belongingness *is* the feeling of togetherness and we-ness people subjectively experience when they feel that they have become part of a cohesive psychological group. But we have also seen (Extracts 4.6 and 4.8) that there is a *reciprocal* aspect to belongingness; to feel you belong, it is critical that you perceive that others see you as belonging too, a meta-representational, rather than a

representational sense of being part of an interconnected whole[22]. Philosopher and political theorist Montserrat Guibernau (2013) describes belonging in this reciprocal sense, and importantly, links belonging to identity.

> Belonging implies some type of *reciprocal commitment* between the individual and the group [] Belonging involves a certain *familiarity*; it evokes the idea of being and feeling 'at home' - that is, within an environment in which the individual is recognised as 'one of us', he or she 'matters' and has an identity. (p. 32, original emphasis).

Belonging means being at home in a social environment, such as a community or family, in which there is reciprocal commitment, each to the other, and in which people feel "recognised" as belonging (see Graham's comments in Extract 4.28). In other words, belonging is relational, and it involves a sense of mutuality which requires that others recognise the individual as belonging, too. In turn, this requires an awareness of the thoughts and feelings of others, or in other words it involves meta-representational perception, the sense that 'I think you think I belong', 'I think you think I think I belong', and so on. As we saw in Section 1.1, Reicher (2011) suggests that exactly these kinds of meta-representational thoughts and feelings are involved in the perception, or, better, the *realisation* of shared identity. Thus, the feeling of belonging may just *be* the subjective experience of shared identity[23].

But it is the third aspect of shared identity that is the most striking - interviewees' expressions of *love* for the crowd, explicitly including strangers in the crowd. I have described love as involving a breaking down of barriers between people, and as perhaps the ultimate expression of the self expanding to include the other, and there is some support for this approach in the inter-personal psychology literature. For example, Aron, Paris, and Aron (1995) found that falling in love increased the

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[22] It is precisely this reciprocal, meta-representational sense of shared identity that is not addressed by the social identity approach, and indeed is conflated with social identity, as we saw in sub-Section 2.2.2.

[23] Although it is not the focus of this thesis, it is interesting to note that the sense of belonging interviewees described may be a fundamental part of human experience in an ontological sense (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1943, 1954, 1968). Indeed this is precisely how Alison (London) describes it in Extract 4.5 and it is implicit at least in what Jane (Edinburgh) says in Extract 4.27. Despite this, belonging remains virtually unresearched in *social* psychology (including in the social identity approach).

diversity of participants' self-concepts; Aron, Aron, Tudor, and Nelson (1991) show that in close relationships, cognitive representations of the self and other are closely interconnected, such that the other is perceived as included in the self; and for a detailed review of what has come to be known as the self-expansion model of love, see Aron, Aron, and Smollan (1992) and Aron and Aron (1996). And as we saw in sub-Section 2.2.2, this conceptualisation of love is also congruent with self-categorization theory's concept of depersonalization, which similarly conceptualises the self as expanding to include other ingroup members (Turner & Onorato, 1999).

Empirically, I believe love for the crowd to be a novel finding in crowd psychology. Of course, Sigmund Freud (1921/2001) hypothesized that in groups that have a leader, and are not overly 'organized', or formally structured, libidinal bonds, or bonds of love hold the group together through group members' common love for the leader, who is put in place of each group member's ego-ideal (p. 116). But Freud offered no *empirical* evidence to support his theory, whereas that is precisely what has emerged from my analysis of the field interviews.

I have interpreted love as part of the one-ness of shared identity, and this finding also adds to our understanding of the passion of the crowd, which I explored in sub-Section 1.3.1. But of course, as we saw in sub-Section 1.3.3, crowd processes tend to be circular, so that emotions and feelings, and specifically feelings of love may logically be part of the emotional or affective transformations which I have treated as *consequences* of shared identity; and loving feelings may also be part of what leads people to perceive themselves as sharing identity, that is, part of the *antecedents* of shared identity.

4.5.2 How do you know?

My analysis has identified some, at least, of the perceptions or feelings that may lead to the perception of shared identity, providing some of the answers to my second research question: How do people know they share identity in the crowd?

Most interestingly, we have seen evidence of a *presumption* of shared beliefs and values at the climate change protests, based on the simple physical presence of others. The presumption is important firstly because it suggests that at the beginning

of a protest (or perhaps earlier) protesters may be 'primed' for shared identity, making its achievement more likely; and secondly because it involves a meta-representational appraisal of others in the crowd - it is a presumption about the beliefs and values of others. So the presumption of shared beliefs and values helps to explain how people may arrive at perceptions of shared identity.

We have also seen evidence of the impact of banners and placards, which I have characterised as symbols of togetherness. Interestingly, although little research has addressed the impact of such symbols, in a series of studies Callahan and Ledgerwood (2016) show that the display of flags and other group symbols tend to increase group cohesion, leading to perceptions of groups as "more entitative and real" (p. 545).

Furthermore, much as Reicher (2011) surmised, we have seen evidence of the effect of traditional shared protest practices such as marching and chanting together, as well as the influence of music and dance (see also Neville & Reicher, 2011). By their nature, these practices are *synchronised behaviours* and as we have seen in sub-Section 1.3.2, the cohesive, bonding effects of synchronised behaviours are well-established (for example, Jackson et al., 2018; McNeill, 1995).

4.5.3 Consequences

We have found evidence of cognitive, relational and emotional transformations which map onto those proposed by Reicher (2018), and although I do not claim that these are objective consequences of social and shared identity (see Section 1.4), in my interpretation they are evidence of interviewees' *perceptions* of these factors as such consequences.

Interviewees explained their sense that everyone in the crowd shared the same beliefs and values, and their feelings of validation in the crowd, evidence of interviewees' perceptions of a cognitive transformation which may be a consequence of self-categorization in a social identity. This neatly maps onto the concept of consensual validation in the social identity approach, in terms of which ingroup members look to other ingroup members to validate their beliefs (sub-Section 2.2.2). Interestingly, some interviewees expressed the feeling that they were "not alone" in the crowd;

they felt together with likeminded others, and this consensus was both a reassuring and a pleasurable experience.

A relational transformation, proposed as a consequence of shared identity, was described spontaneously by Alison (London) in her own words (Extract 4.30) - "you realise they're exactly like you". She then went on to describe how that affected her relations with others in the crowd in her perception that *reciprocally* "they only want the best for you as you want the best for them". In addition, other interviewees described feelings of solidarity and camaraderie in the crowd, more evidence of a transformation of relations among people in the crowd.

An emotional transformation, also proposed as a consequence of shared identity, was evidenced by feelings of emotional warmth, excitement, and feelings of power and empowerment in the crowd. I have proposed that these feelings of empowerment are a result of collective self-realisation (CSR: Reicher & Haslam, 2006). What is particularly interesting about this example of CSR is that in contrast with earlier examples from the ESIM literature (Drury & Reicher, 2000; Drury & Reicher, 2005; 2009; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998), and in line with the findings of Hopkins et al. (2015) at the Magh Mela (Section 2.3), there is no evidence that CSR was achieved in response to the actions of an *outgroup*. Instead, interviewees may have felt empowered simply through their collective enactment of a shared social identity.

But we have also seen that the feeling of empowerment was *variable,* suggesting that the perception of shared identity itself may be variable.

4.5.4 Variability and circularity

An unlooked-for emergent finding from my analysis of the field interviews was the *variability* of the intensity of feelings of shared identity. For example, one of our group of four 'Greens' at Scotland's Climate March, Alec, described his feeling of empowerment (which I have treated as a consequence of shared identity) as "fleeting" (Extract 4.39), suggesting that sometimes he felt empowered and sometimes (mostly, perhaps) he did not. Another member of the group, Peter, felt more powerful while marching than while standing around at the rally at the end of the Climate March (Extract 4.40). He also felt a very strong sense of what he called

"collective identity" when he was dancing in the crowd at the beginning of the Rally at Princes Street Gardens (Extract 4.24); by implication, the feeling was less strong at other times. Jonathan (London) said something similar about the noise of the drumming, and dancing together at the People's Climate March (Extract 4.25).

Importantly, this shows that shared identity is not static, nor is it a state that is switched 'on' or 'off' as implied by classic crowd psychology and SCT (Chapter 2). Instead, it is a dynamic process; and the evidence suggests that over time, the feeling of the process - the feeling of shared identity - comes and goes, ebbs and flows. In turn, this conceptualisation of shared identity as a dynamic process fits with the principle of the circularity of crowd processes we discussed in sub-Section 1.3.3, in terms of which the consequences of shared identity may become antecedents and *vice versa*. For example, we saw that feelings of love may be both part of the perception of shared identity, and as feelings of emotional warmth towards the crowd may also be consequences of shared identity. In turn, I have speculated that feelings of love and emotional warmth towards the crowd may strengthen feelings of shared identity, re-emphasising that the intensity of such feelings vary across time.

Before I address the limitations of my analysis, I want to say something about the field interview procedure I adopted, and specifically, the questions I asked during the field interviews.

4.5.5 Field interview questions

I said in the Methods Section (4.3) that I usually started each interview with a question about how the interviewee was feeling in the crowd, hoping that they would naturally talk about their relations with others. Sometimes, however, I needed to be more specific, and would say that people had told me that they had sometimes experienced a feeling that everyone in the crowd is 'in it together'. I would then ask the interviewee whether they recognised that feeling.

It might be argued that such questions were overly directive, and that interviewees responded by telling me what they thought I wanted to hear, something called 'demand characteristics' or 'reactivity' in the literature (for example, McCambridge, de Bruin, & Witton, 2012). My own sense of this is that interviewees knew their own

minds, knew what they wanted to say, and said it regardless of what they might have thought my agenda was, if they thought about it at all, and I can back this up with evidence from the field interviews.

Firstly, all interviewees responded positively, without hesitation, and often emphatically and enthusiastically, indicating that their responses were what they really thought, rather than something they thought I wanted to hear. For example, in London, in response to my question: "Sometimes people have said to me that in a crowd like this, they get to feel a sort of surge of connectedness, togetherness. Do you recognise that feeling?" (31-32) Alison replied: "Oh my God, yeah, definitely." (33). In Edinburgh, in response to a similar question, Jane, our grandmother of ten said simply: "Yes, of course" (56) and then went on to introduce me to the feeling of belonging.

Secondly, interviewees clearly knew their own opinions, which they were not afraid to voice. For example, as we have seen Sandra (Paris) said "I know that's not what you want" (9-10), and when I asked Alison (London) about feelings of power in the crowd she directly disagreed with me (107-108). My response to interviewees' feelings of love for the crowd is another example. Looking back, it is amusing to see that in response to each mention of love or loving feelings, I reacted with surprise or incomprehension or both ("Sorry"?), yet none of the interviewees retracted, they simply repeated, insisted on, what they had said.

Furthermore, the very fact that interviewees often went on to talk about feelings of solidarity, camaraderie and love in the crowd, perhaps the ultimate declaration of shared identity, and something far beyond what I had expected, is instructive. Had they been responding to 'demand', it seems inconceivable that they would have gone quite so far, quite so unexpectedly.

I conclude that the views interviewees expressed reflected their own views and opinions, not what they might have thought I wanted to hear.

The strength of the field interviews is that they were conducted on the spot, in the crowd and as such, they captured something of the raw feelings and thoughts of

interviewees in real time. But there are also weaknesses which limit the conclusions that can be drawn from my analysis.

4.6 Limitations

First, the interviews were conducted in a busy, noisy and distracting atmosphere and interviewees had no opportunity to gather their thoughts before speaking. As a result, they gave me their immediate thoughts and reactions and while this is arguably the greatest strength of the interviews, it can also be seen as a weakness.

Secondly, although I believe that I chose interviewees randomly (and this is supported by the wide age range - my best guess at interviewee's ages was from around 20 to a grandmother in her 70s) it is nevertheless possible that I unconsciously chose a certain 'type' to interview (for an alternative 'count ratio' method, which requires a team of researchers see Van Stekelenburg, Walgrave, Klandermans & Verhulst, 2012), and there is therefore a risk that interviewees were unrepresentative of the crowd as a whole.

However, my analysis of the field interviews may be triangulated with, and therefore supported or validated by, the more organised and systematic focus group discussions I conducted on the subject of relations in the crowd at Scotland's Climate March, my analysis of which is presented in Chapter 6. The group discussions involved three groups, and a total of twelve participants in discussions each lasting at least 80 minutes in a quiet environment, seven to ten days after the event. Participants had time to reflect on what their thoughts and feelings had been at Scotland's Climate March, and they had plenty of time to express those thoughts and feelings and to discuss them with other ingroup members. My analysis of the group discussions in Chapter 6 provides a much more detailed and nuanced account of social relations in the crowd at Scotland's Climate March.

Before that, however, because an understanding of what happened at the March is crucial to an understanding of the focus group discussions, in the next Chapter I provide a detailed first-hand account of Scotland's Climate March 2015.

Chapter 5   Scotland's Climate March 2015

This Chapter provides a detailed account of Scotland's Climate March, describing how the protest unfolded, and how people acted and reacted to events in the crowd. It is designed to provide an understanding of the event as the 'backdrop' to the analysis of the focus group discussions on Scotland's Climate March in the following Chapter.

5.1 Background

Scotland's Climate March was organised by StopClimateChaos Scotland[24], a coalition of 60 civil society organisations which campaign together on climate change. The organisers' stated objectives were: **"In the build up to the UN climate change negotiations in Paris, we are standing up for people affected by rising global temperatures and demanding that world leaders agree an ambitious deal."**[25] On the day, around 5,000 people took part[26].

5.2 Materials and data

Extensive Livestream video footage of Scotland's Climate March in six parts is available at:

Part 1 Arrival, assembly in The Meadows and the March
https://livestream.com/IndependenceLive/climate-march/videos/105705156

Part 2 Rear of the March down The Mound
https://livestream.com/IndependenceLive/climate-march/videos/105707680

Part 3 Nearing Princes Street Gardens
https://livestream.com/IndependenceLive/climate-march/videos/105708117

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[24] Scotland's Climate March was organised by Stop Climate Chaos Scotland, which describes itself as '…a diverse coalition of civil society organisations in Scotland campaigning together on climate change. Our members include environment, faith and international development organisations, trade and student unions and community groups.' http://www.stopclimatechaos.org/stop-climate-chaos-scotland accessed 24/02/2017.

[25] http://www.stopclimatechaos.org/march accessed 24/02/2017.

[26] So far as I am aware, Police Scotland declined to provide an estimate of crowd numbers. Media reports suggested that "thousands of protesters took part, and sometimes the organisers' estimate of "more than 5,000" is quoted. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-34953495 accessed 5th December 2015;
http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14110785.Mass_rally_in_Edinburgh_as_protestors_demand_action_on_climate_change_ahead_of_UN_summit/ accessed 5th December 2015.

Part 4 Down the steps to Princes Street Gardens
https://livestream.com/IndependenceLive/climate-march/videos/105708307

Part 5 First speaker
https://livestream.com/IndependenceLive/climate-march/videos/105708627

Part 6 The remaining speakers, including the Tory
http://independencelive.net/event/641

The demonstration attracted widespread media attention, both in the newspapers and on television. See, for example, The Sunday Herald 29th November 2015[27], The Scotsman, 28th November 2015[28], BBC News, 28th November 2015[29], and STV News 28th November 2015[30].

My account of Scotland's Climate March is based in part on the Livestream video footage, and the newspaper articles and television news items I have referred to, and in part on my own observations, recorded in my field notes, and my own video footage of the protest.

I identify my field notes from Scotland's Climate March by the initials 'SCFN' followed by the relevant page number, so that an observation from page 8 of my field notes would be identified as 'SCFN8'. I refer to my own video recordings at the Climate March by the initials 'SCVR' followed by a number, so that video recording 9 would be identified as 'SCVR9'. As Part 6 of the Livestream video footage shows an important part of the Rally at the end of Scotland's Climate March, I refer to this footage and identify it by the initials 'SCLS' followed by the time shown on the footage, so that 'SCLS11.12' denotes the time 11 minutes and 12 seconds from the

[27]The Herald
http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/14110785.Mass_rally_in_Edinburgh_as_protestors_demand_action_on_climate_change_ahead_of_UN_summit/ accessed 5th December 2015.
[28] The Scotsman
http://www.scotsman.com/news/environment/thousands-join-climate-change-march-in-the-capital-1-3961320 accessed 5th December 2015.
[29] BBC News
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-34953495 accessed 5th December 2015.
[30] STV News
https://stv.tv/news/east-central/1334065-campaigners-to-call-for-climate-change-action-in-edinburgh-march/ accessed 5th December 2015.

beginning of Part 6 of the Livestream footage. The other Parts of the Livestream footage are not specifically referred to.

My video footage, and my hand-written field notes from Scotland's Climate March can be found in the disk that accompanies this thesis.

5.3 Scotland's Climate March 2015

I travelled to Edinburgh in a minibus hired by Dundee University Green Society (the focus group I call 'the Green Group' in Chapter 6), with between 10 and 15 other protesters. I spent most of the journey chatting to a member of the Scottish Green Party, a professional with a practice in Dundee. He told me that he was "excited" about the Climate March (SCFN1) and others seemed excited too; for at least the first half hour or so of the journey, people engaged in banter, shouting at each other up and down the minibus, and laughing. Then it quietened down, until we were approaching Edinburgh, when people started talking again about the Climate March, who would be there (I heard the names of the Scottish Green Party co-convenors, Maggie Chapman and Patrick Harvie mentioned), and where the others from the group, who were travelling by car, had got to (SCFN1, 2). At 11.30am or so, after a journey taking approximately 90 minutes, I got off the minibus and walked towards the crowd I could see gathering in The Meadows, a large park, mostly laid out to grass, in an area close to the centre of Edinburgh and adjacent to the University of Edinburgh campus.

Scotland's Climate March was a protest in three stages. First, people gathered in The Meadows; I will call this stage 'the Gathering'. Secondly, after spending some time milling and mingling at the Gathering, protesters set out on the march through the streets of Edinburgh to Princes Street Gardens; I will call this stage 'the March'. Thirdly, there was a rally at the Ross Bandstand in Princes Street Gardens, with music and speeches, which I will call 'the Rally'. For Scotland's Climate March overall, I will also use the alternative terms 'Climate March' or 'climate demonstration'. The map in Figure 4 shows in grey dots the route of the Climate March through Edinburgh.

Figure 4: *Map showing route of Scotland's Climate March 2015*

5.3.1 The Gathering

On the day of the Climate March, 28th November 2015, people congregated at The Meadows between 10am and 12 noon. A wide variety of groups was represented, including for example Green Party branches from across Scotland, Save the Children, Friends of the Earth, and People & Planet (SCFN3). There was also a wide age range, from students, to families with young children, to older generations (SCFN3). The image in Figure 5 is taken from my own video footage of the Gathering in The Meadows (SCVR9) and shows only a small part of the crowd.

Figure 5: *Scotland's Climate March 2015: The Gathering*

The weather was cold and although it was dry at the start, it deteriorated during the course of the day, with drizzle developing into rain during the Rally. People were wearing warm coats and jackets, scarves and woolly hats, or hoods (SCFN2). While waiting for the March to start, people were milling, taking the time to chat to others, both within and between groups - for example, I noticed people from different groups admiring each other's banners and flags (SCFN4) and engaging in conversation.

Some protesters were dressed in costumes; I saw a giant panda, a cow, a gorilla and a polar bear, all with associated climate change placards or banners (SCFN3). A pipe-band of up to 30 musicians, pipers and drummers was warming up (SCFN2; SCVR9). I heard some whistling and drumming and was drawn to a large audience surrounding a group of musicians wearing pink 'hi-vis' vests. They were drumming and playing tambourines and bell-like instruments I could not identify, 'conducted' by a woman blowing a whistle. People nearby were moving in time to the rhythm. Sporadically, they would burst into a chant, often "Climate Justice, Climate Justice". Someone told me the musicians were an Edinburgh based group called Rhythms of Resistance[31] who are part of a worldwide network of samba drum bands[32] who take part in protests, campaigns and community events, adding the rhythm of their drums to the 'voice' of the protesters.

5.3.2 The March

People started out on the March, presumably on some signal I neither saw nor heard (SCFN5; SCVR11); the only evidence that it had started was the funnelling movement of people, as everyone converged to form a procession. The March proceeded from The Meadows along George IV Bridge, Bank Street, North Bank Street and then down The Mound to the Ross Bandstand in Princes Street Gardens. Police officers and stewards in hi-vis vests walked alongside the marchers. The March did not progress smoothly, but stopped and started (SCFN6; SCVR12). Despite the good turnout, protesters made much less noise than I had expected (SCFN5). The pipe band was at the front and from my position in the last third or so

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[31] https://edinburghror.wordpress.com/, accessed 26/06/2017.
[32] https://www.rhythms-of-resistance.org, accessed 26/06/2017.

of the March, I did not hear them, so for me the sound of the March was largely the sound of people talking together (SCFN7), although occasionally I heard the drumming of the Rhythms of Resistance group (SCFN5,6,7) in the distance. There was little shouting or chanting (SCFN5).

Spectators stood and watched as we marched by, or scurried on their way, eyes averted (SCFN6). On George IV Bridge, some of the marchers heckled car drivers who were waiting impatiently for the March to go by ('Get a bike!'), but this was good natured, part of the fun; people were smiling and laughing (SCFN7). The image in Figure 6 is taken from my own video footage of the March (SCVR12) and shows the March as it makes its way along George IV Bridge.

Figure 6: *Scotland's Climate March 2015: The March*

I spent my time on the March principally in observation, scribbling a few notes, taking video footage (SCVR11,12), but I also had time to conduct one field interview (with Jane and Sally) before we arrived at the gates of Princes Street Gardens.

5.3.3 The Rally

By the time the procession reached the end of the March in Princes Street Gardens the weather was colder, with steady rain, and people started to drift away (SCFN8). I

could hear music[33] as I entered the Gardens, but by the time I arrived at the Ross Bandstand in Princes Street Gardens, the music had stopped and a speaker, perhaps one of the StopClimateChaos organisers, was addressing the crowd (SCFN8; SCVR15). The image in Figure 7 (complete with a rain spot) is taken from my video footage of the Rally (SCVR15).

Figure 7: *Scotland's Climate March 2015: The Rally*

The speaker was applauded and the compere or host for the Rally, Hardeep Singh Kohli, a relatively well-known broadcaster and comedian who has appeared on television and radio[34] addressed the crowd. Initially the crowd's response to Kohli was lukewarm; his jokes drew little laughter and just as often, pained expressions instead (SCLS0.17). However, as he talked to the crowd, anecdotes mixed with jokes, he started to establish rapport; the crowd warmed to him as he worked hard to create an atmosphere of happiness and friendliness, for example by calling on the crowd to jump up and down together, setting the beat by calling out "jump, jump, jump, jump,", and singing "uh-oh, uh-oh, uh-oh" (SCLS01.00) or later, calling on

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[33] It was Colonel Mustard & the Dijon 5, one of two bands who played at the Rally : "Imagine Primal Scream and Happy Mondays had children genetically fused with the DNA of Frank Zappa, Bob Marley, James Brown and Neil Diamond."
https://www.facebook.com/pg/colonelmustardandthedijon5/about/?ref=page_internal accessed 16/01/2018. The other band was Jo Mango, a British alternative folk and acoustic band, led by Jo Mango, a singer-songwriter and musician from Glasgow. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jo_Mango accessed 16/01/2018.
[34] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hardeep_Singh_Kohli, accessed 16/01/2018.

everyone to hug a stranger. Given that this was Scotland, and Scotland on a cold and wet afternoon, he was surprisingly effective; before long most in the crowd were following his directions, jumping up and down, smiling and laughing, a mass of banners and placards moving up and down to the beat (SCLS01.10-01.23). However, when he told the crowd that they would be addressed by politicians, representatives of each of the major political parties, many people seemed surprised and I observed some who turned questioningly to each other (SCFN8).

The first party political speaker was Sarah Boyack, Labour Party Member of the Scottish Parliament ('MSP') and Spokesperson for Environmental Justice (SCLS01.45-05.30). There were some muted cheers from the crowd, then more cheers and a brief drum roll (which sounded like Rhythms of Resistance). For the most part, the crowd remained politely silent while she spoke. She ended her speech with a call to arms, saying something like "we all need to work together" and was rewarded with cheers, whoops, a drum roll, whistling and applause (SCLS05.30-05.40). Overall, she received a polite, and quite enthusiastic reception (SCFN9). Kohli called out to the crowd to have "another wee hug" (SCLS06.35; in other words to hug a stranger) and led the crowd in singing together ("uh-oh, uh-oh, uh-oh").

When the Liberal Democrat Party candidate for Edinburgh West, Alex Cole-Hamilton, was introduced (SCLS07.26-10.17) he was greeted with a polite smattering of applause, a cooler response compared with the first speaker. There was relative silence as he spoke, but I noticed that people had started talking amongst themselves (SCLS from 08.00). There were a few muted individual boos and catcalls (for example, SCLS09.09-09.13, 09.27), and as he finished his speech, there were chants, which sounded as if they came from a group of 4 or 5 people, of:

> "Lib Dems, shame on you, you're all fucking Tories too!"

As Kohli remonstrated with the hecklers about their bad language, I saw an elderly man, leaning on a walking stick and flanked by two helpers, climbing the 4 or 5 steps up to the stage slowly and with difficulty (SCFN10; SCLS10.39). It was the Conservative Party speaker, MSP and Spokesperson on Local Government and Planning, Cameron Buchanan (SCLS11.12-14.59). The Conservatives were almost

universally referred to by interviewees and group discussion participants by their colloquial name 'Tories', so I will call Buchanan's speech and the crowd's reactions to it 'the Tory incident'.

5.3.4 The Tory incident

Introduced by Kohli with the words "funnily enough, talking of the Tories, we've got one for you!" (SCLS10.51), Cameron Buchanan stood behind the microphone, swaying slightly and leaning on his walking stick, his notes in his other hand. It was an effort for him. He looked around. Other than some muted slow clapping and drumming, the crowd was silent (SCFN10).

He began, (SCLS11.12) peering at his notes and reading, rather than speaking out, in what one participant in the focus group discussions described as a stereotypically Tory "very plummy accent" (Lisbeth (Green Group) 755). As he spoke, a single voice in the crowd called out "Tory scum!" (SCLS11.38) but he ignored this and pressed on. A lone woman's voice called out "You're cutting all the renewables!" (SCLS11.55). As Buchanan continued with his speech, the same voice called out again, accompanied by a drum roll (SCLS12.50). Several more individual shouts from the crowd, accompanied by drumming drowned out what Buchanan was saying (SCLS13.05, 13.11). And then he said:

> "We believe in an energy mix, including nuclear power…"
> (SCFN11, 12; SCLS13.23)

This was greeted by an explosion of drumming, widespread booing, whistling and shouting. A repeated chant came from a group of 4 or 5 people (SCLS13.26):

> "Tory scum, shame on you!"

Buchanan fell silent, then started to speak again. As he did so, Kohli moved from the back to the front of the stage, holding a microphone. He interrupted Buchanan:

> "Sorry, sorry, can I just…What I feel sets us apart from
> civilisations not fully developed is our ability and our
> tolerance to allow even those we might politically disagree
> with to be heard, yes? That's all I'm saying." (SCLS13.46).

There was a mixed reaction - some boos and shouts, but also whoops and shouts of approval - some in the crowd seemed to approve of Kohli's stance while others disagreed with him (SCFN12; SCLS14.12-14.26). Buchanan resumed (SCLS14.27), and although there were frequent individual shouts from the crowd, there was no further effort to silence him, and he was allowed to go on with his speech. Right in front of me a group of 5 or 6 young people turned their backs on Buchanan, gesturing to those they now faced, including me, with twirling hand signals that we should do likewise (SCFN13). So far as I could see, no one did so.

At the end of his speech (SCLS14.59), some in the crowd responded with a smattering of polite applause, but there was also a lot of booing. Kohli returned to the subject of allowing speakers to be heard. He started by engaging directly with one of the hecklers, saying:

> "D'you know what, I may disagree with everything a man
> might say, but I will die for his right to say it, yeah?"
> (SCLS15.24).

There were a few cheers and some applause. It is difficult to gauge how many in the crowd responded in this way, but the impression I gained was that only a small proportion of the crowd approved, possibly around one third of the crowd or less; the majority of the crowd remained silent and there were a few shouts of disapproval. An individual protester called out, sounding aggrieved:

> "Sorry, sorry [] He's on a climate change platform, talking
> about nuclear power!" (SCLS15.45).

Kohli replied directly to the heckler:

> "I understand. Well what would you rather do, a totalitarian
> regime that censors people because they don't agree on their
> opinions?" (SCLS15.50)

There were no signs of approval from the crowd this time, and instead, isolated shouts of disapproval. It was not at all clear from the reactions of the crowd who had won the argument. I noticed that, perhaps disappointed by the divisions that had become evident in the crowd, or perhaps because the drizzle was developing into

heavy rain, more people started to leave. I gave it another twenty minutes or so before I too headed off in the growing darkness and cold rain, hoping to catch one or two more interviews on my way[35].

In the next Chapter, I present my analysis of the focus group discussions, held in Edinburgh, Dundee and St Andrews in the period of 10 days following Scotland's Climate March.

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[35] For completeness, the Tory incident was followed by a folk band (Jo Mango) and speeches from firstly, Stephen Smillie, from the public services trade union Unison; secondly, Patrick Harvie, Green Party MSP and co-convenor of the Scottish Green Party (SCLS30.25-33.30), who was particularly warmly received; thirdly, Dr Aileen McLeod, MSP and Scottish Government Minister for Environment, Climate Change and Land Reform (SCLS35.15-41.10), and fourthly, three 'civilians', Ruby, a 12 year old Scottish girl, Lisa, a crofter from the Hebrides on the west coast of Scotland, and Voltaire Alvarez, a former co-ordinator for climate change in the Philippines, who had first-hand experience of the effects of climate change.

Chapter 6   Focus group discussions: Scotland's Climate March 2015

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, we found evidence of shared identity in climate change protest crowds at Edinburgh, London and Paris, in three interconnected aspects; firstly in the use of the language of shared identity (expressions of one-ness, we-ness and a sense of interconnection with everyone in the crowd); secondly in expressions of a sense of belongingness; and thirdly and most strikingly, in expressions of love for the crowd.

We also identified some of the factors that may lead to perceptions of shared identity, such as the simple physical presence of others, which may raise a presumption of shared beliefs and values, symbols of togetherness such as banners and flags and synchronised behaviours such as marching, chanting and dancing together. The consequences of shared identity have been found to map on to the three transformations, cognitive, relational and emotional, proposed by Reicher (2018).

An unlooked-for finding that emerged from my analysis in Chapter 4 was the variability of the intensity of the feeling of shared identity, which suggests that shared identity, rather than being a state that can be switched 'on' or 'off', is a dynamic process which comes and goes, ebbs and flows. I went on to link the variability of shared identity to the concept of the circularity of crowd processes (sub-Section 1.3.3), in terms of which consequences of shared identity may become antecedents and *vice versa*.

The strengths of the field interviews included their raw immediacy, capturing participants' thoughts and feelings while they were actually in the jostling busyness of the crowd. Their weakness was the hurriedness with which they were conducted, and their briefness, in which there was no time for reflection or review.

Now, in this Chapter, I present my analysis of data of a quite different nature: three focus group discussions, conducted in a quiet and comfortable environment and lasting for approximately 80-85 minutes each, in which the groups discussed their recent experiences of Scotland's Climate March 2015, no more than 10 days after the

event. The focus group discussions provide a richer, more detailed account of participants' experiences in the crowd, on the basis of which, building on my findings in Chapter 4, the analysis in this Chapter teases out more nuanced aspects of the phenomenon of shared identity, and in particular, focuses on the emergent finding from Chapter 4: the *variability* of shared identity.

My research questions remain the same:

1.   Is there shared identity in the crowd? If so:

2.   How do people know they share identity in the crowd?

3.   What are the consequences of shared identity in the crowd?

I address each of the questions in turn, in sub-Sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3, and then I examine the evidence of variability in shared identity in sub-Section 6.3.4. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of the key findings of the analysis.

6.2 Methods

6.2.1 Focus group recruitment

Freshers' Week, normally the week before the start of the first semester at most universities, is designed to welcome first-year students to university life. Often described as a 'rite of passage'[36], the week offers new students the chance to acclimatise to a new city, settle in to their accommodation and participate in countless parties and nightclub events. At many universities, a Freshers' Fair is held during Freshers' Week, at which all of the University student societies can literally set out their stalls to attract new members. For example, at each of Dundee and St Andrews Universities, in 2017 there were more than 180 different societies, ranging from Action Palestine to Young Researchers at Dundee[37], and from A Capella to

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[36],For example http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/universityeducation/student-life/9547795/Freshers-Week-the-Telegraph-guide.html; https://www.timeshighereducation.com/comment/columnists/freshers-week-a-rite-of-passage/2007655.article; https://www.thesun.co.uk/living/1679639/freshers-week-2016-what-is-it-when-is-it-and-how-do-i-survive/ accessed 13/01/2018.

[37] https://www.dusa.co.uk/get-involved/societies/a-z/ accessed 13/01/2018.

Young European Movement at St Andrews[38]. Freshers' Fairs looked like particularly promising events for recruiting participants, so armed with business cards, and advertisements for participants in the form of flyers and posters, I went to the Freshers' Fairs at Dundee University on Saturday 12th September 2015 and St Andrews University on 13th September 2015.

The flyers and posters described the research as being focused on how people relate to each in crowds, and invited anyone who was going to *any* kind of crowd event, such as festivals, conventions, rallies and demonstrations, to take part. They briefly set out what participants would be asked to do; to record their thoughts and feelings and to take photographs during the event using their mobile phone, and then to take part in a group discussion with others who had been to the same crowd event.

I spent several hours at each of the Freshers' Fairs, handing out flyers and talking to a wide range of societies including those which seemed most likely to take part in political protests, such as Amnesty International, the Green Society and Labour students in Dundee, and St Andrews University Students for Independence, Labour students and Save the Children in St Andrews. Several expressed interest in my research, and I followed this up in the following days by emailing the representatives of many of the societies I had talked to, asking that they participate in the research.

All of this activity produced a total of no participants whatsoever.

Nevertheless, I had made a useful connection with the Dundee University Green Society, and at their invitation attended their next meeting, on 21st October 2015, to discuss my research. During the meeting, they talked about their plans for taking part in Scotland's Climate March in Edinburgh on 28th November 2015. My 'slot' was at the end of the meeting, and fortunately, after I made a brief presentation, five of the members present expressed interest in taking part in my research, specifically in relation to the Climate March.

Reflecting later on the discussion at the meeting, I realised that my previous failure to recruit participants might have resulted from three issues. The first was the non-

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[38] https://www.yourunion.net/activities/societies/societiesa-z/ accessed 13/01/2018.

specific nature of the advertisements. The reference to *any* crowd event may have confused potential participants. Going forward, I decided to focus my recruitment efforts on just one event, Scotland's Climate March 2015, and to concentrate on recruiting participants who were going to take part in it. Secondly, I thought that I might have been asking too much of participants and decided to simplify what they would be asked to do. I felt participants might find it awkward and inconvenient to record their thoughts and feelings whilst taking part in the Climate March, as this might interfere with their focus on climate change issues, so instead, participants would be asked to take photographs or video clips using their mobile phone, just as they naturally would at crowd events, and to share these with a group of fellow-protesters in a subsequent focus group discussion. Thirdly, I felt that participants should be compensated for their time and effort and decided to offer a £10 payment for participation.

I placed poster advertisements reflecting those changes in supermarkets, cafes and pubs in Dundee and St Andrews. I was confident that Friends of the Earth would be represented at Scotland's Climate March, so I made contact with their Edinburgh office, and subsequently met with one of their organisers. She was unable to participate in the research personally, but suggested I contact People & Planet Edinburgh, an Edinburgh University society. I made contact with this group by email, and subsequently met them at Scotland's Climate March. Four of their members agreed to take part in a focus group discussion.

In St Andrews, a St Andrews University employee (until recently, a student at the university) who was a member of a University society called Transition University of St Andrews responded to the advertisements. Three members of the society agreed to take part.

I now had three separate groups, from three different Scottish cities who would take part in focus group discussions.

Green Group

The 'Green Group' was a group of two female and three male participants, all students at the University of Dundee, aged between 18 and 21 years. I have given

them the fictitious names Lisbeth, Helen, James, Douglas and Ronald. At the time of the focus group discussion, December 2015, they were all members of Dundee University Green Society, which was devoted to promoting Green ideology on Dundee University campus, and which was "guided by the principles of ecology, equality, radical democracy, peace and most importantly, fun."[39] Its members were largely, but not necessarily exclusively, Dundee University students. The Society had links with the Scottish Green Party, and one of their principal stated objectives in 2017 was to support the election of Scottish Green Party MSPs[40].

The focus group discussion took place in a room made available by the School of Psychology at Dundee University and lasted for approximately 85 minutes.

P&P Group

The 'P&P Group' was a group of one male and three female participants, all students at the University of Edinburgh, aged between 18 and 21 years. I have given them the fictitious names Andy, Olivia, Amy and Sophia. At the time of the focus group discussion, December 2015, they were all members of People & Planet Edinburgh, an Edinburgh University Society, affiliated to the national activist organisation People & Planet, which describes itself as "the UK's largest student network campaigning to end world poverty, defend human rights and protect the environment."[41] The members of People & Planet Edinburgh were largely, but not necessarily exclusively, Edinburgh University students.

The focus group discussion took place in a room made available by the Department of Psychology at Edinburgh University, and lasted for approximately 80 minutes.

Transition Group

The 'Transition Group' was a group of one female and two male participants, of whom two were students at, and one was an employee of, the University of St Andrews, all aged between 19 and 23 years. I have given them the fictitious names Anna, Keith and Alexander. At the time of the focus group discussion, December

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[39] https://www.dusa.co.uk/project/green/ accessed 12/12/2017.
[40] Member of the Scottish Parliament.
[41] https://peopleandplanet.org/work-with-us accessed 10/12/2017.

2015, they were all members of Transition University of St Andrews, a society designed to bring together residents of the city of St Andrews, University staff and students, and devoted to the values and practices of sustainability. It described itself as a "diverse network of people with a common vision of a university and town that exemplify the values and practices of sustainability… our core projects are organised around smarter travel, zero waste, local food, and knowledge & skills."[42]

The focus group discussion took place in the Social Laboratory at the School of Psychology and Neuroscience at the University of St Andrews and lasted for approximately 80 minutes.

6.2.2 Focus group procedure

With the written consent of all participants, the focus group discussions were video recorded using my own Toshiba Camileo X400 digital video-camera and (for back-up) audio recorded using two Olympus Digital Voice Recorders VN-8700PC. Transcription of group discussions can be difficult, as participants often talk over each other, so video-recordings of the discussions, which show who is speaking, as well as facial expressions and gestures, can make transcription easier and more accurate than transcription from audio recordings.

Each focus group discussion started with a brief photo-elicitation session, using photographs produced by participants themselves (sub-Section 3.1.3). To maximise the time available for the group discussion, I limited each group to a maximum of four photographs. Although all participants had been invited to provide photographs, few did so; in each of the P&P Group and the Transition Group, only one participant presented all four photographs, while in the Green Group, two participants presented two photographs each. Groups were invited to discuss and comment on each photograph as it was presented.

When the photo-elicitation session came to a natural end, I re-arranged the room for the group discussion. I grouped participants in seats so that they could easily talk with each other, and so that each of them was visible to the video camera. I

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[42] http://www.St Andrewssta.org/ accessed 12/12/2017.

positioned myself separately, and to the side, to avoid becoming the focus of the group's attention.

6.2.3 Group discussion themes

I had prepared and memorised a list of points about how the group discussions should proceed, which I went through with each group before the discussion started. These were firstly that the group discussion was to be a discussion amongst participants, rather than a discussion with me. Secondly, the discussion was to be about, not so much climate change issues, but participants' experiences in the crowd. I emphasised that the participants were the experts - that I was keen to hear about their own experiences, and how they felt in the crowd[43].

In every group discussion, I asked the group to talk about how they felt towards others in the crowd[44]. If the discussion strayed from that topic, I would say to the group that *other people* had told me that on occasions in a crowd they had felt a connection with the other people in the crowd - a feeling of being in it together. I then asked each group whether they recognised that feeling[45]. My reference to 'other people' in this context had been thought out in advance, and was designed to minimise the risk of demand characteristics or reactivity (sub-Section 4.5.5). Of course, given that the focus group discussions were explicitly to be discussions within the group, in which participants were the experts and in which my role was merely to guide the discussions, rather than interviews conducted by me, demand characteristics were much less likely to be an issue.

Towards the end of each focus group discussion, I asked each group to discuss amongst themselves whether they had felt a sense of everyone being in something together or sharing something together in the crowd, at any time more *intensely* than at other times[46]. This was designed to help me to assess any variability in feelings of

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[43] P&P Group 106; Green Group 131; Transition Group 332.
[44] P&P Group 228; Green Group 121; Transition Group 347.
[45] P&P Group 982; Green Group 502; Transition Group 687.
[46] P&P Group 1875-1885; Green Group 1283-1285; 1328-1329; Transition Group 1590-1593.

togetherness participants may have experienced, and to identify the contexts in which such feelings arose.

All participants gave their written consent before taking part in the group discussions, and were debriefed in writing at the end of the session.

6.2.4 Transcription and themes

The group discussions were transcribed using an orthographic transcription method (Howitt, 2010, p. 140), described in sub-Section 3.1.6, and the transcriptions can be found in the disk that accompanies this thesis. The transcribed group discussions were analysed using the form of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) described in sub-Section 3.1.7, constructing themes inductively, and noting their connection to the research questions.

6.3 Analysis

The coding of each Extract from the focus group discussions follows the same rules as in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4), save that each participant's group (Green, P&P or Transition) is identified in parentheses, after the fictitious name I have given each participant.

Sub-Sections 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 address my research questions in order, and in sub-Section 6.3.4, I review the evidence of the variability of shared identity. I start with my first question: Is there shared identity in the crowd?

6.3.1 Shared identity?

We saw in Chapter 4 that interviewees' perceptions of shared identity were rooted in their perception that everyone in the crowd shared the same climate change beliefs. The same perception was an important and recurrent theme in each of the focus group discussions. Sophia (P&P Group) excitedly talked about being in a big crowd of people who were all fighting for the same (climate change) issues:

> Extract 6.1 Sophia (P&P Group) 236-238 I love like big
> demos, when you see everyone, and you're like 'wow, we're
> all like, people actually are fighting for the same issues as us'
> which is supercool. And then it's really nice when you see all

> the Uni people because you end up knowing like, the circle's
> quite similar, so you end up knowing everyone…a bit of a
> web.

She used what I called in Section 1.1 the language of shared identity, describing the crowd in terms of "we", "us" and "everyone"; a sense of 'we-ness'. However, she went on to distinguish between the crowd as a whole, and the "Uni people", a big group of university students principally, but not exclusively, from the University of Edinburgh (the 'University Group'), and it is not clear whether she defined herself as part of the crowd, say as an environmentalist, or as part of the University Group, say as a student climate change activist.

From the same focus group, Andy described his perception of one crowd united by the climate change cause:

> Extract 6.2 Andy (P&P Group) 443-444 [] I see it as one big
> crowd so everyone's united by the one thing they're
> marching for.

I examine the feeling of being united in the crowd as a consequence of the achievement of shared identity later, in sub-Section 6.3.3.

Anna, from the Transition Group, said something similar:

> Extract 6.3 Anna (Transition Group) 245-246 [] everyone
> was there for the same cause and you automatically have a
> connection…with these people.

Later, she explained that despite the variety of different groups represented at Scotland's Climate March, at the Gathering it felt more like *one* group, mapping onto the sense of one-ness we identified in sub-Section 4.4.1:

> Extract 6.4 Anna (Transition Group) 1588-1589 I felt at the
> beginning that although there were all the different groups, it
> felt almost just like one group with like different sections [].

From the same focus group, Keith talked in terms of a *community* of people who shared the same beliefs and values:

Extract 6.5 Keith (Transition Group) 1116-1120 I don't know
if this is the right word but almost more of a community at
the beginning []. And as you {Anna} said the community at
the beginning had similar values [].

In the Green Group, Ronald described his perception that what brought people

together in the crowd was their shared climate change beliefs and values:

Extract 6.6 Ronald (Green Group) 622-628 One of the main
features about this march was that everybody wanted to clean
the planet [] and that was the cohesive element. [] Being that
everyone else was also of that mind.

From the same group, Helen had spontaneously talked about a sense of *belonging* at

the Climate March (543). Following up on this, I asked the group whether anyone

else had felt that sense of belonging (560-562):

Extract 6.7 Lisbeth (Green Group) 564-567 Yeah, a bit. I
wasn't like, there wasn't like some kind of massive emotional
spiritual thing but it, yeah I would say I felt, I felt kind of
comfortable, I felt safe and I felt like, yeah I felt a bit like
we're all in this together kind of thing, you know.

This is a fairly lukewarm response, but it confirms that Lisbeth too felt some sense of

belonging at Scotland's Climate March, and as we saw in sub-Section 4.4.1, a sense

of belonging is closely related to, and may be the subjective feeling of, shared

identity. Her feeling of being comfortable and safe in the crowd is important, and I

look at it in more detail as a *consequence* of shared identity, in sub-Section 6.3.3.

The focus groups have described feelings of 'we-ness' (Extract 6.1); unity (Extract

6.2), connection (Extract 6.3), one-ness (Extract 6.4), community (Extract 6.5),

cohesion (Extract 6.6) and belonging (Extract 6.7), evidence of shared identity in the

climate change crowd. In each case the feeling was linked to an understanding that

climate change beliefs and values were shared. But what was the basis of this

understanding? How did participants *know* that they shared beliefs and values with

the crowd? In the next sub-Section, I address my second research question: How do

people know they share identity in the crowd?

6.3.2 How do you know?

We saw in Chapter 4 that field interviewees described 'knowing' that they were connected with the crowd principally in terms of three factors: simple physical presence (Being there together) which raised a presumption of shared beliefs and values; the display of banners, placards and other insignia (Symbols of togetherness); and synchronised behaviours, such as marching, chanting and dancing together (Doing things together). In this sub-Section, I review the evidence of the effects of these three factors in the focus group discussions, and go on to provide evidence of a fourth, Shared emotions.

Being there together

In the P&P Group, Andy explained what the physical presence of others meant to him:

> Extract 6.8 Andy (P&P Group) 384-389 [] for me a value is
> that people don't just sort of study these things academically
> but also get engaged so…politically in real life and, and
> that's like a thing we share now, is that you're not just,
> you're not just studying it and maybe posting about it on
> Facebook, you're actually making an effort to make a change
> I guess.

Being there and taking part was important for him, because it demonstrated engagement with, or investment in climate change issues.

In the Green Group discussion I had sensed that there was some ambivalence in their feelings of belonging at Scotland's Climate March (for example, see Extract 6.7), so I widened the discussion, asking the group whether they had felt a sense of belonging more intensely at <u>any</u> crowd event (1328-1329). Ronald reminded the group of a demonstration they had taken part in at Scotland's nuclear submarine base at Faslane, a protest against Trident, the UK's nuclear weapons[47]. The discussion showed that

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[47] Four Vanguard-class submarines, each capable of carrying up to sixteen Trident ballistic missiles, each armed with up to eight nuclear warheads, are based at the Royal Navy's main presence in Scotland - Naval Base Clyde, at Faslane, on the west coast of Scotland. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/21/what-is-trident-britains-nuclear-deterrent-explained/; http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-13442735; https://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/our-organisation/where-we-are/naval-base/clyde, all accessed 26/06/2017.

the group's feelings of belonging were more intense at Faslane than at Scotland's Climate March, so in the analysis that follows, their experiences at Faslane are analysed alongside their experiences at Scotland's Climate March. I asked the group to discuss how they knew they belonged in the crowd at Faslane (1543-1545). James responded:

> Extract 6.9 James (Green Group) 1551-1552 Yeah, just the simple fact that they're there, that in itself shows that you, it makes it as if it's a kind of statement in a way [].

It is a reasonable inference that the "statement" made by people's physical presence was a statement of shared anti-Trident beliefs and values, hence linking people's simple physical presence to shared beliefs and values. Olivia (P&P Group) described her feeling of closeness to the people she was marching with, linking the feeling to the climate change cause:

> Extract 6.10 Olivia (P&P Group) 544-552 [] you kind of feel more close to the people even though you don't know them, like maybe they wouldn't support what we believe in, you just presume they're going to be marching for like the things you believe in too, so you kind of think 'I believe what you believe' probably.

She understood that her sense that everyone shared beliefs and values was a *presumption.* In response to my question, how do you know that you share something with the crowd? (785) Anna (Transition Group) started with simple physical presence:

> Extract 6.11 Anna (Transition Group) 790 The mere fact that you've turned up.

I took part in a blockade at Faslane in 2015, so I knew the location, but Ronald was referring to a different protest, a march on Faslane on 30th November 2014. Reports of the numbers of protesters, who came from all over Scotland, and some from England, range from over 1,400 to around 2,000. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-30269981; https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2014/11/518777.html; https://socialistworker.co.uk/art/39541/Protesters%20march%20on%20Faslane%20base, all accessed 26/06/2017. Limited footage of the protest can be viewed on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cKHGtBP_e2U, accessed 08/02/2018.

Later, she went into more detail[48]:

> Extract 6.12 Anna (Transition Group) 1125-1143 I guess it's like a simplicity in stance. []. It's almost superficial, because you don't really know that much about what the other people [] really believe. [] Apart from that they've turned up to it, the march. And then as it goes on, and especially with the things that happened near the end you start to see the complexities in terms of what different people believe and how it's different.

Anna *presumed* but did not know that others in the crowd shared her climate change beliefs and values, and she knew that she did not know. When incidents at the end of the Climate March revealed the complexity of differences within the crowd[49], she realised that after all, she did not know what others in the crowd believed and valued.

So the presumption of shared beliefs and values may be based on a *simplistic* view, in which complexities, differences in beliefs and values, are not visible or not recognised. The presumption may be displaced or disrupted by the realisation of complexity, that people may hold different beliefs and values.

It is a *fragile presumption* which may be disrupted by evidence of difference in the crowd.

Keith (Transition Group) suggested that one of the factors involved in his understanding that he shared something with the crowd was "the banners" (787) which he described as an obvious guide. Next, I review what the groups said about banners, placards and other insignia, which in Chapter 4 I treated as symbols of togetherness.

Banners and placards

Mass-produced placards are often handed out to protesters by different organisations, for example political organisations such as the Socialist Workers Party, or charities such as Oxfam. But the most interesting banners and placards, and those which attract the most attention and admiration, are home-made. Some simply present a

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[48] Anna's comments are interrupted by the other Transition Group members' indications of agreement, which I have removed from the following Extract to allow her to be heard more clearly.
[49] The context suggests that this may be a reference to the Tory incident - see sub-Section 5.3.4.

statement or slogan, without specifying any identity by name, such as the P&P Group banner shown in Figure 8, one of the photographs presented to the group during the photo-elicitation session[50].

Figure 8: *P&P Group banner*

Two of the three people holding the banner were P&P Group members. The banner, which was home-made, read "System change not climate change", a well-known and understood climate change slogan. As such it identified the group as climate change protesters or environmentalists, but not specifically as members of People & Planet Edinburgh.

Others might be humorous - for example, the placard shown in Figure 9, a photograph presented to the Transition Group during their photo-elicitation session. This placard was admired because in Keith's words, "obviously it's quite a catchy slogan, pretty distinctive and something I'd not seen" (218). He said that banners can help 'break the ice' with strangers in the crowd, and Alexander added that good banners are "about starting a conversation" (231). So banners can be a talking point, and they may encourage friendly exchanges and connections with strangers in the crowd.

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[50] The participant consent form in each case included wording by which the copyright in the photo elicitation photographs passed to the researcher. The pixelation policy followed is that all participants' faces are pixelated for anonymity but otherwise, as the photographs were of a public event no other faces are pixelated.

The Green Group's banner, shown in Figure 10, on the other hand, identified the banner-holders as members of a specific organisation, Dundee University Green Society.

Figure 10: *DUGS banner*

The banner was green, identified the Dundee University Green Society both by its name, and by its acronym DUGS, and expressed some of the Society's values - peace, equality, ecology and social democracy. It was decorated with symbols representing the environment, and power, and a small dog, or in Scottish dialect, a

"dug". In the background Scottish Green Party flags were waving, and several other placards and banners can be seen. Of special note, in the foreground was Maggie Chapman (wearing light blue in the photograph), at the time the co-convenor or joint leader of the Scottish Green Party, and a figure of "significant importance" to this group (Helen, 45). The photograph was greeted with enthusiasm:

> Extract 6.13 Helen (Green Group) 171-173 [] we'd worked
> so hard on our banner and people kept being like 'oh that's
> really cool' I mean, and I was like 'yeah we did that, yeah!'
> {clenches fist}.

They were proud of their banner and the attention it drew. The hard work involved in producing the banner was a group effort, and the banner itself was a group achievement, admired by other environmentalists. More than that, the banner named and stated the core values of the Society and in its colour and symbols identified the Society as a group which was prepared to fight to save the environment. As such, it represented a proclamation of identity. Yet, at the same time it may have been a symbol of division.

The banner showed the Green Group's affiliation to the Scottish Green Party, a political party with elected representatives in the Scottish Parliament. As such, it highlighted a party-political *difference*, because not everyone in the crowd was necessarily a Green Party supporter; there were Scottish Labour party banners and Socialist Workers Party banners and placards in the crowd too:

> Extract 6.14 James (Green Group) 283-286 There was like a
> moment I had, when I saw them, when I thought, when I
> thought 'what are you doing waving a Labour flag around?'
> but I guess I had to remember there are people who are
> probably environmentalist in Labour but…

James's 'gut reaction' was to question what people were doing, waving a Labour flag in the crowd, the implication being that the Labour Party was not a 'real' environmentalist party, and it was only on reflection (after the event) that James saw that some Labour supporters may also be environmentalists. Douglas went further, suggesting that the Labour Party were not *entitled* to be represented at Scotland's Climate March:

Extract 6.15 Douglas (Green Group) 709-714 [] it was like
just doesn't feel right for them to be on the march [].

Towards the end of the group discussion, Alexander (Transition Group) suggested
that 'branded' placards produced commercially by, for example, the "Socialist Party"
(1613) may have been *divisive*:

Extract 6.16 Alexander (Transition Group) 1612-1617 There
was, but it was things like, I mean I think that the Morning
Star and the Socialist Party were running placards, which was
quite divisive because you know you're either a socialist or
you're not [].

Alexander had earlier described banners and placards as "about starting a
conversation" (231), an 'ice-breaker' at the Gathering, and yet here, he characterised
at least those banners that were politically branded as potentially divisive. The
explanation may lie in the kind of dawning realisation of *difference* Anna (Transition
Group) talked about in Extract 6.12 (of which we will see more in Extract 6.17
below); or it may lie simply in the fact that *politicized* banners, from the start, were
evidence of difference, while *home-made* banners such as the one shown to the
Transition Group (Figure 9) were seen as ice-breakers.

In the discussion that followed there was ambivalence about whether or not banners
were divisive, but in the end the group agreed that by distinguishing between
different groups, banners and placards might have been divisive at the Climate
March. We saw earlier that Alexander also regarded banners as a talking point, a way
of opening up conversations at the Gathering at the beginning of the Climate March.
I will return to this apparent contradiction in Section 6.3.3.

In the P&P Group, Andy contrasted his earlier sense of a crowd united by climate
change beliefs and values (Extract 6.2) with his dawning realisation of *difference* on
the March.

Extract 6.17 Andy (P&P Group) 443-453 [] I see it as one big
crowd so everyone's united by the one thing they're
marching for. But then like, you kind of when you're
marching, you kind of notice everyone's sort of signs and
hats and badges all give away little like aspects of

themselves. You know that some are marching more for like, have more of a sort of a broader political sort of perspective and others are sole, like solely environmental and others are more sort of like climate justice or like social justice sort of issues and some are like vegan stuff and like, so I think being part of the crowd you see more of these sort of individual sort of traits popping up, more than sort of viewing it from the outside, where it's just one homogenous environmental crowd, sort of thing.

Andy noticed the insignia of different groups in what people were wearing - "signs and hats and badges" - and in contrast with his earlier feeling of unity, as the March progressed, he came to perceive the crowd as less "homogenous" and more 'groupy'.

Compared with the simpler approach we saw in the field interviews (sub-Section 4.4.2) Extracts 6.14 - 6.17 demonstrate a more nuanced understanding of the impact of banners and placards; they may help to achieve shared identity, as the field interviews indicated, but equally, if they present evidence of differences in political or ideological approach, they may be divisive, eroding or disrupting people's sense of shared identity.

In the last Extract, Andy (P&P Group) talked about a dawning realisation of difference while the Group were *marching* together. As we saw in Chapter 4, marching together is one of the synchronised behaviours (sub-Section 1.3.2) which may lead people to perceive themselves as sharing identity with others. Each of the focus groups talked about at least one of the synchronised behaviours we reviewed in sub-Section 4.4.2 - marching together, chanting together and dancing together. Because people tended to chant while they were marching at Scotland's Climate March, I look at marching and chanting in combination.

Marching and chanting together

The P&P Group had been discussing their feelings while they were marching and chanting together, and I asked the group to summarise for me what they were feeling

when they were chanting together (Moderator 883-884). The response demonstrated the importance of chanting[51] to this group:

> Extract 6.18 Sophia (P&P Group) 886-887 Good. It's great, it's empowering it's powerful, it makes you feel united, it's positive.
> Amy 889 Positive.
> Andy 891 It makes you feel united I would say.
> Olivia 893-907 It makes you feel like the march is <u>doing</u> something. You're walking and walking and [] then it makes you, it kind of makes you have a spring in your step as you march along…
> Andy 917-918 I want to add the word fun in there as well, the chanting, the chanting makes me feel happy, like.
> Amy 924-925 Yeah, I guess it's like being physical, it's being part of it all.

Chanting is good, positive, unifying, fun, and empowering. I treat empowerment as a consequence of shared identity in sub-Section 6.3.3, but it is worth considering here *why* chanting is empowering and unifying. Andy suggested that chanting together tends to smooth out differences between people and groups, by *simplifying* the issues, and Amy agreed:

> Extract 6.19 Andy (P&P Group) 1831-1836 [] then it's like a simple {chopping motion} like 'keep the oil in the soil', like 'don't burn fossil fuels, don't frack', there we go, we sorted the problems and that's like that's what it does. Whereas like, in common discourse I think especially within maybe groups that I've been involved with over the last few years has been focusing on all of these like nuances…
> Amy 1838 Yeah.
> Andy 1840-1841…that, within climate change, and all these complexities and inter-sectionalities.
> Amy 1843 And all of the political aspects of it.

Interestingly, this reflects precisely Anna's (Transition Group) comments in Extract 6.12 about her perception of a movement from simplicity to complexity. Chanting simple slogans reduces climate change issues to the slogans themselves, and the complexities of differences in beliefs or values in the crowd, including political

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[51] Chants included: 'hey hey, hey ho, fossil fuels have got to go'; 'keep the oil in the soil, keep the coal in the hole'; "And then some about [then Prime Minister] David Cameron and pigs." (675).

differences, disappear. Chanting together is unifying because it makes all the differences of detail amongst different groups and individuals go away, and signifies that those who are chanting share the same fundamental beliefs and values.

In the Green Group, Lisbeth and Ronald described a strong sense of belonging and cohesiveness while they were marching in the crowd:

> Extract 6.20 Lisbeth (Green Group) 1287-1290 I think when
> we were all walking together it definitely felt like really
> belonging [].
> Ronald 1294-1295 I agree with that, when we were marching
> we were a lot more cohesive.

The Green Group did not mention chanting at Scotland's Climate March, but they did talk about chanting at Faslane:

> Extract 6.21 Lisbeth (Green Group) 1648-1649 [] there was
> like random shouting and random chants [].

Chanting may be part of the explanation of why the Green Group felt a more intense sense of shared identity at Faslane, compared with Scotland's Climate March.

In the Transition Group, we have seen that at the Gathering at the beginning of the Climate March, Anna perceived the crowd as one entity, made up of different groups (Extract 6.4). In contrast, on the March, for her it felt *less* like one big group, and more like several separate groups:

> Extract 6.22 Anna (Transition Group) 1588-1592 [] in part
> because we were all just walking in groups during the march,
> it felt more like, sometimes I felt like there was more like lots
> of separate groups that were all walking together.

The group described the March as "quiet" and "a bit disheartening". They tried to liven things up by chanting, but to their embarrassment, the chant failed:

> Extract 6.23 Alexander (Transition Group) 1475-1476 I was
> counter influenced by the failure of the chanting to take any
> traction, the, the larger influence of nobody else chanting [].

Alexander read the failure as a sign of difference between what now seemed *different* elements, in a crowd he had previously seen as homogenous:

> Extract 6.24 Alexander (Transition Group) 1519-1525 I had an initial feeling of division from other people. Before that point there had still been that sense, there had been that sense of 'we're all here together, why aren't we doing something together?' And then after that it was 'oh some people don't necessarily feel the same way about how this march should work that I do and that's, that's now a point of contention', like a thin point of contention but a point of contention.

Chanting together tends to encourage feelings of unity and togetherness; they are a vocal statement of shared beliefs and values. But a failed chant can *disrupt* the fragile presumption of shared beliefs and values, and may engender a sense of division and contention.

In Extract 4.24 Peter (Edinburgh) talked about a strong sense of collective identity when people were dancing together at the Rally in Princes Street Gardens. Dancing was also discussed by two of the focus groups.

Dancing together

A live band[52] played while people were arriving at the Ross Bandstand in Princes Street Gardens, and again after all the speeches were over. The P&P Group were enthusiastic about their experience of dancing with others prior to the political speeches:

> Extract 6.25 Andy (P&P Group) 1248-1249 Yeah like everyone was having, everyone was doing these dance moves together!
> Olivia 1253 [] Just like united dance moves.

In the Transition Group, when the band reappeared after the speeches were over, only Alexander took part in the dancing:

> Extract 6.26 Alexander (Transition Group) 753-768 [] that sense of shared purpose and possibility was definitely there at

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[52] Colonel Mustard and the Dijon 5.

the beginning. I'd say it was also there at the very end, the…
when we were doing the choreographed dancing []. I've
never seen a band achieve this before but he managed to get
everyone that was left to one side of the stage and then we
did this Crossing the Road dance[53] [] and that again felt like
really, strong, shared purpose and motivation and everyone in
it together [].

This was not random, but "choreographed" or synchronised dancing, directed by the band. We have seen in sub-Section 1.3.2 that synchronised behaviours such as marching together and dancing together tend to bring people together. More than anything else at Scotland's Climate March synchronised dancing with others helped Alexander achieve a sense of shared identity.

Dancing was not mentioned by the Green Group.

Little has been said yet of the emotions participants experienced in the crowd. In the field interviews we saw that people talked about feelings of love for the crowd. There was no sign of such strong feelings in the focus group discussions, but there was evidence of feelings of emotional warmth for the crowd, and other shared emotions.

Shared emotions

Ronald (Green Group) explained why he felt a more intense sense of belonging at Faslane, compared to Scotland's Climate March, and he did so both implicitly and explicitly in terms of feelings and emotions.

> Extract 6.27 Ronald (Green Group) 1407-1413 That was
> probably because we were at the gates of nuclear
> annihilation, I think the sense of belonging and group, I think
> the odds were a lot higher, we weren't talking about an
> abstract concept of climate change with a submarine a couple
> of hundred metres away and it's full of death and I think, and
> we were directly in front of the gates so we had walked all
> the way to the gates and it was a focus for your hate if you
> will.

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[53] In which, directed by the band, the crowd moved from one side of the arena to the other, 'crossing the road'.

At Faslane, the Green Group felt that they were in the physical, concrete presence of what they were protesting against, nuclear weapons - Trident nuclear warhead missiles were physically located only a matter of 200 metres or so away from the protesters, and this gave them a very concrete and visible target or focus for their protest, a target for their "hate". But Ronald's emotive description of the submarine base as "the gates of nuclear annihilation", a place "full of death" suggests that his emotional response included feelings of fear and dread. Douglas agreed with Ronald's description, adding "Yes, it was terrifying" (1428). Therefore the emotions that may have been shared in the crowd were the strong emotions of terror and hate, and Ronald offered them as an explanation for the more intense sense of belonging he felt at Faslane. Put another way, this suggests that he felt an intense sense of belonging *because* he felt these emotions.

Relations *within* the Faslane crowd, on the other hand, were characterised by emotional warmth:

> Extract 6.28 Ronald (Green Group) 1704-1709 I think the warmth felt at the Trident protest that everyone, when I think back about it, <u>everybody</u> was smiling [] I mean at such a serious event as well, I think that's what made me feel like I belonged to that club…more so than at the climate march.

For Ronald, the emotional warmth he felt in the crowd was what made him feel he belonged, not the other way around. In Chapter 4, I treated emotional warmth as a *consequence* of shared identity. Here, the data suggest that it might loosely be called an 'antecedent', something that leads to perceptions of shared identity.

This apparent contradiction can be explained in terms of the circularity of crowd processes we explored in sub-Section 1.3.3; the sense of emotional warmth may be an antecedent, *as well as* a consequence, of shared identity. It is reasonable to infer that if everybody is smiling, then everybody feels the same way, or in other words that everybody shares the same emotions, as well as the same beliefs and values. So feeling an emotion and perceiving that others feel it too may be part of how people come to perceive themselves and others as sharing identity. Equally, feelings of emotional warmth for the crowd may also be a consequence of shared identity, part

of the emotional transformation proposed by Reicher, (2018). I therefore treat emotional warmth also as a consequence of shared identity in sub-Section 6.3.3.

To the Green Group, things seemed simpler at Faslane than they were at Scotland's Climate March. In response to Ronald's comments in Extract 6.28, Douglas said:

> Extract 6.29 Douglas (Green Group) 1711-1717 I felt like, I felt like it was the honesty of that crowd, like I felt like all the motives, like we spent the whole time talking about the climate march and all the ulterior motives going on for all the {political} parties and stuff. [] I just felt like everyone was on exactly the same page in terms of what they wanted. And like properly horrified as well, like at the Trident.

He contrasted the "ulterior motives" that were apparent to him at the Climate March with the honesty of the Faslane crowd, in which everyone was "on exactly the same page". How did he know that the Faslane crowd was honest? Importantly, he knew this because everyone was not just horrified but "*properly* horrified" (1717, my emphasis). Put another way, if everyone was horrified together, that showed that everyone was on the same page.

It is reasonable to infer that being horrified about nuclear weapons may have been normative at the Faslane protest; the *right* way to feel about it. If so, then it is plausible to suggest that Douglas felt he shared identity with others at Faslane *because* he perceived firstly that others shared his beliefs and values about nuclear weapons *and* secondly that others shared his feelings of horror.

In the next sub-Section, I consider evidence of participants' perceptions of the three transformations I described in Section 1.1: the cognitive, relational and emotional transformations, and in doing so, I address my third research question: What are the consequences of shared identity in the crowd?

6.3.3 Consequences of shared identity

Cognitive transformation

In sub-Section 4.4.3 we saw that when people self-categorize in a social identity, the consequences may include that they tend to act in terms of group, rather than

personal, beliefs and values, and that they tend to look to the group for verification and validation of those beliefs and values. We have already seen in sub-Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 that in taking part in Scotland's Climate March, participants understood their climate change beliefs and values as group, or crowd beliefs and values, a theme that runs through almost all of the evidence of shared identity and its 'antecedents' we have seen so far. But is there evidence in the focus group discussions of the verification or validation of shared beliefs and values?

During the photo-elicitation session at the beginning of each group discussion, each of the groups presented a photograph to show that the Climate March crowd was a *big* crowd, and each of the groups expressed excitement about the size of the crowd. One possible interpretation of these feelings of excitement is that a big crowd empowers protesters by validating their beliefs and values, and perhaps as Alan (London) suggested in Extract 4.38, for this purpose, the bigger the crowd the better. There is evidence in the photo-elicitation sessions and the focus group discussions to support this.

For example, the Transition Group's photograph in Figure 11 shows part of the crowd making its way through Princes Street Gardens. The marchers were approximately 100 metres from the Rally at the end of the march, at the Ross Bandstand in the Gardens:

Figure 11: *Big crowd*

Keith explained why he took the photograph:

Extract 6.30 Keith (Transition Group) 259-267 [] I thought 'I
want to get a view of the crowd coming in' because [] you
don't really get that sense during the march, I didn't feel.
Alexander 269 So a sense of what, sorry?
Keith 271 A sense of the <u>size</u> of the crowd…

A big crowd was important to Keith. He returned to the subject later in the
discussion, describing his concern at the small numbers of people who were there at
the beginning, and explaining how he felt as the crowd grew bigger:

Extract 6.31 Keith (Transition Group) 1148-1157 I suppose
at the beginning as well, maybe because when we got there,
there was barely anyone there and my concern was are we
going to march or not. And I think as the crowd got bigger,
you think 'oh this is great, there's sort of, you know, <u>we</u> have
supporters as much as that we're all here, in a way if that
makes sense [].

Keith's description conveys his mounting sense of excitement as the crowd grew
bigger. Everyone there supported the same cause - the fight against climate change -
"*we're* all here" (my emphasis); Keith felt the *support* of the crowd, a feeling that
might reasonably be construed as validation, or endorsement of shared beliefs and
values. He went on:

Extract 6.32 Keith (Transition Group) 1156-1157 It's almost
we're not alone, there are more of us, this is great [].

Interestingly this reflects what Alison (London) said in Extract 4.29, where I treated
her sense of not being 'the only one' as part of a cognitive transformation, and it also
echoes Sandra's comments in Extract 4.36, which I treated as part of the emotional
transformation, emphasizing again that the three transformations are interlinked.

Just as Keith felt that the crowd supported him, so too did Olivia, presenting her own
photograph[54] showing the size of the crowd:

Extract 6.33 Olivia (P&P Group) 545-552 You feel that
everyone in, in the crowd that you're marching with, like
supports you [] you just presume they're going to be

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[54] I felt that one photograph of a big crowd was sufficient to make the point and so have not
reproduced the relevant photographs presented to the P&P Group or the Green Group.

marching for like the things you believe in too, so you kind
of think 'I believe what you believe' probably.

Little was said by the group in response to Olivia's photograph until close to the end
of the group discussion, when Sophia talked about moments when the feeling of
togetherness in the crowd was most intense. One such moment was when, for the
first time, she saw how big the crowd was. She referred to Olivia's photograph:

> Extract 6.34 Sophia (P&P Group) 1921-1925 [] when we
> came up from The Meadows up to where like you {pointing
> to Olivia} like took that photo of that Bedlam[55], that was the
> first time that you saw like how big the march was and that
> was pretty like 'Wow! We're so like {punches hand}
> together!'

At the sight of the big crowd, she felt an intense feeling of togetherness - Wow!
Punching her hand, she *exclaimed* her feeling of togetherness. In the Green Group,
Helen also had a wow! moment:

> Extract 6.35 Helen (Green Group) 76-78 [] When I first
> turned up I felt like seeing from a distance how many people
> would be there and I was like 'oh no one is here' and then
> when it started you were just like 'wow!' [].

Later, she talked about the sense of confidence she drew from the crowd:

> Extract 6.36 Helen (Green Group) 1021-1022- Yeah,
> definitely it's like strength in numbers, if all these people
> agree with you, you're going to feel more confident, so…

Of course, a feeling of (self) confidence may be treated not only as part of the sense
of validation that comes from the cognitive transformation, it may also represent a
feeling of empowerment, and as such be treated as part of the emotional
transformation, which I examine shortly. First, however, I look at evidence of the
transformation of relations amongst people in the crowd.

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[55] Bedlam Theatre, on the route of the Climate March.

Relational transformation

In the P&P Group, Amy described her relationship with the big group of students, the University Group, at the Climate March:

> Extract 6.37 Amy (P&P Group) 245 Yeah [inaudible] not
> strictly friends but…a social.

The relationship amongst students in the University Group was *like*, but was *not* friendship. It was another kind of relationship: "a social". To understand this better, I asked the group to compare how they felt about the people in the University Group with how they felt about others - people they did not know - in the crowd:

> Extract 6.38 Amy (P&P Group) 282-285 I guess it's the same
> kind of relationship in a way, [] it's the same kind of like,
> we're all supporting this issue, kind of like, not really <u>friends</u>
> it's more like…pals.

If, as Amy said, it was more of a social than a personal relationship, then given the context and her reference to everyone supporting the same issue, it is reasonable to construe the relationship as *camaraderie*, or comradeship, a transformation in relations involving mutual trust. In the same group, Sophia talked explicitly about *solidarity* (which I interpreted as mutual support and unity of feeling and action in Section 1.1):

> Extract 6.39 Sophia (P&P Group) 1961-1963 I think, when
> you realise that you're united and yep solidarity whooo! []

In sub-Section 4.4.3, I treated perceptions of the crowd as united, and feelings of solidarity and comradeship as part of the relational transformation, and here I do likewise. I also noted that field interviewees felt able to engage with strangers in a way that would not normally be possible in everyday life, for example, on the London Tube: see Extract 4.33. Each of the focus groups said something similar:

> Extract 6.40 Olivia (P&P Group) 469-470 It's weird walking
> in the crowd and like chatting to people you don't know and
> stuff [].

Alexander (Transition Group), felt able to have "social relations" with others, particularly at the Gathering:

> Extract 6.41 Alexander (Transition Group) 1088-1090 In terms of my like feelings, I, in some ways within the crowd I felt like at the beginning it felt like a <u>special</u> moment, you were having social relations with people that would not be possible [] in a, otherwise, in a normal sort of situation [].

When I asked what the feeling was, he went on:

> Extract 6.42 Alexander (Transition Group) 1109-1111 Liquid sociability[56], a sort of a sense that you can just quite easily [inaudible: join in?] with other people and there's very little barriers there.

Despite Alexander's earlier perception that politicized banners could be divisive (Extract 6.16), he felt that at the Gathering specifically, the barriers which were normally in place in everyday social life were down. "Liquid sociability" suggests an easy, fluid sense of social togetherness in a moment that was special, out of the ordinary - social relations had been transformed.

In the Green Group, as we saw in Extract 6.7, Lisbeth described her feeling of belonging in the crowd in terms of feelings of being safe and comfortable, and it is worth repeating part of that Extract here:

> Extract 6.43 Lisbeth (Green Group) 564-567 I felt, I felt kind of comfortable, I felt safe and I felt like, yeah I felt a bit like we're all in this together kind of thing, you know…

Feeling comfortable and safe results from (is a consequence of) the feeling of belonging, and it indicates a positive change in Lisbeth's relations with the crowd. It may, as we saw in sub-Section 4.4.3, seem strange to feel comfortable and safe in the midst of a big crowd of people, and indeed, during the Tory incident, which I explore in detail below, Lisbeth felt *less* safe:

> Extract 6.44 Lisbeth (Green Group) 827-829 [] it did kind of obviously feel less kind of safe and stuff when obviously the

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[56] Possibly a reference to Polish philosopher and sociologist Zygmunt Bauman's *Liquid Modernity*.

> shouting and booing sort of felt a bit like the atmosphere
> changing [].

She did not describe precisely *how* the atmosphere changed, but it is reasonable to infer that the shouting and booing represented angry and hostile behaviour. Her feeling of being less safe and her sense of a change in atmosphere represent a negative shift in her relationship with the crowd.

James (Green Group) described how, unusually for him, he felt able to speak to strangers in the crowd:

> Extract 6.45 James (Green Group) 512-515 I definitely find it easier to talk to, I feel like strangers than I would normally talk to just because it was kind of mutual acknowledgement that we're both kind of there for, both probably agreed on the same things [].

In the Climate Change crowd, because strangers were presumed to share climate change beliefs and values it was easier to engage with them. Ronald (Green Group) explained that social relations were 'better' at Faslane, compared with the Climate March:

> Extract 6.46 Ronald (Green Group) 1554-1558 [] the climate march, people were kind of, you know we were all in a huge group together but people weren't looking at each other in the eye and smiling and all like, you know, like 'Hi!' Whereas Trident march they <u>were</u>, it was kind of like 'hi ya!'

When people perceive themselves as sharing identity with others, their relations with those others may be transformed so that people tend to treat others as friends, or potential friends, making eye contact, smiling and communicating with strangers. Doing so may also be taken as evidence of emotional warmth amongst people in the crowd, part of an emotional transformation.

Emotional transformation

As we saw in sub-Section 4.4.3, an emotional transformation may be experienced in two forms. Firstly, crowd members may experience feelings of emotional warmth

towards the crowd as a whole; and secondly, they may experience feelings of excitement, exhilaration and empowerment in the crowd.

As an example of the first form, Lisbeth (Green Group) described her feelings towards the crowd at Scotland's Climate March:

> Extract 6.47 Lisbeth (Green Group) 1370-1371 [] I felt a more general sort of sense of kind of warmth towards the whole crowd [].

Douglas (Green Group) talked of the power of the crowd, the second form of emotional transformation. Interestingly, although he had previously said that he felt he *belonged* more in the crowd at Faslane than he did at Scotland's Climate March, he felt more *powerful* at the Climate March:

> Extract 6.48 Douglas (Green Group) 1740-1742 [] during the climate march I felt more powerful because it seemed like everyone in Edinburgh could see you and it felt like you were making a difference. [].

As we saw in sub-Section 6.3.2, Sophia said something similar when she talked about her feelings of empowerment while chanting in the crowd:

> Extract 6.49 Sophia (P&P Group) 886-887 It's great, it's empowering it's powerful, it makes you feel united, it's positive.

It is reasonable to construe chanting together as an expression of identity, and as such an enactment or 'realisation' of a shared identity. She went on:

> Extract 6.50 Sophia (P&P Group) 896-904 [] even though you can question how much the demo will make a difference and whether anyone will listen like, at the end of the march [] I feel so empowered by the march itself that like, it doesn't matter if no one will listen, in a way, cause like I don't care like yeah. So I can be sceptical about the march and about what it makes, what difference it makes but like the actual feeling of being in the march is so empowering [].

So for Sophia, in contrast with Douglas, actually making a difference was less empowering than taking part. Later, in an Extract we have seen parts of before, she explained:

> Extract 6.51 Sophia (P&P Group) 1962-1964 I think, when
> you realise that you're united and yep solidarity whooo!
> makes you feel like even more powerful [].

In an emotional transformation, she felt powerful, and the power came from (was a consequence of) her feeling of being united with the crowd, and her feeling of solidarity with the crowd. Put another way, her sense of shared identity, and the transformation of her relations with the crowd towards a sense of mutual support, led to an emotional transformation, feelings of empowerment.

The Transition Group did not talk about feelings of emotional warmth in the crowd (although Alexander's description of his relations with others at the Gathering as a form of "Liquid sociability" does suggest a movement towards emotional intimacy), nor did the group talk about feelings of empowerment in the crowd.

In support of my findings in Chapter 4, we have seen further evidence that shared identity is not something that, once achieved, remains static and unchanging. Instead it is a process, in which identity is dependent on context. Good examples of this are Anna's (Transition Group: Extract 6.12) and Andy's (P&P Group: Extract 6.17) descriptions of a longitudinal (but not necessarily linear) 'movement' from simplicity to complexity as the Climate March progressed, which tended to disrupt the presumption of shared beliefs and values. Moreover, we have seen that the feeling of shared identity was experienced by the P&P Group most intensely while they were chanting together; by the Green Group when they were marching or walking together, and by the Transition Group while they were in the Gathering, before the March started. This demonstrates variability in shared identity, both amongst the groups and over time. In the next sub-Section, I examine the evidence of the variability of shared identity.

6.3.4 Variability of shared identity

We have seen that the Green Group felt a stronger sense of belonging at the anti-Trident protest at Faslane, than at Scotland's Climate March. This demonstrates that shared identity can be experienced differently in different crowds, and emphasises the importance of context in the achievement of shared identity. However, in the following analysis, I focus primarily on variability in shared identity at Scotland's Climate March. Variability across the three focus groups can most clearly be demonstrated by following the timeline of the Climate March, which in Chapter 5 I described in three parts: the Gathering at The Meadows; the March from The Meadows to Princes Street Gardens; and the Rally at the Ross Bandstand in the Gardens. I start with the Gathering.

The Gathering

The P&P Group discussion indicates that university students who took part in the Climate March congregated together at the Gathering, (and stayed together for much of the March), forming a large student group comprised of different student societies and organisations which I have called the 'University Group' and which "merged together" (Sophia, 206) at the Gathering. In Extract 6.1, it was not clear whether Sophia identified with the crowd as a whole, in terms of a superordinate identity as, say, 'environmentalists', or whether, in the University Group, she defined herself in terms of her *student* identity, say as a 'student climate change activist'; or indeed in terms of some other identity that is not obvious from the group discussion. We saw in Extract 6.38 that Amy (P&P Group) felt that her relationship with the crowd beyond the 'boundaries' of the University Group was similar to her relationship with the University Group, suggesting that Amy may have defined herself as part of the crowd as a whole. But in response to Amy's comment in Extract 6.38, Olivia (P&P Group) suggested that "you're more likely to walk with people from the Uni though" (287), and Amy agreed. I conclude on balance that while there was a degree of ambivalence in the group, at the Gathering the P&P Group identified more with the University Group than with the crowd as a whole. The importance of this will become clear when we look at what happened in this group on the March, and at the Rally.

For the Green Group, the sight of Scottish Green Party leaders Patrick Harvie and Maggie Chapman "wandering around" (267) at the Gathering led Douglas to project their 'Greenness' to the whole crowd, so that he saw everyone there as holding 'Green' beliefs and values:

> Extract 6.52 Douglas (Green Group) 266-273 []. So as soon
> as you see them wandering around [] everyone else there as
> well kind of takes on their personality to a degree, so you
> kind of see everyone there as being well-meaning. I guess we
> all agree with each other, if everyone is there.

But others disagreed. For example, Lisbeth commented disparagingly about other political groups, and specifically the Labour Party (socialist) and the SWP (Socialist Workers Party - socialist and revolutionary) groups:

> Extract 6.53 Lisbeth (Green Group) 280-297 I saw like, I saw
> like a tiny bit of Labour in one corner and sort of SWP
> hanging on [] I saw like the socialists having their wee paper
> {gestures handing out leaflets} which kind of made me feel
> like it's really about environmentalism as the general kind of,
> like same old [] like lefty kind of useless kind of thing…

Lisbeth was scornful of the other political parties; "a tiny bit of Labour" were "in one corner" and the SWP were "hanging on". They were handing out "wee paper" leaflets, which the group described as an environmentally unfriendly way of getting their message across[57]. Labour's and the SWP's kind of environmentalism was "old" and "useless" and this group had seen it all before. Implicit in this is that other political parties and their supporters were not seen by the group as 'real' environmentalists, and this was emphasised by James's derogatory comments about the Labour flag that was being waved around (Extract 6.14) and Douglas's assertion that it did not "feel right" (Extract 6.15) for the Labour Party to be represented at Scotland's Climate March, a feeling which was shared by Ronald and Helen, with no dissent from the other group members, James and Lisbeth. Perhaps as a consequence of this focus on political differences, there was ambivalence about the extent to

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[57] The group expressed annoyance that leaflets were handed out and then discarded, rather than being recycled (306-309).

which this group shared identity with the crowd as a whole at the Gathering. Indeed, it seems more likely that they identified as Scottish Green Party activists.

The Transition Group felt their strongest sense of shared identity during the Gathering, while milling, waiting for the March to start. Keith described a feeling of "community" at the Gathering; a community of people who had similar values (Extract 6.5). Alexander described the Gathering as a "special moment" when he had social relations with people which would not have been possible in a normal situation (Extract 6.41). We can reasonably conclude that at the Gathering the Transition Group achieved shared identity with the crowd as a whole, but it was different on the March.

The March

The Transition group marched together with other student groups from St Andrews (the 'St Andrews Group'). Keith felt "more insular" (398) on the March; and later he indicated that his feelings of connection and togetherness at the Gathering "almost faded with the march, especially at the end" (713). But what Keith described as a fading of his sense of community may reflect instead a *shift* in shared identity; a variation in the identity he shared with others, from an identity shared widely within the crowd, say as 'environmentalists', to an identity shared with the St Andrews Group, say as 'student climate change activists'. Some support for this can be found in the comments Anna made in Extract 6.22, when she contrasted her feeling that everyone was part of one group at the Gathering, with her sense that on the March, it felt like "lots of separate groups that were all walking together" (1592). On the March, it may be that the identity they shared shifted, as they came to perceive themselves as sharing identity less with the crowd as a whole, and more with the St Andrews Group, in what was a primarily student identity. But if so, it is likely that this shared identity was disrupted by the catastrophic failure of the group's attempted chant during the March (Extract 6.23). Alexander said in Extract 6.24 that the failure of the chant left him with a sense of "division" (1519) and "contention" (1524), feelings that are likely to disrupt or erode a sense of shared identity.

The P&P Group may have been ambivalent about their identity at the Gathering, but at two points on the March their ambivalence disappeared. The first of these was

when they noticed the spectators who lined the route of the March through Edinburgh:

> Extract 6.54 Olivia (P&P Group) 468-475 It's weird walking in the crowd and [] then seeing crowds of people watching us [] and I was like 'you're just watching us?' But like you felt a lot more, I don't know, like 'with' the people that you were marching with [].
> Sophia 488-489 Oh, I get really judgemental when I'm marching {laughter} I really try not to.
> Amy 491 Really self-righteous! {laughs}

For Olivia, Sophia and Amy, the spectators had become an outgroup. Olivia went on to compare how she had felt towards the crowd, with how she had felt towards the spectators:

> Extract 6.55 Olivia (P&P Group) 544-552 You feel that everyone in, in the crowd that you're marching with, like supports you [] but then the people on the outside like <u>don't</u> support what you're marching for. So you kind of feel more close to the people {on the march} even though you don't know them, like maybe they wouldn't support what we believe in, you just presume they're going to be marching for like the things you believe in too, so you kind of think 'I believe what you believe' probably.

She recognised the spectators as an outgroup; people who were physically present, but who were *not* supporters, and this affected her relations with the crowd. She felt more togetherness with the people she was marching with (Extract 6.54) and "more close" to others in the crowd, explicitly including people she did not know (Extract 6.55). It is reasonable to conclude that, perceiving the spectators as a physically present and antagonist outgroup, the P&P Group at this point achieved shared identity with the crowd as a whole. But, if so, this did not last.

We saw in Extract 6.18 that the P&P Group felt a sense of shared identity most intensely while chanting together with others on the March. But when the University Group started chanting, others in the crowd, and specifically "older people" remained silent and were perceived as being disapproving:

Extract 6.56 Sophia (P&P Group) 617-621 Because it was
quite a family march, the chanting was a bit different [] but it
was like quite obvious that like some people were like 'oh!
the radical students!' {disapproving}.

Sophia felt there was a distinction between different groups in the crowd; the "radical
students" on the one hand, and the people she perceived as disapproving of chanting
on the other. I asked the group to talk about how they felt towards the people in the
crowd who were not chanting:

Extract 6.57 Sophia (P&P Group) 707-708 We did that
judgemental thing again, which I try to tell myself like, not to
do.
Moderator 710 This is about people who weren't chanting
then?
Sophia 712-717 Yeah [] Do I sound righteous?! But… yeah.
It's just the same like, it's the same with the fact that the
difference between like the march and the people who
weren't in the march [].

When she perceived that others in the crowd were not joining in, and indeed
disapproved of the students' chanting, those others came to be perceived in the same
way as the spectators (Extracts 6.54 and 6.55) - as a physically present antagonist
outgroup, but an outgroup *within* the crowd. Later in the discussion, Olivia and
Sophia distinguished between older activists, who as Sophia disparagingly put it, just
wanted to have a "nice march" or a "walk" (Sophia, 746), and the more "radical"
student group, who wanted a 'real' protest. Eventually, Olivia made the distinction
explicit:

Extract 6.58 Olivia (P&P Group) 1043-1045 [] I think
sometimes there is a bit of divide, in like maybe older people
think that Uni students are really radical and they just want to
have a peaceful [march?].

Olivia saw not just a distinction, but a *division* between older people and the students
in the crowd. We have seen that for this group, spectators may have represented an
antagonist outgroup. In the context of chanting, those who did not join in (largely
non-students, older people) may have come to have been perceived as an antagonist
outgroup within the crowd, involving a shift in shared identity from an inclusive

environmentalist identity to a less inclusive student climate change activist identity, or at least an identity that excluded those who disapproved of chanting.

In an interesting contrast with the P&P Group, the Green Group regarded the spectators as *supporters* and hence part of the crowd; indeed for this group it was important that everyone was included. As Ronald remarked, "the demographic was so wide that everyone would have been included" (459). While, as we have seen, this group had an issue with political diversity, they welcomed demographic diversity. We saw in Extract 6.20 that this group experienced a sense of belonging most intensely while they were walking or marching together at the Climate March, and they went on to say that while they were standing (at the Rally), "divisions between the groups became a little bit more apparent" (1290). This is a reference to the Tory incident, which I examine under the next heading, The Rally.

The Rally

For the P&P Group, at the Rally and particularly during the Tory incident (described in sub-Section 5.3.4), their sense of shared identity was disrupted. Andy went from feeling that the crowd was united before the Tory incident, to feeling that the unity was "ruined" (1325) and "fractured" (1329); from feeling self-assured or confident in his beliefs, to feeling uncertain and ambivalent. What he believed to be shared beliefs and values were no longer supported or validated by the crowd as a whole, leaving him uncertain about what he believed in. On the one hand, he did not think the Tory should have been on the platform at Scotland's Climate March, but on the other, he was not certain that it was right to boo the Tory:

> Extract 6.59 Andy (P&P Group) 1319-1329 [] I would fall on the side of I don't, I wouldn't want him at a climate march, *but* I don't know if I would go as so far as to boo him [] and then I was like what do I think, who do I stand with, like and that kind of ruined the whole like 'we are in all this together, I know what my goals, I know what I believe in' and I was questioning what my beliefs were and that sort of like dampened the mood a little bit as well because maybe other people were thinking 'oh, like what do I think about this?' and it kind of fractured it a bit.

Not only was the Tory booed and heckled, but when he talked about nuclear power, he was booed and heckled into *silence*, and the compere, Hardeep Singh Kohli felt it appropriate, or necessary, to intervene with the crowd on his behalf. This split the University Group:

> Extract 6.60 Olivia (P&P Group) 1100-1101 Hardeep, yeah, yeah, like he interrupted the Tory speaker to be like 'guys shut up' and we were like, 'No!'
> Sophia 1103-1104 And that, [] like even in our clique split between people who agree with…
> Olivia 1106 Chanting? Heckling?
> Sophia 1108-1110…heckling, and people who don't, people who like really did not think that a Tory should have been piled on it and people who thought freedom of speech, everyone deserves the opportunity…

Some of the University Group heckled the Tory, shouting and chanting, while others in the Group felt strongly that he should be allowed to speak. Olivia felt *outraged* when she was "addressed" by another member of the University Group, who wanted the Tory to be given the chance to be heard. She was shocked, because she had "just presumed that everyone is like minded" (1343) in the University Group, but the Tory incident made it clear that within the Group there were *different* beliefs and values:

> Extract 6.61 Olivia 1112-1117 Because the girl that came up to speak to us, Susan[58], is like in the University she lives in the Co-op, she like does [inaudible] like me, as her degree and she was like coming up to me and like 'guys stop it, it's not fair [inaudible] speaker or anything' and it was quite, I thought it was quite weird that she came up to do that because I know her and I was like what are you doing?

This unexpected disagreement with a fellow ingroup member caused another shift in the way Olivia and Sophia defined themselves:

> Extract 6.62 Olivia (P&P Group) 1448-1450 You're kind of like, because we were like with that group, we were with that group, after the kind of heckling and… the disagreement, it kind of makes you feel more with that group…
> Sophia 1452 Yeah, creates a crowd within the crowd.

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[58] A fictitious name

Those in the University Group who disagreed with heckling the Tory may have come to be seen as an antagonist outgroup within the crowd, bringing the hecklers together. So as well as splitting certain elements of the crowd, the Tory incident had the effect of bringing together those who reacted in the same way, those who shared the belief that it was right to heckle the Tory into silence.

We saw in sub-Section 6.3.3 that Lisbeth in the Green Group noticed a change in the atmosphere during the Tory incident. Before the Tory incident, she had felt "comfortable" and "safe" (566) in the crowd, but as we saw in Extract 6.44, during the Tory incident that changed, and she felt "less kind of safe" (827-828). She did not describe precisely how the atmosphere changed, but it is reasonable to infer that the shouting and booing represented angry and hostile behaviour. Certainly, her feeling of being less safe and her sense of a change in atmosphere suggest a negative shift in her relationship with the crowd, as she lost the sense of belonging she had felt on the March (Extract 6.7).

The Green Group spent some time during the discussion debating whether or not it had been right to heckle the Tory, eventually concluding that it had been right to do so on the basis that the Tory represented everything the Green Group, and the crowd at Scotland's Climate March, were fighting against. Even then, Lisbeth expressed unease, saying that the heckling had made her feel "uncomfortable" (1530). For this Group, the Tory incident led to the *disruption* of their sense of shared identity in the Climate March crowd.

In the Transition Group, during the Tory incident Keith felt "conflicted":

> Extract 6.63 Keith (Transition Group) 983-984 I think that's
> why I was conflicted because I agreed with the <u>sentiment</u>
> behind the booing but not the actual booing itself…

Alexander felt "isolated from the crowd", and "ambivalent" (908). Both he and Anna observed that the Tory incident "split" (1037, 1084) the crowd:

> Extract 6.64 Alexander (Transition Group) 1037-1042 I felt a
> real sense of like oh now the crowd is split between your
> angry no platforming radical hecklers and your sort of more
> moderate, more moderate, less material liberal bohemian

hearing everyone out, we're all out here for a good day out to
say no to climate change sort of, and <u>now</u> I felt a real division
in the crowd into what I could describe as, what I could
ascribe ideological tendencies to.

There was an ideological division in the crowd, between people who might be
regarded as more "radical" (the same word the P&P Group used to describe students
in Extract 6.58), who wanted to deny the Tory a platform, and the more moderate
liberals, for whom it was a matter of principle that everyone is entitled to speak, and
not silenced. Interestingly, the Transition Group explicitly did not view the split in
the crowd as a split concerning environmental issues:

> Extract 6.65 Keith (Transition Group) 1076-1081 [] it became
> about a debate, about listening to people and platforming
> different views. But the whole day hadn't been about
> platforming different views, it had been about one view
> which was again yeah, sort of that whole climate change and
> everything that goes with it, the environmental movement, all
> those values, that…
> Anna 1083-1084 Yeah but at the beginning everyone was
> connected by that one thing and then when there was a split,
> it was a split about a different thing.

The Tory incident caused feelings of tension and anger:

> Extract 6.66 Keith (Transition Group) 812-823 [] you could
> sense the tension [] throughout the crowd and then you could
> sense the anger and then that boiling up [].
> Alexander 825-829 Ruptures that tell you what you do and
> don't share [] as it were.

For the Transition Group, any sense of shared identity they may have had on the
March was *ruptured*, or disrupted by the Tory incident.

6.4 Discussion

In Chapter 4, I presented evidence of shared identity, its antecedents and
consequences at climate change protests in Edinburgh, London and Paris, but
because of the nature of the data, brief and hurried field interviews, I treated my
findings as provisional. In this Chapter, I have largely confirmed those findings.

But the picture of shared identity that has emerged from my analysis of the focus group discussions is much richer in content, and much more nuanced in character than I found in the field interviews, and the analysis has revealed a number of findings which *extend* our understanding of shared identity in crowds. These include findings relating to role of banners and placards, the variability of both the scope (who is included and who is not included in the identity that is shared) and the intensity of shared identity, and the role of emotions in the achievement and disruption of shared identity. These will be discussed as I answer my research questions in the following sub-Sections.

6.4.1 Shared identity

My analysis of the focus group discussions has provided evidence of shared identity firstly in participants' use of what I have called the language of shared identity - expressions of one-ness and 'we-ness', and a sense of connection and community with everyone in the crowd. Secondly, one of the focus groups talked of a sense of belonging in the crowd, mirroring similar comments made by some of the field interviewees. The feeling of belonging is, I have proposed, the subjective feeling of shared identity, a feeling of being comfortable and safe in the crowd, which reflects Alnabulsi and Drury's (2014) findings that identification with the crowd heightens perceptions of being safe in the crowd. Accordingly, my first research question can be answered positively.

It is noticeable that we have lost the 'love' that field interviewees talked about, but we have instead found expressions of emotional warmth towards the crowd as a whole, and it may be that this more measured response can be attributed to the difference in the contexts in which the field interviews and the focus group discussions were conducted; the field interviews were of course conducted on the spot, in the crowd, while the focus groups discussed the event retrospectively, from memory. As Scottish philosopher David Hume, (1748/1999) wrote:

> All the colours of poetry, however splendid, can never paint
> natural objects in such a manner as to make the description be
> taken for a real landscape. The most lively thought is still
> inferior to the dullest sensation. (p. 96).

Put simply, it may be that when people are interviewed while they are physically in the crowd, they are feeling the emotion as they speak. Later, in the calm atmosphere of the focus group discussion, recalling how it felt while they were in the crowd, almost certainly they will not feel the emotion to the same degree of intensity.

Interestingly, we have also seen evidence that the feeling of emotional warmth may be part of what leads people to perceive themselves as sharing identity with others in the crowd. In the next sub-Section I discuss what I have loosely called the 'antecedents' of shared identity.

6.4.2 How do you know?

In Chapter 4, we saw that interviewees came to understand themselves and others in the crowd as united, as one, and in it together, based on three principal factors. The first was the simple physical presence of others, and we have seen that the focus groups discussed exactly the same point (Extracts 6.8 - 6.12).

The second principal factor was banners and placards, which I characterised in Chapter 4 as symbols of togetherness. The group discussions about the effects of banners and placards in the crowd in this Chapter were of particular interest, because while they confirmed the importance of banners and placards as contributing to feelings of togetherness and unity in the crowd, we saw evidence that they could also be divisive, demonstrating *differences* of view in the crowd, and particularly party-political differences. It may be that home-made banners tend to act as ice-breakers, encouraging engagement with strangers in the crowd. But party-political banners were explicitly described as divisive in the Transition Group discussion (Extract 6.16), and they also had an effect on the Green Group, who felt that (other than the Green Party), political parties had no place at Scotland's Climate March (Extract 6.15). It may be difficult to achieve or sustain shared identity if evidence of political or ideological differences are on display.

My analysis is congruent with Callahan and Ledgerwood's (2016) findings that group symbols such as flags enhance group cohesion and entitativity, because enhancing group identities is likely to highlight differences amongst separate groups within the crowd. This extends our understanding of how banners, placards and other symbols

of protest work in crowds, demonstrating that they can both support perceptions of shared identity and also be divisive, eroding or disrupting shared identity.

We have also seen evidence of the third principal factor, synchronised behaviours such as marching, chanting and dancing together. Taking part in such activities contributes towards feelings of togetherness and one-ness, and hence the achievement of shared identity. Chanting together was particularly important, at least to the P&P Group, but we also saw that in the Transition Group the failure of an attempted chant caused contention and division (Extract 6.24), disrupting any remaining sense of shared identity.

Field interviewees' perceptions that they shared beliefs and values with others in the crowd led me to propose in Chapter 4 that people tend to *presume* that others share the same beliefs and values in political protest crowds, a presumption that may lead to perceptions of shared identity. In this Chapter, in the calmer, less hurried and more thoughtful environment of the focus group discussions, we have seen this presumption confirmed spontaneously by participants in their own words (Extracts 6.10 - 6.12). Importantly, our understanding of the presumption of shared beliefs and values is extended by evidence that shows it is a *fragile presumption*; a presumption that may be eroded or even ruptured by evidence of relevant differences in the crowd. Relevant differences include, as we have seen, differences in political beliefs, such as those evidenced by banners, placards, and other symbols of protest, and differences in the ways people were expected to behave at the Climate March, evidenced by the Transition Group's reaction to their failed chant, and the P&P Group's reaction to the perceived disapproval of others. But perhaps the best examples of the fragility of the presumption were the differences that emerged during the Tory incident (let him speak *versus* no platform), differences that were not directly related to environmentalist ideology.

The Tory incident demonstrated the disruptive effect of differences of perspective, which were accompanied by differences in emotional response (see for example Extract 6.66), and which I discuss in sub-Section 6.4.4. Next, however, I want to discuss one of my most interesting findings: the role of shared emotions as an 'antecedent' of shared identity.

In Extract 6.29, Douglas commented that at Faslane, everyone was "properly horrified" and I suggested that feelings of horror (at nuclear weapons) may have been normative. As we saw in sub-Section 1.3.1, emotions are embodied and communicative (Chovil, 1991; Buck, 1991); they are visible 'on' people and are manifest from a myriad of signs including facial expressions, posture and movements. The visible emotional response of others is a 'signal' of what they think and feel at the time (Chovil, 1991). Congruent with the findings of Livingstone, Shepherd, Spears, and Manstead (2015), and Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, Bruder and Shepherd (2011), I have found evidence that just as perceptions of shared beliefs and values lead to, or contribute to the perception of shared identity, so too *as an antecedent*, do perceptions of shared emotions. In other words, the perception of shared emotions contributes to the achievement of shared identity, and it is an important part of the process that the emotions of others are perceived to 'match' the emotions felt by the individual. Hitherto, as we saw in Chapter 2, shared emotions have been treated in the social identity approach, and in the shared identity model, as consequences, not antecedents, of shared identity.

Of course, given the circular nature of crowd processes (sub-Section 1.3.3) it is also likely that the emotional response will become a consequence of shared identity, as once having achieved shared identity, people will naturally expect that other members of their ingroup will share a similar emotional response in a similar context.

6.4.3 Consequences

We saw in Chapter 4, that the consequences of shared identity may be analysed in terms of three transformations, each a dimensional aspect of a whole. Likewise, my analysis of the focus group discussions provides evidence of each of those dimensions.

I have identified the importance participants placed on the size of the crowd as part of the cognitive transformation, a consequence of self-categorization in a social identity. It was not just the fact that it was a big crowd that made the difference, it was participants' perceptions that it was a big crowd of *like-minded people* (for

example, see Extract 6.33). My analysis shows that through their understanding that everyone in the crowd shared important environmental beliefs and values, participants gained a sense of support and validation which in turn gave them a sense of confidence in their beliefs and values (Extract 6.36). Furthermore, the presence of so many people tended to elicit an emotional response, a kind of *wow! factor* (Extracts 6.34 and 6.35), which may also be part of the emotional transformation I discuss below.

We have seen evidence of a social bond that I have construed as camaraderie or *comradeship* (Extract 6.38) a transformation of social relations involving mutual trust. As discussed in sub-Section 2.2.2, the social identity literature has shown that people are more likely to trust ingroup members (see, for example, Platow, Foddy, Yamagishi, Lim, & Chow, 2012; Tanis & Postmes, 2005). We also found evidence of feelings of solidarity (Extract 6.39), which I interpreted in Section 1.1 as involving mutual support and unity of feeling and action, reflecting the social identity finding that people are more likely to cooperate with and help ingroup members (see, for example, Tyler & Blader, 2003; Blader & Tyler, 2009).

Furthermore, Lisbeth (Green Group) described her sense of belonging in terms of feelings of being comfortable and safe in the crowd (Extract 6.7). Given that crowds might seem noisy, confusing and potentially frightening, participants' sense of comfort and ease, and their sense of being safe in the crowd are all the more remarkable. We saw in Section 2.4 that Alnabulsi and Drury (2014) demonstrate that negative perceptions of crowd safety are moderated by social identification with the crowd. Participants who identified strongly with the crowd felt supported and safe, and the bigger the crowd, the more supported and safe they felt. It is reasonable to conclude that Lisbeth's feeling of being comfortable and safe was a consequence of her achievement of shared identity. Participants also felt free to engage with strangers in the crowd, striking up conversations with people they had never met, further evidence of a transformation of relations in the crowd.

Feelings of emotional warmth, excitement about the size of the crowd, and feelings of power and empowerment in the crowd were evidence of an emotional transformation. Despite the Green Group describing their feeling of belonging as

being more intense at Faslane, they felt more empowered by Scotland's Climate March, because it was more publicly visible; as Douglas remarked in Extract 6.48, at the Climate March he felt that "everyone in Edinburgh could see you" and so the protest was "making a difference" (1741-1742). This is an instance of collective self-realisation (CSR: Reicher & Haslam, 2006) in terms of which feelings of empowerment are consequent on the enactment of a shared social identity. The P&P Group also talked about the power of the crowd, and feelings of empowerment. Indeed, Sophia went so far as to say that it did not matter whether the Climate March actually made a difference, as she felt empowered simply through taking part in the protest, or in other words simply through the realisation or enactment of her shared social identity.

But the most striking, and I think the most important revelation of the analysis was the emergent theme of the *variability* of shared identity.

6.4.4 Variability

Firstly, my analysis shows that for the same individuals, shared identity varies from protest to protest. The Green Group provided a useful comparison between their experiences at Scotland's Climate March and their experiences at Faslane, an anti-nuclear weapons protest at a "terrifying" nuclear submarine base in Scotland. They felt a stronger sense of belonging at Faslane than they did at Scotland's Climate March.

Secondly, we also found evidence of variability in the *intensity* of shared identity. It has become clearer that the perception or feeling of shared identity ebbs and flows and at times may even disappear. An emergent theme in this context was the perception of a movement from simplicity to complexity expressed by Anna (Transition Group: Extract 6.12) and Andy (P&P Group: Extracts 6.17 and 6.19). At the beginning of the Climate March, at the Gathering, despite the evidence of difference in the form of banners, placards and other symbols of protest, these participants felt a sense of togetherness which they attributed to a perception of simplicity; everyone was there to fight for one cause, and everyone was in it together. However, as the March progressed towards the Rally in Princes Street

Gardens, participants started noticing indications that people were marching for different causes, some of which might only loosely fit under the 'umbrella' of climate change (such as vegans[59], social justice etc.); in particular, for Andy (P&P Group), there was a dawning realisation that the crowd was not "homogenous", but instead was made up of different groups with "individual [] traits" (Extract 6.17) and for Anna (Transition Group), the crowd came to be perceived less as one entity, and more in terms of the groups of which it was made up (Extract 6.22). While for the P&P Group, chanting together restored feelings of togetherness by reducing the issues to the content of the chants - as Andy said in Extract 6.19 "there we go, we sorted the problems" (1832-1833) - for the Transition Group, the failure of their chant led to perceptions of division and contention. The ultimate instantiation of complexity was the Tory incident, which for all three groups created a high degree of uncertainty and confusion and led to the *disruption* of shared identity; as Alexander (Transition Group) put it, "Ruptures that tell you what you do and don't share." (Extract 6.66).

Thirdly, there was evidence of variability in the *scope* of shared identity - in who was 'included' and who was not. The clearest examples of this came from the P&P Group, and it is worth examining these a little more closely.

I have suggested that it is likely that the P&P Group started out with an identity that may have been a 'student' identity, such as 'student climate change activists'. The first shift or variation in identity arose out of an interaction between the crowd and spectators, people who were standing by watching as the protesters marched past. As the spectators came to be perceived as "the people on the outside", people who "<u>don't</u> support what you're marching for" (Extract 6.55), Olivia felt emotionally closer to the crowd. Spectators were perceived as a physically present antagonist *outgroup* and everyone on the March was perceived as the ingroup. In a shift of

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[59] Vegans sometimes assert that one cannot be an environmentalist unless one is vegan, and some protesters at Scotland's Climate March may have been displaying placards saying so. The justification is that meat-producing agriculture produces pollution, including planet warming gases, and over-uses valuable resources such as land. For example, http://www.mercyforanimals.org/if-you-eat-meat-youre-killing-sharks-heres; https://www.vegansociety.com/go-vegan/environment; accessed 30/05/2018. The issue of veganism and the impact of the meat-producing industry on the environment was briefly discussed by the Green Group (305-326), and the P&P Group (1865-1872).

category, these participants may have re-categorized themselves, say as environmentalists, perceiving themselves as sharing identity with the crowd as a whole.

Later, chanting demonstrated differences *within* the crowd; some people were chanting whilst others were not. Those who were chanting (principally the University Group) were perceived as similar to each other and different from others in the crowd - and specifically, different from "older people" who were generally *not* chanting. This category (older people) were seen as less radical and less vocal than students, and older people on the March, or at least people who were not chanting came to be perceived as an antagonist *outgroup*. In the context of an outgroup within the crowd, the P&P Group participants no longer perceived themselves as sharing identity with the crowd as a whole. Instead, they may have re-categorized themselves as *student* climate change activists along with others in the University Group.

At the Rally, during the Tory incident, we have seen evidence of another variation or shift in identity, as divisions *within* the University Group became apparent. The scope of the identity that was shared by the P&P Group may have shifted, to *exclude* those who did not join in the heckling of the Tory, or at least those who objected. Olivia reacted differently to the attempts of the compere, Hardeep Singh Kohli (Extract 6.60), and the attempts of her fellow student, Susan, to silence her and others who were heckling the Tory (Extract 6.61). SCT specifies that ingroup members expect to agree with each other on matters which are important to the identity of the group, and indeed "*strive actively to reach agreement* on these issues" (Haslam, 2004, p. 36, emphasis in the original). This may explain why Olivia's reaction to Susan was so different to her reaction to Kohli. She had no expectations of Kohli. But she did of Susan, her fellow *ingroup* member; she expected Susan to share her values, and it came as something of a shock to discover that she did not.

This analysis has painted a fascinating picture of shared identity as both powerful and empowering, and fragile and ephemeral, flickering across the pages of the transcripts of the focus group discussions. It suggests that who people share identity

with is constantly monitored, so that as variations in context[60] take place - and the most important of these variations are to be found in interactions with other people and other groups[61] - so too, the identity people perceive themselves as sharing varies. Far from being binary (on/off) and static, shared identity is fluid and dynamic, constantly adjusting to context.

6.5 Limitations

The principal weakness of the focus group discussions lies in the number of participants recruited for each group discussion. The objective of a focus group discussion is to stimulate discussion amongst participants (sub-Section 3.1.2), and therefore it is important that the number of participants is large enough for a proper discussion and small enough that the discussion is manageable. There were 5 participants in the Green Group, 4 in the P&P Group, and only 3 in the Transition Group. There is no 'magic' number of participants which is optimal for focus group discussions, but in this type of research, which involves relatively complex social issues, as we saw in sub-Section 3.1.2, groups of between 4 and 6 participants may be considered acceptable (Breen, 2006). Others specify larger groups of 6 to 10 participants (for example, Howitt, 2010). On the former view, the Transition Group was too small, and on the latter view, all focus groups were too small.

Just as there is no optimal number of participants for each focus group, nor is there an optimal number of groups. The principle that should be followed is that focus groups should continue to be recruited until saturation of themes is achieved; or in other words until no new themes emerge (Howitt, 2010, p. 98). Guest et al., (2017) specify that "more than 80% of all themes were discoverable within two to three focus groups, and 90% were discoverable within three to six focus groups" (p. 3), which suggests that the vast majority of themes were discoverable through my analysis of the group discussions.

There is a risk that as all three groups were comprised exclusively of university students (except in the case of the Transition Group, in which one participant, who

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[60] As Drury and Reicher (2009) said: "identity constitutes context and vice versa." (p. 712).
[61] As the American philosopher and psychologist William James (1884) said: "The most important part of my environment is my fellow-man [*sic*]." (p. 195).

was employed by the University of St Andrews, had recently been a student at that University), the focus groups might be considered unrepresentative of society as a whole. While this is also true of the vast majority of research in psychology (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), in the case of the P&P Group in particular we have seen that in certain contexts, for example, while chanting, participants perceived differences and even divisions between the University Group and others on the March who they described as "older people", and it is possible that these others may have had a different experience in the crowd. Although some balance is provided by the field interviews analysed on Chapter 4, with interviewees of a wide range of ages, I conclude that it would have been useful to have conducted an additional focus group discussion with people who were not university students, to address this issue.

Finally, it might be argued that climate change protests are different from other types of political protest, because they tend to attract a wide variety of different groups and supporters of different political parties. While this is certainly the case, firstly, I found heterogeneity in other political protests I took part in, such as the ScrapTrident demonstrations in Glasgow and Faslane, and the Scottish Independence demonstrations in Glasgow and Dundee. But even if climate change crowds are more heterogeneous than other political crowds, their very heterogeneity should make it more, not less difficult to achieve shared identity, given that as we have seen, evidence of difference tends to disrupt or erode shared identity.

6.6 Conclusions

We have examined evidence of shared identity, its antecedents and consequences and its variability, from participants both in the field, as climate change protests were underway and ongoing, and after the event, in focus group discussions which took place in the days following Scotland's Climate March 2015. Combined, these studies have provided a detailed view of shared identity in political crowds, capturing the immediate, raw feelings of interviewees in the crowd, and more systematically, the reflective thoughts of focus group participants on their experiences during the course of Scotland's Climate March. In particular, the focus group discussions have shown the importance of the contribution of shared emotions to the achievement of shared

identity and the extent to which shared identity can be variable, both in scope (who is included and who is not) and in intensity.

My findings are briefly summarised in Table 1.

Table 1*: Summary of findings from political crowds*

Shared identity
Language: we, us, everyone, one-ness
Belonging
Love/emotional warmth
How do you know?
Presumption of shared beliefs and values
Being there together
Symbols of protest
Marching together
Chanting together
Dancing together
Shared emotions
Consequences
Cognitive: Validation, support, endorsement
Relational: Comradeship
Relational: Solidarity
Emotional: Emotional warmth
Emotional: Empowerment, collective self-realisation
Variability
Variability in scope
Variability in intensity

We have seen evidence of shared identity in crowds, and identified some, at least, of the factors that lead people to perceive themselves as sharing identity with others, as well as the consequences of, and particularly the variability of, shared identity. But so far, I have investigated shared identity only in political crowds. Logically, the next question is whether shared identity is a phenomenon which is found only in political crowds, or whether it is found in different crowds. This is what I explore in the next Chapter.

Chapter 7   Music festival crowds

7.1 Introduction

In the preceding Chapters we have seen evidence of shared identity and the variability of shared identity in political crowds. But it could be argued that, in focussing my research on political crowds, I have made things a little too easy for myself. After all, in such crowds the political cause tends to define the identity that may be shared, and if so, it might be thought that it is more likely than not that people who take part in political protests will come to perceive themselves in terms of such an obvious social identity.

Moreover, when people support a political cause in a political protest, this generally means that there is not only something they are *for*, there is also something they are *against*. As we saw in Section 2.2, the social identity approach specifies that categorization in a social identity is an inherently comparative process, in which the individual defines herself not only as a member of an ingroup but also as *not* a member of an outgroup or outgroups (for example, Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987, and in particular, the meta-contrast principle, pp. 46-48). As such, in political protests there tends to be an obvious antagonist outgroup, who may be *psychologically* present (Turner, et al., p. 51) such as, at the climate change protests in the lead up to COP21, the politicians who were responsible for negotiations; or who may be *physically* present, such as, for the P&P Group, the spectators at Scotland's Climate March. In political crowds, then, there is often a relatively clear and obvious distinction between ingroup identity and outgroup identity, and my findings so far suggest that this distinction in itself contributes to or supports the achievement of shared identity.

So, is shared identity found only in political crowds or is it a phenomenon of crowds more generally? For example, is shared identity found in sporting crowds? In considering this, I quickly came to the view that identity, and shared identity, is what sports crowds are all about, and that it would be even easier to find shared identity in say, a football crowd, than in political crowds. People go to football matches to support their team, wear their team colours and sing their team songs, and it seems

obvious that, while there may be nuances, depending on, for example, the degree to which they define themselves as 'hardcore' supporters, the identity they share is as team supporters (see, for example, Neville & Reicher, 2011; Stott, Adang, Livingstone, & Schreiber, 2007).

I had found that, occasionally, people I interviewed in political crowds had said that the feelings of togetherness and unity they felt in political crowds reminded them of how they sometimes felt in the crowd at music festivals (see, for example, Sally's (Edinburgh) comments in Extract 4.12).

However, it is not obvious whether festival-goers define themselves in any particular way, or in any particular identity, and if they do so, it is even less clear who the outgroup might be. Music festival crowds therefore presented me with a challenge: in a crowd with no clear social identity and no obvious outgroup, do festival-goers share identity? To find out, I firstly took part in what was then Scotland's biggest music festival, T in the Park, and then went on to interview eighteen participants about their experiences at different music festivals.

Before we start to look at people's experiences in music festival crowds, in this brief Chapter I review some of the more obvious differences between political and music festival crowds, and set out my research questions and methods.

7.2 Differences: political protests and music festivals
7.2.1 Existential conditions

Political protests generally take up part of a day[62] - for example, Scotland's Climate March lasted from around midday until around 4.30pm. Music festivals, on the other hand, tend to last for two or more days, and people tend to camp, in tents or campervans, for the duration of the festival. This means that at music festivals people *live* together in the crowd, and have to deal with all kinds of practical day to day matters which do not generally arise at political demonstrations, such as finding their tent at night, having a shower, and where their next drink is coming from. It is

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[62] There are of course exceptions, such as Faslane Peace Camp, which has been in existence since 1982, and the independence camp outside the Scottish Parliament, recently evicted after nearly a year.

reasonable to expect that living together, sharing the joys and hardships of festival life in itself might induce feelings of camaraderie, togetherness and unity.

Furthermore, most political demonstrations take place during the daytime, when everything that goes on is visible[63]. In contrast, the 'main events' at music festivals, the headline performances, generally take place after nightfall, often accompanied by dazzling and flickering light and laser displays[64]. In the darkness, not only is the crowd less visible, but festival-goers become difficult to distinguish as individuals.

It is part of music festival life that illicit drugs as well as alcohol are freely available. How might the consumption of drugs and alcohol impact on the achievement of shared identity?

7.2.2 Drugs and alcohol

It is a commonplace that alcohol consumption[65] and illicit recreational drug-taking[66] are widespread at music festivals; indeed, for some, drinking and drug-taking are an essential part of the music festival experience[67]. This is not the place for a comprehensive exploration of the vast literature on the effects of alcohol consumption and drug-taking, but a few brief comments are required.

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[63] Again, there are exceptions, such as "Light up the Law", a torch and candlelit procession up Dundee Law, a hill in the city of Dundee, Scotland in support of Syrian refugees in September 2016, which started in darkness at 8pm.

[64] For example, see video footage of the light and laser display at Boomtown Fair at night: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4RkmsPsaqgY, accessed 11/08/2017 - view from 6.00.

[65] The UK Festival & Conference Awards Report 2016, downloaded from http://www.festivalawards.com/ accessed 06/06/2017 suggests that more than 50% of people at music festivals spent between £10 and £50 per day on alcohol. I am unable to assess the validity or reliability of the data in Report.

[66] Anecdotal evidence of illicit drug taking at music festivals is ubiquitous. For an interesting example, see http://drugabuse.com/featured/instagram-drugs-and-rock-n-roll/, accessed 03/08/2017, a study of more than 3.6 million music festival Instagram posts which mentioned or referred to alcohol or illicit drugs. Most commonly mentioned were, in order: alcohol; MDMA (ecstasy); marijuana; general drug references; cocaine; opioids; and crack cocaine. The study was not peer-reviewed and is of unknown reliability or validity.

[67] See, for example, the following article concerning the death of a young festival-goer from a combination of drugs and alcohol: https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2132900/popular-woman-18-died-in-her-sleep-at-boomtown-music-festival-after-downing-cocktail-of-class-a-drugs/, accessed 29/07/2017; the following article concerning the possibility that the two deaths at T in the Park 2016 were drug-related:http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/08/police-investigating-after-two-people-die-at-t-in-the-park/ accessed 18/07/16;
See also 'The drugs being used at UK festivals' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-44482290 accessed 05/07/2018.

It is well-established that the consumption of alcohol in a social context enhances mood and increases talkativeness, friendliness and sociability (Aan Het Rot, Russell, Moskowitz, & Young, 2008). People who have had a few drinks tend to become more extrovert (Winograd, Steinley, Lane, & Sher, 2017) and indeed, the presence of others, especially intoxicated others, may enhance these effects (Kirkpatrick & De Wit, 2013). Furthermore, there is evidence that the consumption of alcohol in groups may increase group bonding (Sayette et al., 2012).

It is not useful to review here the effects of all of the different drugs that are available at music festivals, but among them, one of the most commonly used is MDMA or ecstasy[68]. Could the consumption of MDMA affect the process of shared identity? Stewart et al., (2014) found that participants who had recently taken MDMA rated faces shown in photographs as more trustworthy, and showed higher levels of cooperative behaviour, than control participants. A recent study reported in New Scientist on 10th April 2017[69] tends to confirm these findings, suggesting that "people on ecstasy feel loved-up because MDMA boosts trust."

So the consumption of drugs (including alcohol) which alter states of consciousness may contribute to group cohesion and hence to the achievement of shared identity. But this does not mean that the consumption of mind altering drugs *causes* shared identity. The assumptions I make about the impact of mind altering drugs in my analysis of shared identity in music festival crowds are: firstly, that the psychological processes underlying shared identity are the same whether mind altering drugs have been consumed or not; and secondly that while the consumption of mind altering drugs, including alcohol, may contribute to group cohesion in music festival crowds, it is not the sole cause of the achievement of shared identity.

7.2.3 The crowd as audience?

It is sometimes claimed that the difference between a political crowd and an entertainment crowd is that the political crowd *is* the protest, the event itself, whereas

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[68] https://drugabuse.com/featured/instagram-drugs-and-rock-n-roll/ accessed 28/09/2017.
[69] https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg23431211-100-people-on-ecstasy-feel-lovedup-because-MDMA-boosts-trust, accessed 29/07/2017.

an entertainment crowd is simply a passive audience witnessing a performance. That may be true of other entertainment crowds, such as cinema or opera audiences, in which there is little interaction between audience members, but music festival crowds are different.

In *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy*, Barbara Ehrenreich's (2007) evocative exploration of communal celebrations through the ages, she explains that historically, music was regarded as something to sit still and listen to in silence, isolated from other spectators (p. 187), the focus being on the music itself. But the "rock rebellion" of the 1950s and 60s was a rebellion against, amongst other things, this imposition of passivity on the audience:

> "From the beginning, the rock rebellion manifested itself as a simple refusal to sit still or to respect anyone who insisted one do so. Wherever the "new" music was performed…kids jumped out of their seats and began to chant, scream, and otherwise behave in ways the authorities usually interpreted as "rioting"." (p. 206).

As she comments, the very nature of rock music invites, or even requires audience participation and interaction, particularly dancing to the music, and "stomping, clapping and yelling a lot" (p. 208[70]). The crowd at a music festival is not a passive audience. Music festivals are immersive experiences in which festival-goers *participate*.

7.2.4 Purpose or cause

It is clear from our examination of political crowds that political protests are meaningful expressions of serious beliefs and values which are important to those taking part. People taking part in music festivals, in contrast, are there for their personal enjoyment.

But this distinction is by no means absolute. At political protests, however serious the subject matter may be, there is often a carnival atmosphere in the crowd (see, for example, Reicher, 2011) and as we have seen, at political protests such as Scotland's

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[70] Quotation from Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave's *Anti-Rock: The Opposition to Rock 'n' Roll* 1993 (p. 8) cited in *Dancing in the Streets* (p. 208).

Climate March in Edinburgh and the People's Climate March in London, there were bands playing music, dancing, drumming and other forms of entertainment (see for example sub-Section 5.3.1). So even if this is not the overt objective, people often enjoy themselves at political protests (for example, chanting can be "fun": Extract 6.18); equally, at music festivals, bands and DJs sometimes have a political or charitable message, and the culture of some music festivals can be overtly political (Sharpe, 2008; Martin, 2016).

As Durkheim (1912/1995), comparing religious ceremonies with festivals, puts it:

> Simple rejoicing [in festivals] has no serious purpose, but []
> we must notice that there is no rejoicing in which the
> seriousness of life has no echo at all. Instead, the basic
> difference lies in the different proportions in which the two
> elements are combined. (p. 387, my words in square
> brackets).

Nevertheless, a political cause tends to shape identity (and the identity of the outgroup) in political crowds. Without a cause to bring them together it is not at all clear that festival-goers perceive themselves in terms of a shared identity, or indeed whether a music festival crowd is a psychological crowd at all (for the distinction between a psychological crowd and a physical crowd, see Sections 1.1 and 1.2).

In the following Sections, I set out my research questions (Section 7.3); outline my research methods (Section 7.4); and provide a brief description of the different music festivals we will be looking at in my analysis of music festival crowds (Section 7.5 and Table 2).

7.3 Research questions

My three original research questions concerning shared identity remain the same:

1. Is there shared identity in music festival crowds? If so:
2. How do people know they share identity in music festival crowds?
3. What are the consequences of shared identity in music festival crowds?

However, in previous Chapters we have witnessed the emergence of a new theme, the variability of shared identity in political crowds. As the variability of shared

identity has demonstrated something central to its nature as a dynamic process, it is important that this aspect of shared identity is explored in my research in music festival crowds. It will therefore be my new fourth research question:

4. Is there variability in the scope or intensity of shared identity in music festival crowds?

7.4 Methods
7.4.1 Participant observation

In my exploration of shared identity in political crowds, it had been important for me to get involved with the crowd, to experience the crowd from the inside. It would be likewise with music festival crowds. At the age of 57, I had never been to a music festival, and to understand the phenomenon I needed to participate in the music festival experience - camping overnight[71], the communal showers and toilets, the mud, festival food, and the sights, sounds and smells of communal humanity, as well as the experience of the music. Based simply on convenience, I chose to participate in T in the Park at nearby Strathallan Castle, Kinross.

I spent my time at T in the Park closely observing festival-goers going about their daily festival business, paying particular attention to social interactions, and taking field-notes. I was unable to conduct interviews at T in the Park as the organisers had denied my request for their permission to do so[72]. However, my experiences at T in the Park proved invaluable later, in establishing rapport with music festival interviewees and understanding their experiences.

7.4.2 Participant recruitment: prospective

Advertisements for participants who were planning to go to music festivals during the summer of 2016 were placed in various locations in St Andrews and nearby Dundee (for example, in coffee shops, pubs, supermarkets, a record store and the student union). In exchange for a payment of £10, participants would be asked to

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[71] I confess to having hired a campervan rather than camping in a tent. I excused myself on the grounds that I needed to keep my computer and other essential equipment secure.
[72] The lesson being, don't ask for permission you don't need.

spend 5 minutes or so each day of the festival keeping an audio diary (sub-Section 3.1.5) of their thoughts and feelings about others in the crowd, using their mobile phone or an audio-recorder which would be provided. Specifically, they would be asked to describe any feelings of closeness to or distance from others in the crowd on a scale of 1 - 10 (1 being most close and 10 being most distant[73]), their sense of how others felt about them, their thoughts about why they felt that way, the context in which their feelings arose, and whether they felt that the crowd was united or otherwise and what they thought brought this about. The audio diary was designed to provide an immediate, on the spot record of participants' feelings towards others in the crowd while those feelings were fresh in participants' minds, much like the field interviews analysed in Chapter 4. In addition, shortly after the music festival they would be invited to take part in a semi-structured interview (sub-Section 3.1.4) which would last no more than half an hour, to talk about their experiences in the crowd.

However, it was difficult to recruit participants. For many festival-goers, the music festival represents what may be their only holiday of the year[74]. They did not necessarily want to spend time on their holiday in self-reflection - understandably, they just wanted to enjoy themselves, and their reluctance to participate may have reflected an aversion to the role of observer. As we have seen, music festivals are immersive events - the full music festival experience comes from taking part, rather than observing, so the role of observer may have been seen as detracting from the music festival experience.

Ultimately, only five participants agreed to take part, a father and his young daughter who went to Glastonbury together, Emma[75], who went to Victorious Festival, Charlotte, who went to Boomtown Fair, and Victor, who went to T in the Park. The data from Glastonbury (including the post-festival interview) has not been used as I

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[73] This confused participants, who instead, (with one exception, Emma) rated 10 for closest and 1 for most distant, or sometimes used separate scales - 10 for closest on one scale and 10 for most distant on another scale.

[74] A personal connection and potential participant who declined to take part said by email: "I'm sorry, but I've got a lot on my mind and Roskilde is my few days to relax this summer, so regrettably I will not be able to participate in your project." (email to the researcher dated 20/06/2016).

[75] All names are of course fictitious.

felt that, given the relationship between the participants, it did not reflect the traditional music festival experience. Charlotte's audio diary for Boomtown is relatively complete. Rather than recording an audio diary at Victorious, Emma made brief text notes on her mobile phone. At T in the Park, Victor made an audio recording only on the last day.

Because of the small number of participants, and the drawbacks mentioned above, the audio diaries are not separately analysed, but where appropriate are used in conjunction with the relevant semi-structured interview to inform the analysis of those interviews.

7.4.3 Participant recruitment: retrospective

Similar advertisements for participants who had recently been to a music festival in 2016 were placed in similar locations in St Andrews and Dundee. In exchange for a payment of £5, participants would be invited to take part in a semi-structured interview (sub-Section 3.1.4), which would last no more than half an hour to talk about their experiences at a recent music festival.

Including those who were recruited prospectively, a total of eighteen participants took part in semi-structured interviews. Two interviews were conducted by Skype, and the other interviews were all conducted by me in person at various locations in St Andrews and Dundee. All interviews took place in August and September 2016.

7.4.4 Semi-structured interview themes

In every interview I asked the participant to talk about how they felt towards others in the crowd. If necessary, I would go on to say "Some people have said to me that sometimes in the crowd at a festival, it feels like the whole crowd is as one, that everyone is in it together" or something similar, followed by: "Do you recognise that feeling?" and I then asked participants to give me a specific example. This form of question was designed to avoid any implication that feelings of togetherness were *always* felt in music festival crowds, or that such feelings were normative, and to reduce the risk of participants seeking to give me the answers they thought I wanted

(demand characteristics, or reactivity: see, for example, McCambridge, de Bruin & Witton, 2012).

7.4.5 Transcription and analysis

The semi-structured interviews were transcribed using an orthographic transcription method (Howitt, 2010, p. 140), described in sub-Section 3.1.6. The transcribed interviews were analysed using the form of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) described in sub-Section 3.1.7, constructing themes inductively, and noting their connection to the research questions.

7.5 Music festivals

Table 2 lists the twelve music festivals in which participants took part, with a brief description of each festival which has been compiled from a variety of online sources, including news websites, the relevant festival website, and efestivals.co.uk, a website which describes and contains news of all the major festivals in the UK. The descriptions in the Table are designed only to give a brief overview or 'flavour' of each festival. Unless otherwise stated in the Table, only one participant had taken part in each festival, and where more than one had taken part (for example, T in the Park), each participant was independent of the others.

Of the music festivals listed, at the British Summertime Festival in London there were no camping facilities and so the participant left when the festival drew to a close at night. There were also no camping facilities at Victorious Festival in Portsmouth, but the participant attended on both days of the festival, sleeping overnight with her friends in nearby student accommodation. One participant attended T in the Park only for one day, and did not camp overnight.

In addition to the music festivals described in Table 2, two of the eighteen participants took part in music concerts as opposed to music festivals, one day events at which participants did not sleep overnight. One was a concert in Prague, Czech Republic, featuring principally a band called VNV Nation, and several other bands. The other was a concert headlined by a band called Maroon 5 and featuring several other bands, which took place at an unspecified location in the USA.

Table 2: *List of music festivals with brief descriptive overview*

Festival	Dates 2016	Brief overview
1. **Boomtown Fair** Winchester, England, UK Website: boomtownfair.co.uk	11 – 14 August (2 participants)	A music, arts and family 'community' festival with a daily capacity of 60,000. Boomtown offers a mini-festival for children, called Kidztown. and a wide variety of alternative entertainments, including street theatre. Headliners included Madness, Damian Marley and Parov Stelar.
2. **British Summer Time** London, England, UK Website: bst-hydepark.com	1 – 10 July. (Participant attended 8 July)	A music festival held over two consecutive weekends in Hyde Park, London, with a daily capacity of 65,000. Headliners included Mumford and Sons, Stevie Wonder and Florence and the Machine.
3. **Eden Festival** Moffat, Scotland, UK Website: edenfestival.co.uk	9 – 12 June	A smaller festival, with a daily capacity of 8,000. Family friendly. The performers were generally lesser known. Headliners included Congo Natty and Craig Charles.
4. **Glastonbury Festival** Pilton, England, UK Website: glastonburyfestivals.co.uk	22 – 26 June	Probably the best-known and biggest UK music festival, with an overall capacity of approximately 175,000, the first Glastonbury Festival took place in 1970. Retains a 'hippie' feel. Major acts included Muse, Adele, Coldplay, The Last Shadow Puppets and Madness.
5. **Leeds Festival** Leeds, England, UK Website: leedsfestival.com	26 – 28 August	Paired with Reading Festival (the same acts perform at both). Leeds Festival has a daily capacity of 80,000 featuring some of the best-known performers, such as Red Hot Chili Peppers, Foals, and Biffy Clyro.
6. **Reading Festival** Reading, England, UK Website: readingfestival.com	26 – 28 August	Paired with Leeds Festival One of the biggest festivals in the UK with a daily capacity of 90,000.
7. **Roskilde Festival** Roskilde, Denmark Website: roskilde-festival.dk	25 June – 2 July (2 participants)	One of the biggest music festivals in Europe, with a campsite of nearly 80 hectares, and a daily capacity of 130,000. Top acts in 2016 included Neil Young and The Promise of the Real, Red Hot Chili Peppers, Foals and Biffy Clyro,
8. **T in the Park** Scotland, UK Website: tinthepark.com	8 – 10 July (3 participants)	The biggest music festival in Scotland with a daily capacity of 70,000. Top acts included The Stone Roses, Calvin Harris and Red Hot Chili Peppers.
9. **Untold** Cluj-Napoca, Romania Website: untold.com	4 – 7 August	'Europe's newest dance music and multi-genre superstar' is the largest electronic music festival in Romania, with a daily capacity of over 50,000. Top performers included DJs Tiësto, Martin Garrix and Armin van Buuren.
10. **Victorious Festival** Portsmouth, England, UK Website: victoriousfestival.co.uk	27 – 28 August	A finalist for 'best family festival' in 2014 and 2015, with a daily capacity of 60,000. Unusually the festival does not offer camping facilities, so festival-goers arrange accommodation in local hotels, hostels and student accommodation. Headliners included High Flying Birds, Manic Street Preachers and Mark Ronson.
11. **Way Home** Ontario, Canada Website: wayhome.com	22- 24 July	First held in 2015, Way Home is an 'indie' music and arts festival with a daily capacity of 40,000. Describes itself as '…more than a music festival. It's a community. It's an escape. It's an experience.' Top acts included Arcade Fire, The Killers and LCD Soundsystem.
12. **Wilderness** Oxfordshire, England, UK Website: widernessfestival.com	4 – 7 August	A 'festival of musicianship, theatre, talks, panel debates, late-night parties, outdoor pursuits and food experiences' (efestivals.co.uk/festivals/wilderness/2016), with a daily capacity of 10,000. Headline acts included Robert Plant and The Flaming Lips.

7.6 Case study

In the next Chapter, I present a case study (an intensive, detailed investigation of a single person, organisation or event (Howitt, 2010, p. 35)), which examines the experiences of two independent participants at one music festival. My objectives are firstly to provide an account of what it is like to take part in a music festival; and secondly to raise questions and issues regarding the music festival experience which can then be explored in my analysis of the remaining sixteen music festival interviews in Chapter 9.

For the reasons I explain in the next Chapter, I chose Boomtown Fair 2016 as the subject of the case study.

Chapter 8   Case study: Boomtown Fair 2016

8.1 Introduction

The 'Brief overview' column of Table 2 demonstrates the wide variety of types of music festival, making the choice of a single festival for a case study difficult. Festivals can be distinguished by capacity, ranging from a daily capacity of just 8,000 festival-goers at Eden Festival in Scotland, to festivals the size of cities, such as Roskilde in Denmark, with a daily capacity of 130,000. They can also be categorized according to the type of festival-goer. For example, some, such as Victorious Festival in England, promote themselves as family festivals, with activities specifically for children, while others, which might be described as hardcore rock festivals, such as Reading and Leeds Festivals (daily capacity 80 - 90,000) describe themselves as unsuitable for young children. Of particular interest in the present context, some festivals, such as Boomtown Fair in England and Way Home Festival in Canada, promote themselves both as music and arts festivals and as "community" festivals.

I have chosen to present a case study of Boomtown Fair 2016[76], because (as I describe in Section 8.2) the organisers of this festival go to remarkable lengths to foster a sense of Boomtown identity.

8.2 Background: Boomtown Fair

Boomtown Fair is held in August each year at Matterley Estate near Winchester, England, and is described in its official website as:

> …a city of wonderment, theatre, escapism and community
> with breathtaking and intricate stages and streets just waiting
> to be discovered.[77]

Boomtown has a daily capacity of 60,000 people[78], with around 500 music performers[79]. But this festival is not just about music; it is often described also as an

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[76] Thursday 11th to Sunday 14th August 2016.
[77] http://www.boomtownfair.co.uk/ accessed 28/05/2017
[78] http://www.efestivals.co.uk/festivals/boomtown/2016 accessed 28/05/2017.
[79] *Ibid*

arts and family festival[80]. For example, in 2017 (the equivalent data for 2016 is not available) more than 100 different types of skills and crafts workshops and activities including rocket stove building and chainsaw carving were offered, as well as dance and movement classes, mind and soul workshops, and children's and family activities[81].

From a social identity perspective, the most interesting feature of Boomtown Fair is that the festival is deliberately structured and organised to foster a sense of Boomtown as a real community or society, and a sense of festival-goers as Boomtown citizens, in two principal ways. The first is that the festival is laid out as a temporary town or city in its own right, divided into four areas, which in turn are divided into eleven different districts, and when they buy their tickets, festival-goers are invited to choose for themselves the district "where you will make your home"[82]. Secondly, every year, another Chapter is added to Boomtown Fair's 'history', in an ongoing development of the Boomtown story:

> Every city has a story, but Boomtown isn't every city. Its history is as complex as the labyrinth of streets and corridors it contains…immerse yourself in a new world, become your inner character, be part of the story…[83]

Festival-goers are encouraged to become their Boomtown selves (their "inner character"), to immerse themselves in and engage with Boomtown history and the ongoing story.

At Boomtown Fair 2016, Chapter 8 of the Boomtown story unfolded: *The Revolution Starts Now*. The Mayor of Boomtown, Comrade Jose, had become a ruthless dictator and a revolution was brewing, led by a mysterious figure dressed in a top hat, goggles and mask - the 'Masked Man' - who appeared in person only on the last night of the festival[84], calling on Boomtown citizens to rise up in rebellion. The

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[80] http://www.efestivals.co.uk/festivals/boomtown/2017 accessed 28/05/2017.
[81] http://www.boomtownfair.co.uk/news/2017-03-16-over-100-avtivities-and-workshops-for-all-ages/ accessed 28/05/2017.
[82] http://www.boomtownfair.co.uk accessed 28/05/2017.
[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid*

climax of Boomtown Fair 2016 was also therefore the climax of that year's Chapter in the ongoing Boomtown story.

8.3 Methods

Two independent participants took part in Boomtown Fair 2016. Charlotte[85] (aged 19) worked as a volunteer steward at the festival, and in exchange was given free access to the festival outside her working hours. She was recruited for this research prospectively and recorded an audio diary (sub-Section 7.4.2) and subsequently took part in a semi-structured interview (sub-Section 7.4.4) lasting around 45 minutes, by Skype in August 2016. The analysis that follows is drawn from both the interview and her audio diary. Amanda, (also aged 19), who went to Boomtown with her sister and six of her sister's friends, was recruited retrospectively (sub-Section 7.4.3) and took part in a semi-structured interview (sub-Section 7.4.4) lasting around 40 minutes in person on University of St Andrews premises in September 2016.

Both participants gave their prior written consent before taking part in the research, and were debriefed in writing at the end of their interview. The interviews were transcribed and analysed as described in sub-Section 7.4.5, and the transcriptions of the interviews can be found in the disk that accompanies this thesis.

8.4 Analysis

The coding of each Extract from the semi-structured interviews follows the same rules as in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4).

I address each of my research questions (Section 7.3) in turn, examining evidence of shared identity (including evidence of the identity of the ingroup and outgroup), participants' perceptions of the antecedents and consequences of shared identity, and any variability in the scope or intensity of shared identity. I defer a *systematic* comparison with my findings from political crowds to Chapter 9, but some very obvious connections will be identified from time to time.

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[85] The names of both participants are of course fictitious.

I start with my first research question: Is there shared identity in music festival crowds?

8.4.1 Shared identity?

Unity

On the first night of the festival, Charlotte and her friend went to a rave[86] in a clearing in a forest. The stage was at one side of the clearing and at the other side were several "little podiums" (53), on which people were dancing, "all kind of squished into this small space" (59-61). In her audio diary, Charlotte noted that she "Felt like others in the crowd felt close to me - not me specifically but crowd in general" (687-688). She rated her emotional closeness to the crowd as 7/10[87], and went on: "The crowd really did feel united" (691). I asked her to describe what she felt towards other people in the crowd while she was at the rave:

> Extract 8.1 Charlotte 181-189 [] it sounds really lame, but the
> crowd was kind of moving like as one, if that makes sense. []
> And it was quite, like, I don't know, like, it just felt quite,
> like comfortable. Like I was comfortable with everybody, I
> didn't feel threatened or anything. Like quite… quite
> trustworthy, really, I suppose.

The word "lame" suggests that Charlotte was a little embarrassed to admit that she felt at one with the crowd, which makes this indication of shared identity all the more convincing. She felt comfortable and safe in the crowd, which is interesting, given that she was "squished" together with others, trying not to fall off the podium, at the time. I treat her feeling that everyone was trustworthy as a consequence of shared identity, in sub-Section 8.4.4.

Early in her interview, when I asked Amanda whether she recognised a feeling that "everyone in the crowd is in the thing together" (58-59) she said:

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[86] A rave is an organized dance party typically featuring performances by DJs who play electronic dance music which, as the name suggests, is electronically created music, generally with a strong beat, designed for dancing throughout the night. https://www.britannica.com/art/electronic-dance-music, accessed 14/06/2018.

[87] Charlotte rated emotional closeness to the crowd on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being emotionally closest.

> Extract 8.2 Amanda 60-63 Yes, especially on, you know,
> when the big people like go on, the last night when everyone
> knows it is the last chance it really feels like you lose your
> identity and it is just you <u>are</u> the crowd.

My interpretation of this striking statement - you <u>are</u> the crowd - is that, especially when the headline acts were playing she felt a sense of absolute one-ness or *identity* with the crowd. I discuss her reference to her perception of a loss of identity in sub-Section 8.5.1.

We saw in Chapter 4 that political protesters sometimes expressed feelings of love, which I treated as the ultimate expression of feelings of one-ness. This was precisely how Amanda went on to describe her feelings for the crowd.

Love

I asked Amanda "what is the feeling that you have towards other people in the crowd at the time when you get this feeling that the crowd is one?" (228-230). To make it easier for her, I suggested that she start with her feelings towards her friends:

> Extract 8.3 Amanda 233-234 Like I love them all, and even if
> we'd had an argument it doesn't matter anymore [].

I then asked her what she "felt towards strangers then in the crowd, if anything?" (240-241):

> Extract 8.4 Amanda 242-245 Like the same as I felt towards
> my friends, to the point where I was just hugging strangers
> and we hadn't even said hi, we would just hug each other,
> like when the music ended everyone was just like over
> emotional.

Interestingly, when I asked her *why* she thought that happened, she responded:

> Extract 8.5 Amanda 252-253 Not a clue. Because normally I
> hate people {laughs}.

This reference, which I took as a joke, makes her expression of love for the crowd yet more striking, because it suggests that she is not normally given to expressions of love for strangers.

We-ness and one-ness

Charlotte also experienced her most intense feelings of togetherness and unity in the crowd during the finale at the end of the festival:

> Extract 8.6 Charlotte 440-473 Yeah, at the finale, it was absolutely insane []. And then this, there was like this big projection of like this man with like a mask on. And like a top hat, like a gas mask []. And then the guy came out onto the top and you could just like see him, and then all of a sudden like there are all these people like stood along the tops of the, like the buildings like waving like sparklers and there were like lights everywhere and it was insane and all of a sudden everybody was like shouting 'Boomtown! Boomtown!' And it was <u>so</u> crazy.

I asked for more details and she went on to describe what happened just before the Masked Man appeared:

> Extract 8.7 Charlotte 506-511 [] there was like this big voiceover and it went through, like… kind of the basic story behind it. And then it was like, you know, like, it said something like "we will be one"[88] or something, like, you know, basically saying that we were going to take over.

Imagine the scene[89]. It is dark, the beat of the music is thumping rhythmically and the whole crowd is dancing, moving together. Suddenly, dazzling lights are everywhere. Everyone shouts "Boomtown! Boomtown!" and the leader of their rebellion, the Masked Man appears, first on the giant screens around the stage and then, for the first time, in person. Fireworks explode, lighting up the sky. Hands raised, dancing, shouting and chanting, festival-goers are all Boomtown citizens, part of the rebellion.

Charlotte's audio diary, recorded just after the event, shows that she felt "part of a really powerful unit" (793) and rated the feeling of connection with everybody at a

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[88] "The World Will Be One"; see the video footage specified in the next footnote.
[89] Although neither Amanda nor Charlotte have given a detailed description of what was going on when the Masked Man appeared, I watched footage of the finale online:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bkAEzu7ydJc
especially from 05.23.

"solid 9.5/10" (796) for emotional closeness, the highest rating she gave for the entire festival.

I asked her who "we" were:

> Extract 8.8 Charlotte 520-527 I assume like everybody, like everybody in the rebellion because it was all against this leader. And we'd all been like, we as citizens of Boomtown were, like, they were all, so there's this corrupt leader and [] she had people watching everywhere, Big Brother was real. And her soldiers were going around and like making sure that we all stayed down in all of this [].

We were Boomtown citizens, *everybody* was part of the Boomtown rebellion. *They*, on the other hand were the 'villains' of the Boomtown story, the corrupt leader Comrade Jose and her people. As she talked, Charlotte became more and more animated. She seemed to be reliving the excitement of the finale and the feeling of connection with the crowd as we spoke:

> Extract 8.9 Charlotte 555-558 And like we… like we were going to overtake, overthrow this dictator. We were going to make our lives right again. And, like, I got, like, you get so caught up in the story.

This is a striking affirmation of feelings of 'we-ness' and unity as Boomtown citizens, in a shared Boomtown identity. Charlotte not only saw herself and everybody in the crowd as Boomtown citizens, she also felt *empowered* to take action together. I look at Charlotte's feelings of empowerment as a Boomtown citizen as consequences of shared identity in sub-Section 8.4.4.

For Charlotte, a 'politicized' Boomtown identity had been made available, 'prêt à porter'. But that identity was available, not imposed. To feel like a Boomtown citizen, like Charlotte, you had to engage with the Boomtown story. In contrast, when I asked Amanda whether she knew about the Boomtown story, she said that she and her friends "didn't really follow it while we were there because there was just so much stuff going on" (35-36) - she was no more than vaguely aware of the Boomtown story. I asked if she remembered the appearance of the "guy with the top hat" (the Masked Man) on the last night of the festival:

> Extract 8.10 Amanda 313-321 Scary []. But people
> weren't…oh, this is a weird one, because I wouldn't say there
> was…because people did react to that differently, which
> seems strange to me now. It was more of just a general
> excitement rather than like any actual fear or anything but, I
> don't know it is weird, it is like a different kind of excitement
> to if you are just excited about something on your own.
> Hmmm.

Why did Amanda find the feeling of communal or shared excitement *weird*? She could identify a feeling of excitement and also that the excitement had something to do with the crowd, perhaps a collective feeling of excitement. I probed for a clearer understanding, asking whether she felt that the appearance of the Masked Man "had the effect of pulling the crowd together or…?" (322-323):

> Extract 8.11 Amanda 324-332 Yeah, because it is like
> something that everyone is focussing their attention on, []
> then suddenly it's like…and everyone is having the same
> reaction, well looking at the same thing anyway. And then if
> you see other people like scream or whatever and they are
> like, 'whoa', then that is… makes you feel more like
> screaming or going 'whoa'. Like you are copying what other
> people are doing.

She probably did not fully understand the significance of the appearance of the Masked Man, but even if she may not have understood what was going on, she did understand that the crowd was excited about something and felt able to join in with the others, perhaps sensing that they *did* understand.

Yet she did have some sense of the Boomtown identity the festival organisers had constructed and made available for her:

> Extract 8.12 Amanda 341-342 It did seem very important for
> them to try and you know promote this feeling of
> togetherness.

I asked her if she felt like a resident or citizen of Boomtown, and in response she described the sense of community she felt, in 'her' camping district, where she and her friends had pitched their tents:

Extract 8.13 Amanda 349-356 [] there were different
sections, different themes and you could choose which one to
camp in. So you get a community feeling with the people in
your area as well [] it is like yeah, you're patriotic about your
little section.

When I asked if she still felt the same way towards others in the Boomtown crowd,
she said:

Extract 8.14 Amanda 376-377 Yeah, a more diluted version,
like I still feel very fond of them all even though they are
complete strangers.

So, despite Amanda's failure to engage with the Boomtown story, a shared
Boomtown identity somehow 'rubbed off' on her anyway.

But this raises a fascinating question: was the Boomtown identity that Amanda
perceived herself as sharing the same as the Boomtown identity Charlotte perceived
herself as sharing? On the evidence so far, probably not. This demands closer
examination, so before I look at the antecedents and consequences of shared identity
at Boomtown Fair, my second and third research questions, I take a closer look at the
content of Amanda's Boomtown identity, which to distinguish it from Charlotte's, I
will call 'festival-goer identity'.

8.4.2 Festival-goer identity

I reminded Amanda that she had talked about identity (Extract 8.2) and asked her to
describe what the identity of the Boomtown crowd might have been (195-197):

Extract 8.15 Amanda 199-203 So, like young and quite
liberal and you like to dress up and make a statement and it
is… even if you don't fit into that, you feel like you do just
by being in the crowd and with so many people who do fit
the stereotype.

Boomtown identity was "young" and "liberal"; which I interpret as meaning open, accepting and non-judgmental[90]. People who like to "dress up and make a statement" might be described as unconventional and outgoing, or extrovert. Interestingly, Amanda felt that she fitted the stereotype simply as a consequence of being in the crowd. But not necessarily as her everyday self:

> Extract 8.16 Amanda 444-446 It feels like it is a different part
> of me, like it feels like I have an alternative self that is a
> Boomtown resident, it is not a… like I don't feel it now.

It was Amanda's *alternative* Boomtown self that fitted the stereotype she described in Extract 8.15. She went on:

> Extract 8.17 Amanda 483-485 And there was a feeling that
> you could be your Boomtown self in a way that you couldn't
> be just in, you know, normal life.
> Interviewer 486 Oh, how did that feel?
> Amanda 487-489 Exciting, like you could do anything and it
> wouldn't matter because everyone was just so chilled and
> accepting.

Amanda could not be her alternative Boomtown self in normal life; but she *could* be in the Boomtown crowd. When she was her alternative Boomtown self, she was able to "do anything", *because* the crowd was chilled and accepting, or in other words as a consequence of the nature of the identity of the crowd. Importantly, from her shared identity she gained a sense of individual agency or empowerment. She could do anything because she had *gained* a collective or shared identity in the crowd. I explore her feeling of excitement as part of my analysis of the consequences of shared identity in sub-Section 8.4.4. Now, however, I investigate what may represent a music festival outgroup.

I asked Amanda what it means to be a *non*-Boomtown resident (462):

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[90] As defined by the Oxford online dictionary: "Willing to respect or accept behaviour or opinions different from one's own; open to new ideas." https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/liberal, accessed 12/06/2017.

> Extract 8.18 Amanda 463-464 Oh God. Just a person who
> goes to work and has kids and a house and doesn't wear
> glitter… It is a sort of faceless crowd person.

We know from Extract 8.15 that the ingroup identity is young, open, accepting and non-judgmental, unconventional and extrovert. The outgroup is represented by what the hippies used to call a 'square', the conventional person living a dull, conventional life.

I probed for more comments:

> Extract 8.19 Amanda 471-478 [] I can't word what I am
> trying to word. It's like everyone at Boomtown is also the
> same person in the same way that a not Boomtown resident is
> all the same person, like this image of someone who goes to
> work and has a house and whatever, the not Boomtown
> person, and the people at Boomtown are different but still not
> individuals, they are like different in the same way, kind of
> thing.

Amanda perceived everyone at Boomtown (the ingroup) as the same person, or in other words as having the same identity. Likewise, she perceived the outgroup - the conventional, faceless person with a house and a job - as all the same person. Everyone in the ingroup was also seen as similarly different from the outgroup.

Despite her description of *everyone* at Boomtown being the same, Amanda went on to make a minor exception - she did not feel that children belonged at Boomtown[91]:

> Extract 8.20 Amanda 512-521 Actually it made me feel really
> uncomfortable, like being faced suddenly with these children.
> It felt they were very out of place. [] even when they'd left,
> for a little bit afterwards we were all a bit like oddly shaken,
> like they were part of a reality that we had shut out for the
> weekend.

The last few words of this Extract raise an interesting question: Is it the function or purpose of a music festival to keep reality at bay? If so, it is plausible that the

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[91] This is a little surprising; as we saw in Section 8.2, Boomtown advertises itself as a family festival, and one district is known as "Kidztown" http://www.boomtownfair.co.uk/#explore accessed 28/05/2017.

comparison outgroup may be not so much the personification of the conventional person living a conventional life, but what that personification may represent: society in its everyday mundane reality. In that case, to speculate for a moment, the comparison outgroup may include Amanda's own mundane reality, the "normal life" she referred to in Extract 8.17.

We have seen evidence that each of Charlotte and Amanda achieved shared identity at Boomtown Fair, even if - and this is a key point which I discuss in sub-Section 8.5.1 - the content of the identity they perceived themselves as sharing may have been different.

In our investigation of festival-goer identity, we have identified not only the content of such identity (young, liberal, unconventional and extrovert), but also the content of a comparison outgroup identity (society in its everyday mundane reality). Now, it is time to explore the 'antecedents' and consequences of shared identity at Boomtown. In the next sub-Section I address my second research question: how did Charlotte and Amanda know that they shared identity?

8.4.3 How do you know?

In Extract 8.2 Amanda said that during what she called the "crowd moments" she felt that she lost her identity and became one with the crowd ("you <u>are</u> the crowd"). I asked her to talk about how and when that happened (83-84):

> Extract 8.21 Amanda 89-92 [] more when it is like a massive dancing kind of crowd and you are really like surrounded and the physical closeness of people [].

It was not just that people were dancing to the same beat, but that they were physically close together that was important. I prompted her to go on:

> Extract 8.22 Amanda 103-106 The shared interest is part of it. Because you feel like you can understand them, it is not just because they are there it is because you kind of know they are feeling the same way as you.

I asked her how she knew that others were feeling the same way as her:

Extract 8.23 Amanda 140-144 I guess you don't know for certain but if… they just seem to be paying attention or like singing, you can tell if people are like into it, because it is very obvious… it is more obvious when people aren't, because they just stand there and they don't say anything, they don't move.

She treated signs of engagement such as paying attention to what is going on, and singing along, as signs that others in the crowd were feeling the same emotions as her, pointing out that it was obvious if people were not feeling the same because they were not engaged in the same way as others, not moving and not saying (or presumably singing) anything. It is interesting that in contrast with Extract 8.22, in this Extract she acknowledged that she could not *know* what others were feeling, and later, she described this as an *assumption:* "you assume, you do assume they are all feeling the same way as you" (406-407).

For Amanda, then, the factors that led to her perception of shared identity involved her sense that everyone shared the same emotions. The signs she took as evidence of this included people's common focus on the same thing, dancing together, physical proximity and perhaps contact, and people singing together.

As we saw in Extract 8.1, for Charlotte, signs of one-ness at the rave in the forest on the first night of the festival included the crowd "moving [] as one" (182). She went on:

Extract 8.24 Charlotte 183-186 So, like everybody was, like, there was, like, a consistent beat, and like everybody was like kind of moving in the same direction, and then there'd be like, and everybody would put their hands up.

Other signs of unity included chanting together, for example, with the first appearance in person of the Masked Man at the Boomtown Fair finale:

Extract 8.25 Charlotte [] all of a sudden everybody was like shouting "Boomtown! Boomtown!"

Like Amanda, Charlotte talked about her understanding that everyone was *feeling* the same, although she put it slightly differently:

Extract 8.26 Charlotte 222-226 [] it was just like everybody seemed to be in a really, really good mood, and, like, I was in a really good mood and {friend} was in a really good mood and everybody around us was having fun. And I think, like, that made a big difference [].

The factors or elements involved in Amanda's and Charlotte's perceptions of oneness and unity were therefore remarkably congruent, and they map directly onto my findings from political crowds, where doing things, such as marching, chanting and dancing together led to participants' perceptions of shared identity (sub-Sections 4.4.2 and 6.3.2). They included singing or chanting together, and dancing, or moving together as one, with close physical proximity or contact. In turn these gave rise to an assumption that people *felt* the same, an assumption of shared positive emotions.

If these are perceived by participants as the 'antecedents' of shared identity, what are perceived as the consequences? As we have seen in previous Chapters (see specifically Section 1.1) the shared identity model proposes that the consequences of the achievement of shared identity are manifested in three inter-related transformations; cognitive, relational and emotional. Now, I undertake a systematic analysis of Amanda and Charlotte's perceptions of the consequences of the achievement of shared identity at Boomtown Fair.

8.4.4 Consequences

Cognitive transformation

A cognitive transformation, which may be a consequence of self-categorization in a social identity (Reicher, 2018), can be evidenced by a shift from individual beliefs, values and goals, to group beliefs, values and goals. In terms of the Boomtown identity that was constructed and made available by the festival organisers, group beliefs and values might be evidenced by expressions of support for the rebellion and the Masked Man, against the corrupt leader Comrade Jose. There was ample evidence of this in Charlotte's account of her experiences at the Boomtown finale, and it is worth repeating here some of her comments from Extracts 8.8 and 8.9:

Extract 8.27 Charlotte 521-527 [] it was all against this leader. And we'd all been like, we as citizens of Boomtown were, like, they were all, so there's this corrupt leader and all

> the things about this corrupt leader and how she had people watching everywhere, Big Brother was real. And her soldiers were going around and like making sure that we all stayed down in all of this

And, later:

> Extract 8.28 Charlotte 555-558 And [] like <u>we</u> were going to overtake, overthrow this dictator. [] And, like, I got, like, you get so caught up in the story.

Charlotte's self-definition and her definition of other ingroup members was transformed, so that she perceived everyone in the crowd as a Boomtown citizen, fighting for the rebellion, trying to overthrow Boomtown's corrupt leader.

But as we have seen, while Charlotte had engaged with, or was invested in the Boomtown story, this was less true of Amanda. There is some evidence that Amanda adopted group beliefs and values, but these were more clearly linked to a generalized festival-goer identity than to identity as a Boomtown citizen. In Extract 8.15, Amanda described Boomtown identity as young, liberal and someone who likes to dress up. She went on to say:

> Extract 8.29 Amanda 198-199 It is like everyone is the stereotype of the sort of person who would go to Boomtown.

So, for Amanda, everyone at Boomtown fitted her stereotypical description of Boomtown identity, and shared the group beliefs and values (young, liberal etc.) that went with it. We also saw in Extract 8.19 that Amanda perceived Boomtown people as being the same, and it is worth repeating some of her comments here:

> Extract 8.30 Amanda 472-474 It's like everyone at Boomtown is also the same person in the same way that a not Boomtown resident is all the same person [].

Her perception of everyone at Boomtown as the *same* is itself evidence of a cognitive shift by virtue of which she perceived herself in terms of festival-goer identity, with the festival-goer beliefs and values that go with it.

Relational transformation

The shared identity model proposes that when people share identity in the crowd, relations may become transformed towards intimacy, so that for example, people will freely talk to strangers in the crowd, and will tend to trust other crowd members and seek to cooperate with them.

We saw evidence of this kind of transformation in the very first Extract in this Chapter, when Charlotte described her feeling of being "comfortable" in the crowd, despite being "squished" together with others on the podium at the outdoor rave. Charlotte also felt the crowd was "quite trustworthy" (189), and later, she provided a concrete example of the crowd's trustworthiness. On Saturday, when it was time to go out and enjoy the music, to her surprise her best friend said she did not want to go. Charlotte went out anyway but, unable to contact her other friends, and alone in the crowd, she became distressed and started crying. She was approached by various people, asking if she was ok, which she felt demonstrated that other festival-goers genuinely cared for her:

> Extract 8.31 Charlotte 364-367 Like, you know, I'm a
> nineteen-year-old girl crying at a festival, like, you know,
> like nobody… like, people really cared. And that was really
> important to me.

Similarly Amanda also talked about contact with strangers:

> Extract 8.32 Amanda 158-159 Strangers talk to each other
> when they wouldn't normally and actually say: 'isn't this
> great?' kind of thing [].

Indeed, she went further, describing strangers in the crowd as being like her friends:

> Extract 8.33 Amanda 407-413 [] they feel like when you are
> in a group of friends and there are people you don't really
> know, like quiet people, they are not speaking but you feel
> that this person, you just see them as one of your friends and
> assume they are like the rest of your friends. It would be like
> that but a massive version.
> Interviewer 414 Okay so everyone there is potentially a
> friend?
> Amanda 415 Yes.

This suggests that Amanda felt a degree of emotional warmth for others in the crowd, and indeed, as we saw in sub-Section 8.4.1, her feelings towards the crowd during what she called the "crowd moments" were feelings of "love", evidence of an emotional transformation.

Emotional transformation

The emotional transformation proposed by the shared identity model involves ingroup members coming to feel emotions more on behalf of the group than as individuals. This can be evidenced by feelings of excitement, and feelings of empowerment and agency, as well as by feelings of emotional closeness to other ingroup members.

We have seen that at the Boomtown finale, Charlotte felt an intense sense of emotional closeness with the crowd, and that at times, Amanda felt "love" for the crowd (Extracts 8.3 and 8.4). We have also seen evidence of her sense that she could be her alternative Boomtown self in the crowd (Extract 8.16). When I asked her how that felt, as we have seen, she responded:

> Extract 8.34 Amanda 487-489 Exciting, like you could do
> anything and it wouldn't matter because everyone was just so
> chilled and accepting.

It was *because* everyone was chilled and accepting that Amanda felt she could "do anything", and she could do so *as* her alternative Boomtown self. Charlotte said something that was both similar and different:

> Extract 8.35 Charlotte 466-473 [] when you, like, you get
> really like caught up in something, you know, like this feels
> really <u>powerful</u>, and like it was like one of those, everybody
> was <u>so</u> intense [] And like it was weird because I was sober
> as well, I'd had like one swig of a drink and nothing else.
> And even I was like 'ah, we can do anything'.

In the context of Boomtown identity "we can do anything" means that the crowd as Boomtown citizens can do anything, or in other words, it is a statement of collective power. Although Amanda's claim that "you could do anything" is different, in the sense that it is an expression of individual agency rather than collective agency, it is also similar, because in each case participants were talking about a shared identity.

Charlotte's sense of power and empowerment was a consequence of her achievement of a shared *Boomtown* identity. Amanda's sense of excitement and power was a consequence of her achievement of a shared *festival-goer* identity.

Charlotte's feelings of empowerment and Amanda's feelings of excitement also demonstrate variability in the intensity of the feeling of shared identity. In the next sub-Section, I address my fourth research question: Is there evidence of variability in shared identity in music festival crowds?

8.4.5 Variability of shared identity

Shared identity may be variable in scope, by which I mean who is included in and who is excluded from the identity that is shared. It may also be variable in intensity, by which I simply mean that in some contexts, an individual may experience feelings of one-ness and togetherness, a sense of shared identity, more intensely than in other contexts.

The scope of shared identity

There is very little evidence to suggest that either Charlotte or Amanda regarded anyone in the crowd as being outside the *scope* of the identity they perceived themselves as sharing. We have seen that Amanda felt that children did not belong at the festival, and there was also an indication that Charlotte felt that some older people did not fit in:

> Extract 8.36 Charlotte 230-237 There were some older people in the crowd. [] Some people, like, in their thirties and forties [] like around generally, which always kind of made me go a bit like… like if you saw them like on drugs it was a bit like 'go home to your children.' Sorry, that sounds really mean. {laughs}.

It was not so much the presence of these older people that irked Charlotte, as their behaviour. Nevertheless, this comment reinforces Amanda's description of festival-goer identity as being, amongst other things, young.

When Amanda talked about the people she regarded as a stereotypical "not Boomtown person" (Extract 8.18) she was talking not about people who were in the

crowd, but about people who were not physically present. She felt that everyone who was physically there in the crowd was included:

> Extract 8.37 Amanda 501-508 I felt like everyone else belonged as well. [] I don't think there is much you could do for me to think 'you shouldn't be here' [] 'you are not one of us'.

Although, as we have seen, she felt that young children, on safety grounds, did not belong, I do not regard this as a real limitation of the scope of festival-goer identity, because for Amanda, the scope of shared identity at Boomtown included every adult who was there. It is interesting to note that she used the term "belonged", as of course the feeling of belonging was an emergent finding in my analysis of political crowds.

Why was there so little variability in the scope of shared identity at Boomtown Fair? It is plausible that this may be a corollary of the content of the identity that was shared. In Amanda's case, if everyone at Boomtown was liberal, chilled and accepting, and outgoing, if these are inherent elements or perhaps norms of a festival-goer identity, then no-one *could* be excluded, because the act of exclusion itself would be a contradiction of these norms. In Charlotte's case, it was more simple. As we saw in Extracts 8.6 to 8.8, at the Boomtown finale she perceived *everyone* there as supporting the rebellion.

Broadly speaking, then, everyone belonged at Boomtown, so that everyone was included in the identity that was shared. However, as we have already seen, there is abundant evidence of variability in the *intensity* of the feeling of shared identity.

The intensity of shared identity

It is clear from Charlotte's account, from the language she used and her enthusiasm, that she felt a sense of shared identity more intensely at the Boomtown finale on Saturday night than at the rave in the forest on the first night of the festival. This is (somewhat crudely) supported by her ratings of emotional closeness: 9.5/10 for the finale and 7/10 for the rave. At the rave, she felt "comfortable" (187) and not

"threatened" (188) in the crowd. At the finale, as we saw in Extract 8.35, she felt intensely excited, powerful and empowered as a Boomtown citizen.

When I asked Amanda whether the feeling that everyone in the crowd is in it together is constant throughout the festival "or is it something that comes and goes?" she replied "Comes and goes" (87) and as we have seen, she described the feeling as more intense when everyone was dancing close together:

> Extract 8.38 Amanda 89-94 [] more when it is like a massive
> dancing kind of crowd and you are really like surrounded and
> the physical closeness of people as well, but in the day you
> would be like lying on the grass [] with lots of people around
> but not as intense.

So for Amanda, the feeling of shared identity ebbed and flowed. It was more intense when she was dancing in the crowd, and people were physically close (what she called the "crowd moments"), and less intense at other times. Later, she confirmed:

> Extract 8.39 Amanda 166-167 I think it is much more intense
> at the crowd moments [].

Just as we have found in political crowds, shared identity is not a binary "on/off" state, but a process which varies in intensity; it comes and goes, ebbs and flows.

8.5 Discussion
8.5.1 Shared identity

This case study provides evidence of the achievement of shared identity in the crowd at Boomtown Fair. Charlotte described feelings of unity in the crowd at the rave in the forest on the first night of the festival and went on to describe an intense feeling of emotional closeness to, and one-ness with, the crowd as a Boomtown citizen during the last night of the festival. Both Charlotte and Amanda used what I have previously called the language of shared identity - expressions of 'we-ness' and a sense of (inter) connection with "everyone" in the crowd.

Secondly, I interpreted Amanda's comment "you are the crowd" (Extract 8.2) as evidence of feelings of one-ness. This interpretation is supported by her description

of feelings of love for the crowd (Extracts 8.3 and 8.4). But in Extract 8.2, Amanda linked her sense of 'being' the crowd to a perceived *loss* of identity. This can be explained in terms of self-categorization theory ('SCT': Turner, 1982, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). As we saw in sub-Section 2.2.2, SCT specifies that as the individual categorizes herself as a member of a group, her sense of her self as an individual becomes depersonalized, resulting in a *shift* in identity; from an individual, or personal identity, to a social identity (Turner, et al., 1987). As a consequence, the self and others come to be perceived more as stereotypical representatives of the category to which they belong. So SCT suggests that if Amanda categorized her self as part of the music festival crowd, her perception of her identity may have shifted, so that she perceived her self more in terms of crowd identity and less in terms of her own individuality. Put another way, her perception of her self may have expanded to include the crowd (Turner & Onorato, 1999), and it is plausible that she might have experienced this as a loss of individual or personal identity, as she *gained* a collective identity which was shared with the crowd. In turn, as we have seen, this resulted in her sense of agency, a sense that in the crowd, or perhaps better *with* the crowd, she could do anything. (Extract 8.34).

In political crowds, I treated feelings of love as the ultimate expression of one-ness in the crowd, and I treat Amanda's feelings of love in music festival crowds in the same way. Likewise, we have seen in sub-Section 1.3.3 that crowd processes tend to be circular, so that feelings of love may also be part of the emotional transformation which is one of the consequences of shared identity.

Combined, these findings demonstrate that Charlotte and Amanda each achieved shared identity at Boomtown Fair 2016. But the most interesting of my findings in this Chapter has been that although they shared identity, the identity that they perceived themselves as sharing was *different*.

8.5.2 Sharing different identities

At the festival's climax, with the appearance of the Masked Man, Charlotte was "so caught up" (557) in the Boomtown story that she identified as a Boomtown citizen, a

rebel alongside everybody else, and part of a crowd which had become as one. She shared a Boomtown identity with the crowd. In contrast, at the same time and in the same place, Amanda, who had only a vague understanding of what was going on at the finale, also felt a sense of shared identity, not as a Boomtown citizen or rebel, but perhaps as a festival-goer, in terms of the stereotype she described in Extract 8.15. This demonstrates that *it is possible for people to have a sense of shared identity even if they have different understandings of the content of the identity they perceive themselves as sharing.* This may seem to contradict the very notion of shared identity, because objectively, in the same context Amanda and Charlotte defined themselves in different ways. However, subjectively, each experienced a sense of 'we' and 'us', a sense of togetherness and oneness which indicates that although objectively they were mistaken, subjectively they perceived themselves and others as sharing a common identity. As we saw in Section 1.1, the question is not whether objectively the same identity is shared but whether people perceive or *recognise* themselves and others as 'we' and 'us', as 'in it together', as sharing the same identity.

To my knowledge this is a novel finding, and it is important because it extends our understanding of how people may perceive themselves and others when they come to perceive themselves as sharing identity. It also has practical implications for research on shared identity, as it highlights the importance of gaining an understanding of the content of the identity people perceive themselves as sharing.

The Boomtown identity that Charlotte shared was clearly specific to Boomtown Fair, but Amanda's festival-goer identity may reflect a broader, more general identity that may be found in a wide variety of music festivals, so I look more closely at this identity in the next sub-Section.

8.5.3 Festival-goer identity

Although Amanda may not have shared Boomtown identity, she was able to specify her understanding of a more generalised festival-goer identity, an identity which can be characterised as young, liberal and therefore open, accepting and non-judgmental, unconventional and extrovert. She also described the outgroup, the non-Boomtown

person as the type of person who does not wear glitter. This is interesting because there is anecdotal evidence that wearing glitter has come to be perceived as part of music festival identity. According to Chiara Wilkinson, one of the editors of fashion and arts magazine *Haute*, which is run by students at the University of St Andrews, wearing glitter:

> [] may be a style symbol of our generation's youth culture. Its outrageousness - its obviousness, promiscuity, glamour, silliness - helps it to symbolise power, freedom and self exploration; its association with the feminine and queer liberation makes it a reckoning against discrimination; its creative quality makes it an expression of the individual imagination. In its context of festival culture, it is in many ways a statement which goes beyond aesthetic qualities: it is one which helps to cement a greater identity[92].

These comments map neatly onto Amanda's description of festival-goer identity; wearing glitter stands for freedom to be one's self or perhaps an alternative *outrageous* self.

Amanda felt that she could be her alternative Boomtown self – perhaps her outrageous glitter-wearing self - in the crowd, and she could do so without fear of being judged or rejected by the crowd, because (in her perception) everyone in the crowd conformed to the festival-goer stereotype she described; everyone was "chilled and accepting" (Extract 8.17). Another way of thinking about this is that when she shared that identity with the crowd, the crowd cleared a figurative space in which Amanda could be her alternative Boomtown self, a space in which she could enact her alternative Boomtown identity, giving her *individual agency through a collective, shared identity*.

Amanda was not only able to describe the ingroup, festival-goer identity, she was also able to describe the comparison outgroup identity, an outgroup that was not physically, but psychologically present. For her, the outgroup was something close to the opposite of the festival-goer - the staid, conventional homeowner, with a job, a partner and children - someone who, faceless and sparkle-free, does not wear glitter.

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[92] https://hautemagazine.squarespace.com/fromcoachellatocouture/, accessed 18/06/2018.

Speculatively, I have proposed that the music festival outgroup may be those who represent mundane everyday society, and this may include the festival-goer's own mundane everyday reality, something I explore further in the next Chapter.

Next, however, I look at what leads people to perceive themselves as sharing identity with the music festival crowd.

8.5.4 How do you know?

Shared actions

Participants perceived that others felt the same way when they were engaged in common music festival behaviours. These included firstly, singing along together (Extract 8.23) and chanting together (Extract 8.6); and secondly dancing together, moving in the same way to the beat of the music, as well as actions such as raising hands in the air together (for example, Extracts 8.1, 8.21, 8.24). As Amanda said (Extract 8.23), she could tell if people were *not* feeling the same because they were not moving together in the same way as others.

But it is not just moving together in the same way that is important. It is interesting that both participants talked explicitly about physical closeness (Amanda: Extract 8.21) and *physical contact* (Charlotte: "squished together" on the podiums at the rave). The feeling of shared identity tended to be most intense when people were in physical contact with each other; this is a new finding.

In the novel *Nausea*, by the French philosopher and author (and acute observer of the human condition) Jean-Paul Sartre, (1938/2000), one of the characters, speaking of his experiences of a First World War German internment camp, says:

> [] during the last few months of the war, they gave us scarcely any work to do. When it rained, they made us go into a big wooden shed which held about two hundred of us at a pinch. They closed the door and left us there, squeezed up against one another, in almost total darkness...I don't know how to explain this to you, Monsieur. All those men were there, you could scarcely see them but you could feel them against you, you could hear the sound of their breathing…One of the first times they locked us in that shed the crush was so great that at first I thought I was going to

> suffocate, then suddenly a tremendous feeling of joy came
> over me, and I almost fainted: at that moment I felt I loved
> those men like brothers, I would have liked to kiss them all.
> After that, every time I went back there, I felt the same joy.
> (p. 165).

Sartre's character suggests that physical proximity may under special circumstances produce intense feelings of joy and love, similar to Charlotte's intense feeling of emotional closeness at the Boomtown finale, and Amanda's feelings of love for the crowd. Some support for this comes from the field studies carried out by Novelli, Drury, Reicher, & Stott, 2013, which I reviewed in Section 2.4.

I have treated this non-aversion to physical contact with strangers as an antecedent rather than a consequence of shared identity because it is related so closely to dancing together, which participants have described as a sign of connection and togetherness. But logically it also looks like a consequence - people may find physical contact with strangers non-aversive *because* they share identity with them. Novelli et al.'s (2013) analysis helps to explain this as an instance of the circularity (or bi-directionality) of crowd processes we explored in sub-Section 1.3.3. Novelli et al. found that in crowd events, *both* the more people identified with the crowd the more they tended to be in the thick of the crowd, and the more they enjoyed the event, *and* the more people enjoyed the event, the more they tended to be in the thick of the crowd and the more they identified with the crowd. Hence, finding physical contact with strangers non-aversive, and even welcome, may be *both* an 'antecedent' (part of how people come to perceive themselves as sharing identity with the crowd) *and* a consequence of shared identity.

Likewise (and just as we found in political crowds), there was evidence that shared emotions were both an antecedent and a consequence of shared identity in music festival crowds.

Shared emotions

Of particular interest is my finding that it was important to both Charlotte and Amanda that others in the crowd shared their positive mood or emotions, as an *antecedent* of shared identity. It became clear that, just as the perception of shared

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beliefs and values in political crowds was based on a presumption (and a fragile one at that), so too the perception of shared emotions in music festival crowds was based on an *assumption*; participants assumed that others shared their emotions. But in contrast with beliefs and values, as we saw in sub-Section 1.3.1, the emotions felt by others tend to be manifest, and can generally be inferred from facial expressions (for example, Horstmann, 2003; Keltner, 1998) posture and movement (for example, Argyle, 1972; Mandal, 2014), and from synchronised behaviours such as singing along together and dancing together (Páez et al., 2015). So the assumption of shared emotions may be based on the two elements identified by Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, Bruder and Shepherd (2011): the perception, or appraisal that others share the same emotions, and the feeling of the emotion itself, cognition and affect combined.

We have also seen that shared emotions, such as Charlotte's feelings of emotional closeness to the crowd, and her feelings of empowerment at the finale, and Amanda's feelings of love for the crowd and her feelings of excitement at the finale, emerge as consequences of shared identity.

8.5.5 Consequences

We have seen evidence of the three transformations, cognitive, relational and emotional, proposed by Reicher (2018). We found evidence of a cognitive transformation in Charlotte's perception of everyone in the crowd as a Boomtown citizen, and in Amanda's perception of everyone at Boomtown Fair as the "same" (sub-Section 8.4.4), which I have treated as a consequence of self-categorization in a social identity.

We have also seen evidence of a relational transformation, in Charlotte's feeling of being comfortable and safe in the crowd, despite (or perhaps because of) being physically "squished" up with others. This is precisely how Lisbeth (Green Group) described her sense of belonging at Scotland's Climate March (Extract 6.7) and in line with Alnabulsi and Drury's (2014) findings that people feel safe in dense crowds to the extent that they identify with the crowd (Section 2.4), it is reasonable to conclude that Charlotte's feeling of being comfortable and safe was a consequence of

her achievement of shared identity. Charlotte also described the crowd as "trustworthy"; and likewise, Amanda felt that she could easily strike up conversations with strangers. As we saw in sub-Section 2.2.2, people who share identity tend to trust those with whom they do so (for example, Tanis & Postmes, 2005).

But most striking of all was the evidence of an emotional transformation. Charlotte felt an intense sense of emotional closeness to the crowd, as well as feelings of collective power and empowerment in her identity as a Boomtown citizen or rebel at the Boomtown finale, evidence of her collective self-realisation, or enactment of a shared Boomtown identity (Reicher & Haslam, 2006) which would "make our lives right again" (Extract 8.9). Amanda felt love for the crowd, just as we found in the field interviews in Chapter 4, and she shared the excitement of the crowd at the finale - an emotional transformation in which she felt something of what the ingroup felt, even if she did not fully understand it. For Amanda, I have suggested that through a shared permissive, open and non-judgmental festival-goer identity, the crowd figuratively cleared a space in which she felt able to be, or enact or realise, her alternative, sparkling Boomtown self.

The feelings Charlotte and Amanda experienced at the finale also demonstrate something of the *variability* of shared identity.

8.5.6 Variability of shared identity

Because festival-goer identity is inclusive and permissive, Amanda tended to see everyone as belonging in the Boomtown crowd. Save for children, who were excluded on safety grounds, everyone was included. Equally, although Charlotte found older people taking drugs somewhat aversive, there was no evidence that she felt that anyone was not included in Boomtown identity. Therefore, in contrast with my findings from political crowds, there was no real evidence of variability in the *scope* of shared identity (who was included and who was excluded from the identity that was shared).

But there *was* evidence of variability in the intensity of shared identity. Charlotte achieved shared identity with others at a rave in a forest, on the first night of the

festival, and also during the Boomtown finale, but the intensity of the feeling of shared identity in each case was markedly different. Her audio diary and her interview revealed that she felt emotionally much closer to the crowd at the finale than she did at the rave. Similarly, for Amanda the feeling of shared identity was more intense during what she called the "crowd moments", when she was physically close, and dancing with others. As she said, the feeling of shared identity "Comes and goes" or ebbs and flows.

8.6 Limitations

The case study has largely achieved the objectives I set out in Section 7.6, which were firstly to provide some understanding of what it is like to take part in a music festival; and secondly to raise questions and issues regarding the music festival experience, which will be explored in my analysis of the remaining sixteen music festival interviews in Chapter 9.

However, the most obvious limitation is of course that, having set myself the challenge of investigating whether or not there is shared identity in music festival crowds, I have chosen to study a music festival at which a politicized identity was constructed and made available for people to share. This clearly had an impact on Charlotte's experience of shared identity, and it is possible that simply by virtue of the festival's strong identity orientation, shared identity was more readily achieved even by people who, like Amanda, did not engage with the identity.

However, this does not detract from my key finding that people can have a sense of shared identity even if they have different understandings of the identity that is shared. Nor does it detract from my incipient findings of what may be a generalized festival-goer identity. Moreover, although Charlotte's understanding of the identity she shared, and her experience of what led to her sense of shared identity and its consequences, cannot be applied to other music festivals, Amanda's may be, and this will be considered in the next Chapter. It will also be interesting to compare their experience of the variability of shared identity with any evidence of variability from other music festivals.

The case study has focussed our attention on two interesting questions, the first being whether there is a generalized music festival identity and if so, its content, and the second, the question of the identity of any outgroup at music festivals. In the next Chapter, I present my analysis of the remaining music festival interviews, addressing firstly, the two questions raised by the case study, and secondly, my four research questions.

Chapter 9   Shared identity in music festival crowds

9.1 Introduction

In Chapter 8, we found evidence of shared identity in the crowd at Boomtown Fair in three interconnected aspects; firstly in feelings of unity in the crowd; secondly in Amanda's expression of love for the crowd, and Charlotte's intense feeling of emotional closeness to others in the crowd; and thirdly, in the use of the language of shared identity - expressions of we-ness and one-ness in the crowd. These aspects closely correspond to the evidence of shared identity we found in political crowds.

Charlotte's account has shown that the promotion of a 'constructed' social identity, one that is made available to music festival participants, can lead to an intense sense of shared identity for those who engage with it; and we have also seen from Amanda's account the first evidence of a more generalized music festival identity, as well as evidence of the identity of a possible comparison outgroup. Interestingly, while Charlotte and Amanda defined themselves in different ways, Charlotte as a Boomtown citizen and Amanda as a festival-goer, each of them achieved shared identity in the Boomtown crowd, suggesting that to share identity, it may not be necessary that people define themselves in precisely the same way.

We have identified some of the factors or 'antecedents' that lead to participants' perceptions that they share identity with others, and again, these are remarkably congruent with the antecedents of shared identity in political crowds. They include doing things together, such as dancing, singing and chanting together, and the perception of shared emotions. A new factor, which like shared emotions may be both an antecedent and a consequence of shared identity, is *physical contact* with strangers which, under the right circumstances and in the right context, festival-goers may not only find non-aversive, but positively welcome.

We also found evidence of considerable variability in the *intensity* of shared identity at Boomtown - it ebbed and flowed - but in contrast with our findings in political crowds, little or no evidence of variability in the *scope* of the identity that was shared (who was included and who was not). This may be a reflection of the inclusive,

permissive and non-judgmental nature of the music festival-goer identity Amanda has described.

My objectives in this Chapter are firstly to address the two questions raised by the case study, examining any evidence of a generalized festival-goer identity and of the identity of an outgroup at music festivals; secondly, to answer my four music festival research questions (Section 7.3); and thirdly, throughout, to compare the results of my analysis of music festival crowds in this and the preceding Chapter with the results of my analysis of political crowds in Chapters 4 and 6.

9.2 Methods

Sixteen independent participants took part in semi-structured interviews[93] (sub-Section 7.4.4) to discuss their relations with others in the crowd at music festivals. Of those, two were recruited prospectively (sub-Section 7.4.2) and recorded an audio diary or made notes on their mobile phone while taking part in a festival: Emma, who took part in Victorious Festival, and Victor, who took part in T in the Park. The other fourteen participants were recruited retrospectively (sub-Section 7.4.3). The interviews were, with one exception, conducted face to face (Alexander's (Untold) interview was by Skype) in a quiet and calm environment on University of St Andrews, or University of Dundee premises. The interviews lasted for a median time of just over 31 minutes (range 22.15 to 44.10 minutes). All participants gave their prior written consent before taking part in the research, and were debriefed in writing at the end of their interview.

The interviews were transcribed and analysed as described in sub-Section 7.4.5 and the transcriptions of the interviews can be found in the disk that accompanies this thesis.

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[93] Not counting the discarded interview with the father and daughter who went to Glastonbury.

9.3 Analysis

The coding of each Extract from the focus group discussions follows the same rules as in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4), save that the name of the music festival attended is identified in parentheses, after the fictitious name I have given each participant.

I start with an exploration of identity at music festivals, addressing the two questions raised by the case study in the previous Chapter.

9.3.1 Identity at music festivals

In this sub-Section, I examine how participants described festival-goer identity, their perceptions of what a festival-goer *is*, and then I go on to look at how they described outgroup identity, their perceptions of what the festival-goer is *not*.

Festival-goer identity

In Extract 8.15, Amanda described festival-goer identity at Boomtown Fair firstly as "young"; secondly, as "liberal", which I interpreted as meaning open, accepting and non-judgmental; and thirdly she described festival-goers as people who like to "dress up and make a statement", which I interpreted as unconventional and extrovert. How did others describe festival-goer identity?

Harry (aged 22) had been to Eden Festival, a small, family friendly festival with a daily capacity of approximately 8,000 festival-goers, featuring lesser known artists and held near Moffat in Scotland. I asked him to describe a typical Eden person:

> Extract 9.1 Harry (Eden) 208-209 Okay, youthful I would
> say, then can I say artsy as well, pretentious as that sounds…
> liberal, definitely.
> Interviewer 210 Would artsy be the same as bohemian?
> Harry 211-214 Yeah, bohemian, bohemian actually that is a
> kind of perfect word for it, that is kind of the word for it.
> And, free-living I think, I am going to say free-living, I am
> not really sure if there is a better term for that.

Harry's definition of Eden identity is almost exactly the same as Amanda's definition of festival-goer identity, youthful and liberal, and artsy, or bohemian (socially

unconventional in an artistic way[94]). Eden festival-goers are also free-living, which I interpret as meaning not constrained by society's rules, nor burdened with the normal anxieties of social life.

Emma (aged around 20), who had taken part in Victorious, a relatively small, family-oriented festival in Portsmouth, offered this description of a generalized festival-goer identity:

> Extract 9.2 Emma (Victorious) 388-392 Sort of quite a free spirit, I'd say, kind of, up for most things, sort of. Not very guarded. Quite friendly. Happy. What else… Carefree, relaxed, gentle. Most of the time people meet that stereotype that we form in our heads when we go to festivals.

Her description fits well with Harry's description of Eden festival-goers as free-living, and it is interesting that she specifically commented that the people she meets at music festivals tend to fit the stereotype.

Edward (aged around 21) was at Roskilde Festival[95] in Denmark with a large group of his former classmates from the International School in Copenhagen:

> Extract 9.3 Edward (Roskilde) 537-538 [] it's a very free and accepting community and, I mean, people are very accepting.

Corresponding with the description of festival-goer identity as "liberal", Edward explicitly characterised festival-goers as accepting, and, importantly, as a community.

Jonathan (aged around 22) a Canadian, was a seasoned festival-goer, and had been to four music festivals over the summer of 2016. We focussed on his experiences at Way Home Festival, an indie[96] rock festival with a daily capacity of 40,000. I asked him "Who are 'we' at this festival?" (149-150):

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[94] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/bohemian accessed17/09/2017.
[95] Roskilde is one of the biggest music festivals, with a capacity of 130,000.
[96] Originally, 'indie' referred to independent record labels, and the music they produced. It was synonymous with alternative rock, for example, Nirvana, The Pixies etc. Now, it is associated with experimental sounds, an indifference to commercial success and a concern with authenticity. See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indie_rock accessed 15/09/2017.

> Extract 9.4 Jonathan (Way Home) 153-158 Very childish. In
> a good way, in a good way. So, like, no… obviously there is
> people who don't act this way as much, but it's a very non-
> judgmental place, so people tend to just let loose and be
> themselves and not worry about… I mean, people don't seem
> to carry with them the anxieties that they normally do [].

Festival-goers are childish, but in a good way, which I interpret as meaning that they behave in an innocent and unself-conscious manner; perhaps as much child-*like* as child*ish*. The festival itself is described as a non-judgmental place, suggesting that festival-goers do not judge, nor do they expect to be judged by others, so that at Way Home Festival, people can relax and "let loose", freed from their everyday anxieties.

Similarly, Joanna (aged 22), who spent a single day at T in the Park, in Scotland said:

> Extract 9.5 Joanna (T in the Park) 597-598 [] most people go
> to a music festival to sort of get drunk and to let loose [].

Susan (aged around 20), who went to Reading Festival (paired with Leeds Festival, one of the biggest festivals in the UK with a daily capacity of 90,000), described her feeling that she could be an alternative, more outgoing version of herself at the festival:

> Extract 9.6 Susan (Reading) 363-373 [] you're no longer like
> that shy kind of personality, yeah I'm not sure {laughs}. [] I
> kind of felt like over that weekend I was a lot more outgoing
> than I normally would be. So it was kind of like not quite
> being myself but still being comfortable with it.

Amanda said almost exactly the same thing about how she felt at Boomtown Fair; she felt that she had an "alternative self that is a Boomtown resident" (445), which she could not be in her "normal life" (484-485).

At music festivals, then, people may feel able to relax, to let their inhibitions go and be a wilder version of themselves, a version they feel unable to be in their everyday lives. Critically, they can do so because of the non-judgmental and accepting nature of the identity they share in the crowd.

But what about the other side of the coin? How do festival-goers define who they are not?

Outgroup identity

In Extract 9.4, Jonathan (Way Home) suggested that people do not carry their anxieties with them at music festivals. If so, then these anxieties are somehow excluded from the festival, they may be left at the festival gates. Later, he went on:

> Extract 9.7 Jonathan (Way Home) 447 I think it's like definitely an escape and it's a very cathartic experience for people.

An escape from what? As we saw in the previous Chapter, Amanda said that at Boomtown, "reality" had been "shut out for the weekend" (520-521), and I speculated that it may be part of the function of music festivals to keep reality at bay. Janice (aged around 20), who was at Glastonbury Festival, probably the best-known music festival in the UK, said something similar:

> Extract 9.8 Janice (Glastonbury) 138-142 [] everyone was kind of there in a little bubble. And you can kind of forget about everything else. There was a lot of people saying, you know, it's like an ecosystem in its own right. And it's quite separate from the rest of the world at that time.

Likewise, Victor (aged around 24), a postgraduate student who had been to T in the Park with a large group of his 'classmates', described the festival crowd as a small society in its own right:

> Extract 9.9 Victor (T in the Park) 493-507 [] that whole weekend, you kind of feel like isolated from the rest of them, like outside of the festival [] It's a bit like a small utopia thing.

Music festivals may therefore represent an escape from everyday concerns and worries - an escape from mundane, everyday life. If so, as I speculated in Chapter 8, the comparison outgroup for festival-goers may be conventional people who represent mundane, everyday society. Interestingly, participants may see themselves

as escaping from their *own* everyday lives, becoming a different version of themselves in an alternative festival identity.

Confirming and extending Amanda's description of festival-goer identity in the previous Chapter, festival-goer identity has been described as friendly, youthful or childish, happy and carefree, relaxed, gentle, open, accepting, and non-judgmental. In contrast with identity at political protests, which generally prescribes and proscribes what ingroup members should and should not think, feel and act, festival-goer identity is permissive, not prescriptive or proscriptive. Inside the "little bubble" that is a music festival, people may feel able to enact their alternative festival-goer identity, with others who are accepting and non-judgmental. Festival-goer identity may figuratively 'clear a space', in which festival goers can be their alternative festival selves.

Outside the bubble is mundane everyday reality, and perhaps festival-goers' own everyday lives. The outgroup may be people who represent that mundane reality, the faceless conventional person with a job and a house, as Amanda suggested, people who do not wear glitter (Extract 8.18).

We have established what it means to be a festival-goer in terms of what a festival-goer is, and revealed some indications of what a festival-goer is not. Now it is time to examine whether that identity is shared at music festivals. In the next sub-Section, I address my first research question: Is there evidence of shared identity in music festival crowds?

9.3.2 Shared identity?

Unity and one-ness

We saw that Amanda and Charlotte experienced feelings of unity and one-ness at Boomtown, and similar feelings were described by other music festival participants. For example, Edward (Roskilde) described how he felt in the crowd when the Red Hot Chili Peppers[97] played one of their best-known songs:

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[97] The Red Hot Chili Peppers are an immensely popular American funk rock band.

Extract 9.10 Edward (Roskilde) 332-336 [] there's just a
steady, like, all unity, but at certain times it just, like, elevates
like singing a song like Californication or everyone knows
the words, it's just iconic and everyone's like, things rise and
you just feel, like, a great unity and connection to everyone.

Notice that Edward used the language of shared identity - repeatedly describing the crowd as "everyone". He described a steady feeling of unity in the crowd, which suggests a relatively constant, background sense of togetherness which increased in intensity ("elevates") when the crowd was singing along to a well-known song. Later, he went on to describe a sense of the group becoming one:

Extract 9.11 Edward (Roskilde) 552-554 [] It's kind of like,
with a unity, it's kind of like being in a small clan or family,
where you feel like both as an individual and as a group and
in turn, the group becomes like an individual.

It is of course possible that although the question related to the crowd, in his references to the group, Edward may have been talking about his friendship network rather than the crowd itself.

Untold is a huge electronic dance music festival (daily capacity at least 50,000) in Cluj-Napoca, in the Transylvania region of north-western Romania. Alexander (aged around 22) described the effects of synchronised behaviours, in which everyone in the crowd raised their hands in the air and waved to the left and to the right in time to the music, choreographed by the DJ:

Extract 9.12 Alexander (Untold) 265-267 It's absolutely
incredible, I've never felt something like that ever in my life.
And you feel like one.

Susan (Reading) likewise felt a sense of one-ness with the crowd when everyone was singing and dancing together:

Extract 9.13 Susan (Reading) 109-110 [] it's like just, it's,
yeah it is like a massive crowd of one and you're all feeling
the same thing.

What is the nature of such a connection? Like Amanda in the previous Chapter, and like some of the field interviewees at climate change protests (sub-Section 4.4.1), some participants talked of care and love.

Care and love

When I asked Jonathan (Way Home) whether he had ever experienced a feeling that the whole crowd had come together as one at a music festival, his response was emphatic:

> Extract 9.14 Jonathan (Way Home) 89-90 At pretty much every single festival I've been to! Yeah, definitely!

For Jonathan the concept of unity in the crowd was very familiar, indeed so familiar that he seemed surprised that I needed to ask him about it at all. I asked if he knew what created the feeling that the "crowd is like one thing" (126-127):

> Extract 9.15 Jonathan (Way Home) 128-136 I think there's multiple elements to it. I think one is the kind of disposition people have when they walk in to the festival. Not just the excitement but like there's a different… people treat each other differently when they're at festivals. People are genuinely a lot nicer and are looking out for each other []. So there's a lot of positivity going around in general. There's a great feeling of connectedness.

Interestingly, his understanding was that from the start, as they walked into a festival, people were already disposed to treat others differently - better - than they would otherwise. People "genuinely" cared about and for each other at music festivals.

Later, I asked him what it was that he felt for people when he felt a sense of connection with them, starting with his feelings for his friendship group:

> Extract 9.16 Jonathan (Way Home) 286 Love, for sure.
> Interviewer 287-288 And then beyond that, the strangers who are there?
> Jonathan 289 Yeah, definitely. Love for them.

Laura (aged around 19), who like Edward was at Roskilde Festival, said something similar, albeit in a more qualified manner:

I treated feelings of love for the crowd in political protest crowds (sub-Section 4.4.1) as the ultimate expression of shared identity, in the breaking down of barriers between people and the expansion of the self to include the other. Now, in a completely different kind of crowd, we have evidence of precisely the same feelings. It is interesting to note that Laura explicitly recognised that her feelings of love for the crowd were feelings for people she did not know, suggesting that she may have recognised that such feelings related to a category or group of people, rather than to individuals.

Similarly, just as we saw evidence of feelings of belonging at Scotland's Climate March, so too there are also indications of a sense of belonging in music crowds.

Belonging

Gloria had travelled to Prague, Czech Republic, for a special 20th anniversary one-day concert (rather than festival) featuring VNV Nation and a number of other bands. VNV stands for Victory not Vengeance, and Gloria told me that the band's 'message' was about positivity in overcoming obstacles, "very anti-corporate, very kind of anti [] the machine" (120-121). She saw the band and the concert as a place where people who might otherwise not 'fit in' could feel safe:

> Extract 9.18 Gloria (VNV Nation) 135-146 [] you see people who are, based on their dress, based on their hairstyle, hair colour, tattoos, what have you, you can tell that they are people who are not necessarily of the, the typical mode for where they live, what their age group is, what have you. And so there is a sense, if anything is clear through the shows it's the sense that everyone is in it together. So while there are so many differences represented, and maybe these people are kind of in outcast groups within their own societies, their own communities, they come together and they're able to have a sense of belonging, if that makes sense.

Gloria felt that everyone at the concert was in it together, in what may have been an alternative VNV Nation community, and that people who might be outcasts could

feel a sense of belonging at the concert. Later, Gloria described VNV Nation concerts generally as "very much a safe space" (175).

Alexander (Untold) also described a feeling of belonging: "you feel that you belong to the crowd" (282-283). It is reasonable to construe this as a sense of belonging to a community, and this becomes clearer when we look at the context of the comment. Alexander had described how the crowd had been directed by the DJ to sit down. A few people who remained standing attracted the hostility of the crowd, not because they were obstructing the view, but because in doing so, they had become outsiders:

> Extract 9.19 Alexander (Untold) 298-309 The guys that didn't sit down, [] the way the crowd felt, you know… didn't feel that great about the people who weren't joining, who were not part of the group. They were not like us. [] you're attacking people who are not [] part of your group.

The crowd (or group) norm was to follow the DJ's instructions. Those who did not came to be perceived as *not* part of the group to which Alexander felt he belonged.

Demonstrating remarkable congruence with our findings of shared identity in political crowds, music festival participants' descriptions of feelings of unity and one-ness, of care and love for the crowd, and feelings of belonging are evidence of shared identity in the music festival crowd, thus positively answering my first research question.

In the next sub-Section, I address my second research question: How do people know they share identity in music festival crowds?

9.3.3 How do you know?

We have seen that in political crowds, synchronised behaviours such as chanting together, marching together and dancing together tend to engender feelings of connection and solidarity with others, and it is reasonable to expect similar effects of synchronised behaviours in music festival crowds, even if the actual behaviours are not exactly the same. Some of our political protest participants experienced their most intense feelings of togetherness and one-ness when they were chanting political

slogans in the crowd. Although there can be chanting at music festivals (for example, Extract 8.25), more commonly, people tend to sing along together.

Singing along together

Susan (Reading) talked about how she knew she had a connection with others in the crowd:

> Extract 9.20 Susan (Reading) 106-110 Well definitely any point in like the concerts where everyone's singing the words to a big chorus, everyone's dancing, it's like just, it's, yeah it is like a massive crowd of one and you're all feeling the same thing.

There are three factors involved; singing together, dancing together and feeling the same thing, or in other words, sharing the same emotions. For now, I concentrate on the first factor, singing along together, and I examine the second and third factors below.

It may seem obvious, but it is worth making the point that to be singing the words, people must *know* the words. Alastair (aged around 20) had been to Leeds Festival which, paired with Reading Festival, is one of the biggest music festivals in the UK:

> Extract 9.21 Alastair (Leeds) 311-313 And especially when everyone knows all the lyrics, it's kind of yeah, everyone's just singing along together.

Knowing the words to a song that everyone is singing, and singing along together is an indication that something is shared in the crowd; it represents a bond of shared enthusiasm amongst everyone who is taking part. As Joanna (T in the Park) said:

> Extract 9.22 Joanna (T in the Park) 466-468 [] everyone was singing in the crowd [] a sort of <u>crowd</u> bonding…

So singing along together bonds the crowd together, and may contribute to perceptions of shared identity. Just as chanting together in political crowds is a physical manifestation of shared beliefs and values, so too in the music festival crowd, knowing the words and singing along together demonstrates shared music

values. Indeed, we will see in sub-Section 9.3.4 evidence of the *validation* of such values.

Moving together

Alexander enthusiastically described his feelings when, choreographed by the DJ at Untold Festival, everyone in the crowd took part in a common music festival form of synchronised behaviour, choreographed hand-waving, putting their hands in the air and moving them in time with the music:

> Extract 9.23 Alexander (Untold) 265-272 It's absolutely
> incredible, I've never felt something like that ever in my life.
> And you feel like one. You just… like the whole crowd, and,
> you know, we're all synchronised, because the guy's showing
> us what to do. [] It's like hypnotising.

Like Amanda (Extract 8.23), Jack (aged around 20), who went to Wilderness Festival, noticed that if someone was not moving together with the rest of the crowd, they tended to stand out:

> Extract 9.24 Jack (Wilderness) 141-143 I remember even
> seeing one person who wasn't swaying with the music and
> he… he really stuck out. He stuck out to me.

Not moving in time to the music can be something which identifies a person as *not* part of the crowd. For Helen (aged around 20), at British Summer Time Festival, dancing together made her feel connected with others:

> Extract 9.25 Helen (BST) 160-165 [] it just was very
> connecting [] Everyone was very open, and everyone was
> singing, dancing and you obviously kept touching people
> because you were dancing and pushing people [].

Dancing at music festivals often involves dancing closely together with others, including strangers, and physical contact is common. Here we have an account, not just of physical proximity, but of physical *touching*. In sub-Section 8.5.4, I discussed Amanda's and Charlotte's feelings about physical proximity and contact. Next, I look at evidence of the same kind of feelings in music festivals more widely.

Physical proximity and contact

We saw in Chapter 8 that Amanda felt more of a sense of unity in the crowd at Boomtown when "you are really like surrounded and the physical closeness of people as well" (Extract 8.21). Talking about her feeling that it is a "massive crowd of one", Susan (Reading) gave this example of physical contact in the crowd:

> Extract 9.26 Susan (Reading) 124-134 [] it was like a kind of indoor stadium, so everyone was particularly close together. [] And yeah, everyone would just be jumping up and down and you kind of all have to move at the same time or you'd get squashed {laughs} [] Yeah, it was really everyone moving together and I definitely felt more, in like the indoor concerts, rather than the outdoor concerts that everyone was kind of more like as one, yeah, because I think it was that confined space.

Susan talked about being so tightly packed in that that everyone *has to* move together - she was physically 'jumped' and moved around by the movement of the others. In the confined space of an indoor stadium, squashed together with others, she felt the crowd was *more* as one.

John (aged around 45), who went to T in the Park with his son, recounted how it felt when everyone was physically close together:

> Extract 9.27 John (T in the Park) 153-160 [] you would be packed in like sardines and jumping and that is almost a different thing again, that is almost like another level of intensity [] Higher, yeah, because when you are absolutely jammed in like that and you know, yeah, there is folk on top of you crowd-surfing and yeah.

Physical proximity and physical contact - being jampacked together while dancing - tends to intensify the feeling of shared identity. But the mosh-pit experience which some participants described goes beyond physical contact; it involves deliberately barging into people.

A mosh-pit is an area within the crowd at a music festival or concert, often at the very front of the stage, which is cleared so that people - the vast majority are young males - can dance, jump and run together, deliberately barging into each other, in

time to the music. There is generally no intention of physically harming others, but people are sometimes thrown around and injured[98].

Alastair (Leeds) described his feelings of closeness in the mosh-pit:

> Extract 9.28 Alastair (Leeds) 305-311 [] quite often what'll happen is that people form a sort of mosh-pit and everyone will have their arms around each other on the outside and someone will go in the middle and dance, and, like, obviously when everyone's laughing and witnessing the same thing together you feel closer, I would say, yeah.

More generally, he went on to talk about physical contact:

> Extract 9.29 Alastair (Leeds) 328-331 [] kind of willingness to… not touch each other, but like willingness to like put your arms round each other and lift each other up and that kind of thing, yeah [].

That Alastair understood how unusual this was, is demonstrated by the language he used. It was not just that people put their arms round each other, it was their "willingness" to do so that made this worthy of comment. At music festivals people not only 'invade' each other's personal space by literally rubbing shoulders with each other, and moving together as if joined together, they also put their arms around strangers, and by arrangement, in what may seem like a mock-up of a street fight, repeatedly barge into them in the mosh-pit. At music festivals, then, in the right context, physical contact with strangers is not only *not* aversive, it is welcomed and enjoyed as part of the music festival experience.

Singing along together and dancing together are instantiations of synchronised behaviours. We have seen in sub-Section 1.3.2 that such behaviours can have the effect of bonding together those taking part. Perceptions of shared emotions and feelings can also have a bonding effect.

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[98] In its own style, The Urban Dictionary offers definitions and descriptions of several different types of mosh-pit. For example, "Jumping around, punching, kicking, and generally being violent to live music, usually heavy metal, punk rock, hardcore or anything fast and hard." http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=mosh%20pit, accessed 16/08/2017.

Shared emotions and feelings

Music festivals tend to be emotional experiences, in two principal senses. Firstly, as we have seen, people go to music festivals to enjoy themselves, to spend time with their friends, to enjoy the music they love, to be happy and excited and perhaps to escape from their everyday anxieties, or simply from everyday life for a few days. Secondly, at music festivals people may come to feel emotionally closer to others in the crowd, including strangers. We saw that it was important to Amanda that everyone was feeling the same thing (Extract 8.22), and for Charlotte, that everyone was in the same happy mood (Extract 8.26).

We heard from Susan (Reading) in Extract 9.13 that she felt a sense of one-ness when everyone was singing and dancing together, and it is worth repeating that Extract here:

> Extract 9.30 Susan (Reading) 106-110 [] yeah it is like a
> massive crowd of one and you're all feeling the same thing.

In explaining his sense of connection with the crowd, Alastair (Leeds) said something similar:

> Extract 9.31 Alastair (Leeds) 336-338 [] something to do with
> kind of knowing you're feeling and thinking the same thing.
> [] I think that's what makes everyone feel closer together.

Interestingly, knowing that others are feeling and thinking the same made people feel closer to each other, not the other way around. But how do people 'know' that others share emotions with them? In part, as we have seen, this is an assumption, similar in kind to the presumption of shared beliefs and values we have seen in political crowds. But because emotions are embodied, they can be observed on people's faces, in their body language, and in their actions. So firstly, as we have seen, shared emotions can be inferred from shared behaviours such as singing and dancing together. Secondly, the expressions on people's faces and their body language are important. For example, Jonathan (Way Home) talked about facial expressions

> Extract 9.32 Jonathan (Way Home) 421-422 [] you can see from their faces that they're enjoying it and that kind of thing.

Janice (Glastonbury) talked about the expressions on people's faces, and their body language:

> Extract 9.33 Janice (Glastonbury) 261-264 I think it's quite a lot to do with facial expression and body language. And yeah so, if people smile at me and you smile at back, that makes you feel a sense of affinity with them.

So at music festivals, people 'read' the emotions of others, and if they identify that others share the same emotions, this may lead to feelings of *affinity*; and feelings of affinity may be part of what tells people that they share identity with others.

In the context of political crowds we have seen that the feeling of being emotionally closer to others is not only part of what tells people they share identity with those others, it is also perceived as a *consequence* of shared identity. In the next sub-Section I review the evidence of this and other perceived consequences of shared identity, in terms of Reicher's (2018) hypothesised three transformations; cognitive, relational and emotional (Section 1.1), addressing my third research question: What are the consequences of shared identity in music festival crowds?

9.3.4 Consequences of shared identity

Cognitive transformation

Reicher (2018) proposes that one of the consequences of self-categorization in a social identity is that, in a cognitive transformation, the individual shifts from her individual beliefs, values and goals, to group beliefs, values and goals. We saw evidence of such a cognitive transformation in Amanda's perception that she and other festival-goers fitted a stereotype, or were the same (Extracts 8.29 and 8.30). Other music festival participants also felt that they were similar to or the same as other festival-goers. I asked Jack (Wilderness) how he felt towards strangers in the crowd at a time when he felt connected to the crowd:

Extract 9.34 Jack (Wilderness) 369-372 I did feel that they were feeling the same things. So of course I felt like I understood them and they were the same as me [].

Interestingly, not similar, but "the same". Edward (Roskilde) talked of others in the crowd being in the same mindset:

Extract 9.35 Edward (Roskilde) 306-308 They're also like very much in the same mindset as you and they have the same, like, goal as to listen to music and have a good time.

We have already seen evidence in this Chapter that participants perceived others in the crowd as thinking and feeling the same as them; for example, Susan (Reading) said in Extract 9.30 "you're all feeling the same thing", and in Extract 9.31 Alastair (Leeds) said "you're feeling and thinking the same thing." Interestingly, this perception of sameness or similarity may contribute to a sense of *validation* at music festivals. Janice (Glastonbury) was talking about a specific instance when she felt an intense feeling of happiness, while one of her favourite bands was playing one of her favourite songs:

Extract 9.36 Janice (Glastonbury) 328-332 I would say if you appreciate something, you kind of look to others and hope they are appreciating it too, and if you see signs that they are then I guess that kind of consolidates or reinforces that it's a valid thing to like.

Finding validation from the appreciation of others also suggests a transformation in relations amongst people, because it suggests that their opinions on things that matter are important. Next, I look at evidence of the second of the three transformations, the relational transformation.

Relational transformation

In the relational transformation, a suggested consequence of shared identity (Reicher, 2018), because people may have come to view their group (or in our case, the crowd) as 'we' and 'us' rather than 'me' and 'them', they may be more likely to engage with others, and to interact with strangers; and they may be more likely to trust others, and to cooperate with and help others they perceive as part of their ingroup.

Relations with strangers

Music festival participants often comment on the ease with which they relate to strangers, striking up conversations, and dancing with people they do not know. For example, we saw in the previous Chapter that Amanda noticed that "Strangers talk to each other when they wouldn't normally" (Extract 8.32).

I asked Harry (Eden) how he knew that others shared what he described as the "ethos" at Eden Festival:

> Extract 9.37 Harry (Eden) 191-196 I think [] everybody is kind of [] being a bit more free to talk to people and start up whole conversations with total strangers, I think that kind of has an effect of relaxing other people as well.

Susan (Reading) talked enthusiastically about a "bond" she felt with a girl she had not met before and did not meet again:

> Extract 9.38 Susan (Reading) 45-49 [] there was a girl at Two Door Cinema Club[99] where we both knew the lyrics to this one song and we kind of just ended up singing it together and yeah, I don't even think I ever saw her after that and I'd never seen her before but yeah, it was just a real kind of bond.

I asked Jack (Wilderness) how he felt towards people in the crowd he did not know:

> Extract 9.39 Jack (Wilderness) 377 It felt like they could be my friends.
> Interviewer 378 Okay. So that's a feeling of kind of potential?
> Jack 379-386 Yeah. Yeah, well, no… not like… It felt like they would be my friends if I… I didn't know them so I wasn't their friend, but if I had known them… I don't think I'm making sense. I don't know, I guess it felt like love, it really felt like there… there was just no danger with the people that were also feeling the same thing as you.

Jack struggled to make his feelings about strangers in the crowd coherent, and he tied himself in knots in the attempt. Like Amanda (Extract 8.33), he thought of the others at the festival as something like his friends. In his confusion, he moved from trying

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[99] Two Door Cinema Club are an Irish indie rock band formed in 2007.

to think through how he felt, to a direct expression of the emotion: "love" (for other instances of love, see sub-Section 9.3.2). Finally, Jack felt there was no "danger" with people who felt the same way he did; in other words, just as we have seen in political crowds (Extract 6.7) he felt *safe* in the crowd.

In Extract 8.1, Charlotte also described feelings of being comfortable and not threatened in the Boomtown crowd, and she linked those feelings to her sense that the crowd was "trustworthy".

Trust

We saw in sub-Sections 4.4.3 and 6.3.3 that in political crowds, people described feelings of camaraderie or comradeship, concepts which involve mutual trust (Section 1.1). When I asked Susan (Reading) if, when she felt that the crowd was as one, she was making assumptions "not just about the emotional state of the others, but also who they are?" she responded in terms of trust:

> Extract 9.40 Susan (Reading) 285-288 [] I think there's almost, like, yeah like you trust everyone in that crowd, even though I'm sure there are people there that you'd probably {laughs} ought not to [].

Susan trusted everyone[100]; importantly, she did not say that she *could* trust everyone, but that she *trusted* them. She understood that it did not sound rational, but it was how she felt in that particular crowd. And note that it was not just in *any* crowd, but in "that crowd" that everyone was trusted, suggesting that there was some special reason for doing so. One plausible reason might have been that her feelings of trust were a consequence of her sense of shared identity in the crowd.

Edward also trusted other festival-goers; for example, he felt that it was safe to leave expensive equipment like cameras at the campsite during the day:

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[100] When Susan says "there's almost, like," she hesitates, and then seems to begin again. I do not think she is saying the feeling is almost one of trust. In my view, she is talking about a feeling of trust. The word "like" tends to be used by this age group not as a word, but as punctuation.

Extract 9.41 Edward (Roskilde) 287-289 [] I don't know if
it's like that with other music festivals, if you have that trust,
but it was definitely that way at Roskilde…

I asked him whether there was something about music festival people that made him
trust them more:

Extract 9.42 Edward (Roskilde) 296-308 I guess this whole
being together is one thing like, coming together, is a big
influence because we all just came in to see maybe this one
band or all have this affinity for the music or what have you.
[] They're also like very much in the same mindset as you
and they have the same, like, goal as to listen to music and
have a good time.

Like Susan (Reading), Edward linked his feeling of trust to the concept of sameness,
or similarity. So too did Victor, who described T in the Park as like a small society.
As members of that society, others in the crowd came to be perceived as more
trustworthy:

Extract 9.43 Victor (T in the Park) 493-506 [] it's kind of
establishing their own, well some sort of small society in a
festival, I would say…so they have like a little boost in the
trust, or in the relationship because you already have the
common thing where you're here and everybody's living in
the same shit mud [].

Not only did people tend to trust each other at music festivals, they also tended to
help each other out.

Helping behaviours

In political crowds, we have seen that people sometimes feel a sense of solidarity, a
feeling of mutual support (for example, Extracts 4.31 and 6.51). We saw in Extract
8.31 that when Charlotte was left alone and upset in the crowd at Boomtown, others
tried to help. Alastair (Leeds) also talked about helping behaviours at music festivals:

Extract 9.44 Alastair (Leeds) 212-215 I would probably say
that at a festival there are a lot of people who are just more
willing to reach out and help other people. I don't know,
because that's just what you do at festivals?

At music festivals, helping others may be *normative*. Certainly, that festival-goers look out for each other seems almost an item of faith for festival-goers:

> Extract 9.45 Jonathan (Way Home) 379-386 I've met a lot of people who genuinely seem like they want to make your experience even better. And I feel like over the years of the festivals I've gone to, I've sort of morphed into one of those people more so I'll bring, like I bring like electrolytes, tablets to give to people when they're really dehydrated to mix it with water and then they drink it and they're hopefully feeling better. I also bring extra sunscreen.

Jonathan went to some lengths to try to help others at music festivals, planning ahead and bringing extra provisions so that he could do so. Harry made a similar comment about his experience at Eden Festival:

> Extract 9.46 Harry (Eden) 162-166 I think everybody was being much more, let's say much more friendly than you would be to the stranger in the street. Much more kind of everybody looked after each other, if you saw somebody was having a hard time [].

These helping behaviours are indications of emotional warmth towards, and care for, people, evidence of an emotional transformation in the music festival crowd.

Emotional transformation

All participants experienced feelings of intense excitement and happiness at music festivals, and these feelings tended to be most intense during what Amanda called the "crowd moments" (166-167), when everyone was singing along and dancing closely together. Most strikingly, participants described these feelings at their most intense as 'euphoria':

> Extract 9.47 Joanna 484-494 (T in the Park) I mean, I think people go to festivals to feel this sort of happy euphoric feeling [] You go for the whole atmosphere, you go for…to sort of I don't know just feel this happiness. Like when I, especially at the start of the day I felt this sort of intense happiness and just sort of like everyone else was just sharing this because you wouldn't go to a festival if you didn't enjoy it.

It is notable that she connected her feeling of intense happiness with her observation that everyone was sharing in it.

Edward (Roskilde) also described an intensely pleasurable feeling of connection:

> Extract 9.48 Edward (Roskilde) 555-558 Moving together
> and all connecting over something so it's rather like, it can be
> euphoric even, like. Just to get like a really, really connected
> feeling towards it.

Importantly, the feeling of euphoria was directly related to, or based on, his sense of connection with others. I asked Jonathan (Way Home), our veteran festival-goer what he felt, when he felt connected to the whole crowd:

> Extract 9.49 Jonathan (Way Home) 274-276 [] it could be
> complete euphoria. But it's just the fact that not only are you
> not thinking about it but also everyone is sharing the same
> experience [].

Again, the feeling of euphoria was based on an understanding that others shared the same experience; it was dependent on a sense of connection with others and to this extent it was a collective feeling. We saw in sub-Section 6.3.3 that in political crowds the emotional transformation involved feelings of emotional warmth, excitement, and feelings of power and empowerment in the crowd. Similarly, euphoria is of course a feeling of intense excitement and happiness, and we have seen that achieving this feeling may be part of the reason people go to music festivals. As the feeling of euphoria is dependent on an understanding that it is shared in the crowd, and is based on a perception of connection with the crowd, it is reasonable to conclude that it is a consequence of the achievement and enactment of a shared festival-goer identity in the crowd.

Implicit in some of the accounts of music festival experiences we have reviewed so far is evidence of the *variability* of shared identity. Now, I address my fourth research question: Is there evidence of variability in shared identity in music festival crowds?

9.3.5 Variability of shared identity in music festival crowds

In sub-Section 6.3.4, we saw evidence of variability both in the scope (who is included and who is not) and in the intensity of shared identity in political crowds. In contrast with political crowds, at music festivals the identity that may be shared tends to be a permissive rather than a prescriptive or proscriptive identity, an open, accepting and non-judgmental identity. Festival-goer identity can reasonably be characterised as inclusive, and so, as we saw in Chapter 8, compared with political crowds, we can expect to see less variability in the scope of shared identity at music festivals.

The scope of shared identity

There was no evidence that either Charlotte or Amanda regarded anyone as *not* part of the crowd at Boomtown Fair (young children and misbehaving older people excepted), and indeed, in Extract 8.37 Amanda commented that she did not know what it would take for her to think that someone did not belong at the festival. Similarly, across the remaining music festival interviews, there was almost no evidence that participants regarded others as excluded from the identity they shared. One participant however was *ambivalent* about who was included in the ingroup.

Victor, a university postgraduate, went to T in the Park in Scotland with a group of seven other postgraduate students from the same university, all of whom were leaving university to start work at the end of the summer. Early in the interview, he described a feeling of unity he experienced when the crowd was singing along together to a well-known song or 'anthem'. But he explicitly described the feeling of unity as confined to his group of friends:

> Extract 9.50 Victor 54-58 What I noticed that, as soon as it's like really emotional, within the group, you get closer to your group but you do not get close to the rest, so the rest more like fades out a bit. Which is opposite to some other songs.

But later, as we have seen, he described the festival as a small society:

> Extract 9.51 Victor 493-507 [] it's kind of establishing their own well some sort of small society in a festival, I would say []. So you obviously feel, from the beginning, already closer

> to the others than you would if you meet them on the street,
> so they have like a little boost in the trust, or in the
> relationship because you already have the common thing
> where you're here and everybody's living in the same shit
> mud. It's a bit like a small utopia thing.

Victor's understanding of the music festival as a small society or utopia shows that he felt a bond of community with others, and he did so "from the beginning". This suggests that, despite his earlier comments, his feeling of togetherness extended to others in the crowd, and not merely to his friendship group. The apparent contradiction may be explained simply on the basis that Victor was focussed on his group as a celebration of their time together and a farewell, as the group dispersed to take up jobs elsewhere.

I conclude that in contrast with political crowds, there is little variability in the *scope* of shared identity at music festivals (who is included in the identity that is shared and who is not). But we have already seen evidence of intense feelings of excitement and happiness, or euphoria which shows that the feeling of shared identity was more intense in certain contexts than in others. As Amanda said, the feeling "Comes and goes" (87). Next, I examine the ebb and flow of shared identity.

The ebb and flow of shared identity

We saw in Extract 9.15 that Jonathan (Way Home) felt that people were in a music festival "disposition" as soon as they walked in to the festival, suggesting that from the start, some festival-goers may be 'primed' for shared identity. Harry (Eden), felt a sense of connection with the crowd "almost the whole time" (133). Edward (Roskilde) described a constant background feeling of unity, but it was a feeling that ebbed and flowed:

> Extract 9.52 Edward (Roskilde) 331-332 [] it ebbs and flows
> but I think there's just a steady, like, all unity.

The feeling of shared identity may be intensified by interactions between the crowd and the performers:

> Extract 9.53 Helen (BST) 268-271 I think, well, the band
> sometimes makes people clap or makes people sing so I think

this is when people feel more as one than they do if they just listen to the band.

Others described such intense feelings as brief passing moments; for example, for Joanna (T in the Park) the feeling of connection was "a bonding moment" (200). Later, she added:

> Extract 9.54 Joanna (T in the Park) 572-574 [] in a festival it is sort of, you are more bonding with the people because you are living in the moment [].

Jack (Wilderness) described the feeling in terms of movement:

> Extract 9.55 Jack (Wilderness) 434-436 I would say it's something that's constantly, it's something very dynamic, constantly, you know, changing.

Sometimes, the sense of shared identity disappeared entirely. For example, in Extract 9.17, we saw that Laura (Roskilde) "sometimes" felt love for the crowd. At other times, however, she felt differently:

> Extract 9.56 Laura (Roskilde) 99-104 [] sometimes I feel like you can get angry at people that you don't know just because, like, you stand so close and you all want to have, like, a good place in the crowd so they can see the stage, so they get… I feel like there's a sense of, like, there's a competition between the people there.

Similarly, despite describing the crowd as a massive crowd of one (Extract 9.13) and expressing trust for the crowd (Extract 9.40), at one point Susan (Reading) felt more concerned for her friends' safety[101] than she felt connected with the crowd:

> Extract 9.57 Susan (Reading) 169-180 I actually think I felt particularly protective over them. Because it was such a small space and I was worried about people like crushing them [] I did definitely at certain points, it was more like, yeah, just the four of us kind of against the crowd. But then there were also times when it was definitely everyone was just all together.

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[101] Music festival crowds can be lethal. At a Pearl Jam concert, at Roskilde in 2000, nine people were crushed or trampled to death when the crowd surged forward towards the band.

Dependent on context, concerns about personal safety may naturally predominate, and at those times, feelings of togetherness may recede or disappear. At other times, feelings of unity, one-ness and togetherness may prevail[102].

Emma (Victorious) went further, describing her sense of being *judged* by other festival-goers and how they made her feel. She was a longstanding fan of Manic Street Preachers, a rock band dating back to the 1980s, and was excited to see them at the Festival. However, her excitement was not shared by the crowd and the experience was a disappointment:

> Extract 9.58 Emma (Victorious) 185-190 [] I did feel kind of
> distant I think, just because they were kind of [] just not
> really moving and I was kind of trying to exert some kind of
> energy but people were just getting irritated by me a little bit,
> and judging me a little bit, so…

Her sense of others' disapproval and judgment made her feel *distant* from the crowd. This is critical, because of course music festivals are meant to be safe spaces in which people are open accepting and non-judgmental. Emma's description of her feeling of distance demonstrates that feeling judged *destroyed* her sense of shared identity.

Just as we found in Charlotte's and Amanda's accounts in the previous Chapter, there is a considerable degree of variation in the *intensity* of shared identity at music festivals. Sometimes, people may experience no sense of shared identity at all. At other times, they may experience shared identity as a background feeling, and at yet other times, 'in the moment' they may experience shared identity as very intense feelings of happiness or even euphoria.

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[102] It might be argued that this is an example of variability in the scope of shared identity. I prefer to interpret it as an example of the *absence* of shared identity, as friendship bonds are different from the shared identity in the sense that such bonds tend to be based on mutual attraction or liking, rather than identity. The social identity model distinguishes between social *categories* (Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) and social *networks* (Deaux & Martin, 2003; Stets & Burke, 2000; see also Hogg & Hains, 1996; 1998; Easterbrook & Vignoles, 2013). Social categories are not dependent on social interaction, interdependence or interpersonal liking, but instead on categorization processes. Social networks on the other hand are construed as relationships and are based on (amongst other things) interactions and liking among the members of the network. Social categories and social networks therefore work in quite different ways.

9.4 Discussion

My objectives in this Chapter were firstly to answer the two questions raised by the case study in Chapter 8, by examining the evidence of a generalized festival-goer identity, and the evidence of a comparison outgroup; secondly, to answer my four music festival research questions (Section 7.3); and thirdly, to compare shared identity in music festival crowds and political crowds. My findings in this Chapter have supported and thus validated my findings from the case study, and have also extended our understanding of music festival crowds in certain key respects.

9.4.1 Ingroup and outgroup identity

We have seen evidence of participants' definitions of festival-goer identity, which are remarkably similar not only to each other, but also to Amanda's description in the previous Chapter, suggesting that festival-goers have a clear understanding of how they perceive, indeed *define*, themselves and others. The content of festival-goer identity, an amalgam made up of the comments of a number of participants, can be described as:

> A free spirit, youthful in outlook, liberal, and so open, accepting and non-judgmental, caring, unconventional and extrovert.

It is remarkable that although not all participants used *all* of these words to describe festival-goer identity, none said anything that would contradict the letter or spirit of this description.

It is an identity that is permissive rather than prescriptive or proscriptive; an identity that may create what one participant called a safe space, in which festival-goers can be themselves or their alternative festival-goer selves, without fear of judgment or rejection. Far from a *loss* of identity, it is through collectively sharing this identity that the individual *gains* the power and the agency to enact her identity in the crowd.

But the evidence of the identity of the outgroup at music festivals is more equivocal. My analysis has provided evidence of a possible comparison outgroup, in the form of conventional people leading mundane, ordinary lives - as Amanda put it, the faceless

crowd person who does not wear glitter (Extract 8.18). The comparison outgroup may even include participants' own non-festival-goer selves, who are figuratively excluded from the music festival, like the anxieties Jonathan described, left at the festival gates (Extract 9.4). Thus, the evidence suggests that music festivals may serve as an escape from mundane, everyday reality, possibly including festival-goers' own mundane everyday lives.

This finding took me by surprise, as it was not something I had experienced when I took part in T in the Park 2016 (my first ever music festival). Reflecting on my experience at that music festival I realised there were good reasons why I may not have experienced the music festival in the same way as other festival-goers. The first was that I took part as an observer rather than as a participant, which may have resulted in a failure to fully 'get' the music festival experience. The second was my age (57 at the time). We have seen that festival-goer identity is young, or at least youthful, and that was certainly true of T in the Park which, until it became defunct in 2016, was specifically recognised as being a festival for the young[103]. So at T in the Park, I was more like the outgroup than I was like the ingroup; for some at least, I may have represented what they were trying to escape from.

I did some more research on the idea of the music festival as an escape from reality. An online Google search for "music festival as an escape from reality" produced about 26,300,000 results, of which the first four were titled, or sub-titled:

Music festivals: the sound of escapism[104];

The Beauty in Escaping Reality at Music Festivals[105];

This Music Festival is the ultimate escape from reality[106];

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[103] It has been described as: the only [large-scale music festival] that actively encourages and celebrates the participation of the demographic that used to be regarded as music's prime constituents: the 16-25 age group:
https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2007/jul/06/tinthepark accessed 11/08/2017.
[104] https://www.theguardian.com/education/2011/jul/18/music-festivals-research accessed 11/08/2017.
[105] https://djbooth.net/features/2017-10-11-escaping-reality-at-music-festivals accessed 11/08/2017.
[106] http://www.noiseprn.com/2017/06/13/music-festival-ultimate-escape-reality/, accessed 11/08/2017:

How music festivals are the closest thing to utopia in modern society[107]; the website goes on: "Music festivals are usually a straight path to escape from the mundane doings of everyday life."

Anecdotally, therefore, the idea of music festivals as an escape from reality is ubiquitous. Empirically, whether festival-goers see music festivals in this way is almost entirely unresearched. However, recently Griffin, Bengry-Howell, Riley, Morey and Szmigin (2016) examined the significance of the concepts of 'freedom' and 'escape' amongst festival-goers at a range of UK music festivals, including Reading and Glastonbury Festivals. They undertook ethnographic observation and conducted informal group discussions and individual interviews with festival-goers both during and after music festivals. Their findings show that festival-goers generally regard the music festival as a safe space within which they can indulge in "hedonistic excess", temporary spaces in which festival-goers:

> …can feel *as if* they are escaping regulation in order to recover sufficiently return to the mundanity, constraints and responsibilities of the '9 to 5' world. (p. 16, original emphasis).

This additional evidence supports my analysis of music festivals as an escape from reality and of festivals as safe spaces. Indeed, it suggests that for many festival-goers, their *purpose* in taking part in music festivals may be to escape from everyday mundane reality. In turn this supports my characterization of a comparison outgroup as those who represent that reality.

We can conclude with some certainty therefore that the content of both ingroup and outgroup identity at music festivals have been adequately specified, in itself, to my knowledge a novel finding that extends our understanding of shared identity in music festival crowds.

In the next sub-Section, I discuss the extent to which the festival-goer identity I have described is shared at music festivals.

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[107] https://matadornetwork.com/nights/how-music-festivals-are-the-closest-thing-to-utopia-in-modern-society/, accessed 11/08/2017.

9.4.2 Shared identity

We have seen that music festival participants described their feelings of togetherness in the crowd in almost exactly the same way as political protesters: using the language of shared identity ('we' and 'us'); describing feelings of unity and one-ness; and talking about feelings of belonging. Some music festival participants went further, describing feelings of care and most strikingly, *love* for the music festival crowd, mapping neatly onto my findings of love for the political crowd in Chapter 4. There, I treated love as part of the process of depersonalization specified by SCT (sub-Section 2.2.2) and indeed as the ultimate expression of the breaking down of barriers between the self and others. In music festival crowds, I interpret feelings of care and love in exactly the same way.

Combined, my findings amount to evidence of the achievement of shared identity in music festival crowds, thus positively answering my first research question. My second research question asked: How do people know they share identity in music festival crowds?

9.4.3 How do you know?

Just as political protesters often felt their most intense sense of togetherness and connection while they were doing things such as marching and chanting together, so too, festival-goers felt their most intense feelings of togetherness and connection while dancing and singing together. Singing along together is different from chanting together in one significant respect: chanting together is something that is picked up on the spot in political crowds (at one well-organized demonstration I was given a 'chant sheet'), but as we saw in Extract 9.21, to sing along together you need to know the words to the song. Chanting together in political crowds is a physical manifestation of shared beliefs and values, and in the music festival crowd, knowing the words and singing along together demonstrates shared music values. Indeed, there is evidence that singing along together is perceived as *validation* (Extract 9.36).

Of particular interest is the new finding that people enjoy not only physical proximity, but *physical contact* in the crowd, both in and out of the mosh-pit. Alastair (Leeds) described people's "willingness" to put their arms round each other

(Extract 9.29). In political crowds, there may sometimes be physical contact (such as at the Rally at the end of Scotland's Climate March, when Hardeep Singh Kohli directed the crowd to 'hug a stranger'), but it is relatively unusual, and did not happen at any of the other political protests in which I took part (Appendix 2). As we have seen, Novelli et al.'s (2013) studies explain how people who identify with the crowd may welcome physical proximity, but do not explicitly deal with physical contact. People's aversion to physical contact with others may be due in part to what Reicher, Templeton, Neville, Ferrari, and Drury (2016) describe as "core disgust". In two revolting experiments, they persuaded participants to smell the sweaty t-shirts of others, finding that when people shared identity with others in a group, the disgust they experienced at smelling the sweat of ingroup members was significantly less than the disgust they experienced when the sweat was from an outgroup member or another individual. These findings support the idea that at music festivals, people's willingness to have physical contact with others may be attributed to their sense of shared identity with those others.

Another factor that tends to lead to perceptions of shared identity in music festival crowds is the perception that others share the same emotions. Just as we found in political crowds (sub-Section 6.3.2), the perception that others share the same emotions is an important 'antecedent' of shared identity in music festival crowds; indeed it seems *more* important in music festival crowds. The assumption that others are feeling the same emotions may operate in a similar way to the presumption of shared beliefs and values we found in political crowds. When they perceive others as sharing the same emotions, festival-goers naturally assume that they know what others are thinking and feeling, and indeed they come to see others as similar or even the same as them, so that the perception of shared emotions may lead to the perception of shared identity.

9.4.4 Consequences

In political crowds, we found evidence of the cognitive, relational and emotional transformations proposed by Reicher (2018). Likewise, in music festival crowds, we have found evidence of participants' perceptions of each of these transformations.

In political crowds, there was evidence of a cognitive transformation (a consequence of self-categorization in a social identity) in participants' perceptions that others in the crowd held the same beliefs and values, which in turn contributed to feelings of validation from and support in the crowd. The perception of shared emotions in music festival crowds also tended to offer validation and support, expressed in participants' perceptions that they were not just similar to, but the *same* as others in the crowd. Perhaps also knowing the words and singing along together demonstrated commonality of musical tastes, and in turn evoked a sense of validation.

There was evidence too, of a relational transformation, in which festival-goers found it easier to communicate and bond with strangers in the crowd, tended to trust others more, and tended to help and cooperate more with others in the crowd. Indeed, helping others may be a normative part of festival-goer identity. Each of these elements mirrors my findings from political crowds, where we found evidence of openness to strangers, and feelings of camaraderie and solidarity. Equally, just as political crowd participants described their feelings of being comfortable and safe in the crowd, so too in music festival crowds, participants expressed the same sentiments, and these feelings have been shown to be related to participants' perceptions of identity with the crowd (Alnabulsi & Drury, 2014).

In political crowds, the emotional transformation was evidenced by feelings of emotional warmth, excitement about the size of the crowd, and feelings of power and empowerment in the crowd. Likewise, in music festival crowds, all participants expressed feelings of excitement and happiness, feelings of being emotionally close to the crowd, and sometimes these feelings intensified to feelings of euphoria. In political crowds, we found that feelings of empowerment may be attributed to the experience of collective self-realisation, or the enactment of a shared identity. In music festival crowds, feelings of euphoria may similarly be a consequence of collective self-realisation or the enactment of a shared permissive, open and non-judgmental festival-goer identity.

These findings are important because they demonstrate that the same psychological process, shared identity, goes on in both political and music festival crowds, even if the forms of identity differ.

9.4.5 Variability

Addressing my fourth research question, I found that in contrast with political crowds, there is little evidence of variability in the *scope* of shared identity in music festival crowds (who is included in the identity that is shared and who is not). The difference may be explained by differences in the identity that may be shared in the two types of crowd. While in political crowds, the identity that is shared tends to be prescriptive or proscriptive, festival-goer identity is permissive, open, accepting and non-judgmental, and therefore *inclusive* in its nature. With some very limited exceptions, everyone belongs at music festivals.

But although the scope of shared identity shows little variation in music festival crowds, there is evidence of considerable variation in the *intensity* of the feeling of shared identity. Most strikingly, participants described occasional feelings of extreme happiness and excitement or *euphoria* at music festivals, when the crowd was moving and singing together in time to a well-known song, and they perceived everyone in the crowd as thinking and feeling the same thing. Just as we found in political crowds, the feeling of shared identity in music festival crowds ebbs and flows.

9.5 Interview questions

As I outlined in sub-Section 7.4.4, in every interview I asked the participant to talk about how they felt towards others in the crowd, and if necessary, I would go on to say "Some people have said to me that sometimes in the crowd at a festival, it feels like the whole crowd is as one, that everyone is in it together" or something similar, followed by: "Do you recognise that feeling?" We saw in sub-Section 4.5.5 that it might be argued that such questions were overly directive, and that participants responded by telling me what they thought I wanted to hear ('demand characteristics' or 'reactivity').

However, participants seemed keen to talk about their experiences and talked about them with enthusiasm. For example, it is worth repeating here Jonathan's (Way Home) response to my question whether he had ever experienced a feeling that the whole crowd had come together as one: "At pretty much every single festival I've

been to! Yeah, definitely!" (Extract 9.14). Furthermore, my experience at T in the Park had left me feeling more of an outsider than a festival-goer. I was often surprised at some of the things participants said, yet this did not deter them from saying them. For example, Charlotte felt embarrassed to admit that she felt a sense of unity when the crowd was moving as one, describing this as "really lame" (Extract 8.1).

Although it is possible that they were doing so sub-consciously, it did not seem that participants were configuring their responses to what they thought I wanted to hear; instead it seemed that they were recounting their actual experiences. So while it is never possible to *prove* that demand characteristics played no part in the interview process, my sense is that participants' responses reflected their genuine understanding of their experiences in music festival crowds.

9.6 Limitations

I mentioned in sub-Section 9.4.1 that at T in the Park, at the age of 57, I felt more like the outgroup than I was like the ingroup. We have seen that one of the elements of festival-goer identity is that festival-goers are youthful, and although I made every effort to make participants feel relaxed and 'at home' during the semi-structured interviews, it seems unlikely that they related to me in the same way as they might have related to someone closer to their own age. If music festivals represent safe spaces within which festival-goers can 'let loose', and be themselves or a slightly wilder version of themselves, then participants may have been reluctant to share some of their experiences with me.

Secondly, all but two participants were students, who might be considered as unrepresentative of society as a whole. However, the music festival demographic itself is unreflective of society as a whole, and given that some reports suggest that nearly a third of all festival-goers are aged between 18 and 25[108], participants formed part of a substantial demographic element of the community which was the target of the research, music festival-goers.

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[108] https://www.festivalinsights.com/2017/07/uk-festival-market-report-2017 accessed 18/07/2018.

Thirdly, how many semi-structured interviews are enough? There is no hard and fast rule (Baker & Edwards, 2012), but similarly to focus group discussions, researchers tend to continue until they reach saturation, or in other words to the point at which no new information or themes are observed in the data. Guest, Bunce, and Johnson (2006) found that, in the context of their research, saturation occurred after twelve interviews and the basic meta-themes were present in as few as six interviews. They conclude that for most research in which the aim is to understand common experiences in a group of relatively homogenous individuals "twelve interviews should suffice." (p. 79). On that basis I conclude that eighteen music festival interviews were probably sufficient for the purposes of the present research.

9.7 Conclusions

We have explored the identity of the ingroup and the outgroup at music festivals, and examined evidence of shared identity, its 'antecedents' and consequences and its variability, both in a case study, looking in detail at one specific music festival, and more generally, in an analysis of participants experiences at a wide variety of music festivals. Building on my findings from Chapter 8, there are several new findings in this Chapter. Firstly, we have identified the content of festival-goer identity, and the nature of a music festival comparison outgroup. Secondly, and most importantly, we have found that when people share identity in the crowd, they can experience not a *loss* of identity, but a *gain* in power and agency, which itself may be construed as a gain in identity. Thirdly, we have found that when they share identity, not only physical proximity but also *physical contact* may be welcomed by festival-goers. Our fourth new finding is that helping others at music festivals (ingroup members) may be normative, and part of festival-goer identity, suggesting that *care* may be an inherent element of festival-goer identity. Fifthly, we have found that the perception of shared emotions is important as an *antecedent* of shared identity in music festival crowds. Finally, we have found that the feeling of euphoria that festival-goers sometimes experience may be a consequence of their collective self-realisation, or enactment of a shared festival-goer identity.

We have also found evidence of similarities and differences in shared identity between two very different types of crowds. I summarised my findings from political

crowds in Table 1. That Table is reproduced below as part of Table 3, which also (with the exception of my findings concerning ingroup and outgroup identities) summarises my findings from music festival crowds. Table 3 shows that the evidence of shared identity, the factors that lead to people's perceptions of shared identity and the factors that are consequences of shared identity are similar in the different types of crowd, thus demonstrating that while the forms of shared identity may be different in the different types of crowd, the underlying psychological process is the same.

Table 3: *Summary of findings from political crowds and music festival crowds*

Political crowds	Music festival crowds
Shared identity	
Language: we, us, everyone, one-ness	Language: everyone, one-ness
Belonging	Belonging
Love/emotional warmth	Love and care
How do you know?	
Presumption of shared beliefs and values	Assumption of shared feelings and emotions
Being there together	Physical proximity and contact
Symbols of protest	
Marching together	Moving together
Chanting together	Singing together
Dancing together	Dancing together
Shared emotions	Shared emotions
Consequences	
Cognitive: Validation, support, endorsement	Cognitive: Sameness, validation, support
Relational: Comradeship	Relational: Trust
Relational: Solidarity	Relational: Helping behaviours
Emotional: Emotional warmth	Emotional: Excitement, happiness
Emotional: Empowerment, collective self-realisation	Emotional: Euphoria, collective self-realisation
Variability	
Variability in scope	Little or no variability in scope
Variability in intensity	Variability in intensity

In the next and final Chapter, I provide an overview of this thesis, summarise and discuss further my key findings, and consider future directions for research.

Chapter 10 Discussion

10.1 Introduction

The fundamental questions this thesis has addressed are the questions of whether, and if so how, people come to feel a sense of togetherness, unity, and most particularly, the feeling Hobsbawm (1959) described, of *one-ness* with other people in a crowd, and how this affects the way they think, feel and act. The answers have come from within the crowd itself, from numerous participants who took part in different types of crowd event, through an exploration of social identity, and specifically shared identity, in crowds.

My review of classic theories of crowd psychology showed that such theories start from the premise that the individual in the crowd, simply by taking part in psychological crowds such as political protests, is *reduced* to a barbarian, an automaton, an imbecile, or a primitive, driven in the case of classic transformation theories only by the emotions (for example, Le Bon, 1895/2005; McDougall, 1920/1939; see also Mackay, 1841/1995) and in the case of classic predisposition theories only by primitive drives, such as hunger and sex (for example, Allport, 1924; Martin, 1920). Common to both is the idea that in the crowd, individuals lose their identity.

Crowds are looked at differently in the social identity approach, which specifies that far from a loss of identity, under certain specific circumstances the individual may *gain* identity in the crowd as the self expands to include others, and individual beliefs values and goals become group, or crowd, beliefs, values and goals. But we have also seen that in the social identity approach, the representational concept of *social* identity ('I am a climate change protester') and the meta-representational concept of *shared* identity ('we are all climate change protesters together') have been conflated and as a result, it has been tacitly assumed that the antecedents and consequences of the two distinct forms of identity are the same. Whether people actually share identity in crowds is a question that has barely been asked, and equally, there has been little research into its antecedents and consequences.

My exploration of shared identity therefore started by looking for answers to three questions (Section 2.5):

1. Is there shared identity in the crowd?

My second and third research questions, which were contingent on the first, were:

2. How do people know they share identity in the crowd?

3. What are the consequences of shared identity in the crowd?

10.2 Review of empirical research

I started my research by immersing myself in every political crowd I could find, observing the crowd from the inside, and taking field notes (Appendix 2). Once having become more familiar with political crowds and how they worked, focussing on climate change protests, I then started to gather data in the form of somewhat brief, hurried but also 'on the spot and in the moment' field interviews with whoever would speak to me, during moments of calm in the crowd (Chapter 4). My detailed account of Scotland's Climate March, a climate change protest held in Edinburgh in November 2015 (Chapter 5) set the scene for my analysis of three group discussions I conducted with groups primarily made up of students from three different Scottish universities, who had taken part in the protest (Chapter 6). My analysis of the field interviews and focus group discussions provided answers to my research questions, but it also produced an unlooked-for finding, which was that shared identity in political crowds is highly variable, both in scope and intensity (Chapters 4 and 6).

Having found some answers in political crowds, I recognised that it could be argued that, given that political protests are all about beliefs and values that might reasonably be expected to be important to those taking part, and given that important group beliefs and values form the foundations of social identity, it was only reasonable to expect to find evidence of shared identity in political crowds. I set myself the challenge of exploring shared identity in crowds in which it is less obvious that identity may play a part - music festival crowds.

As with political crowds, (but this time with the disadvantage of being far too old for all of this) to immerse myself in a music festival crowd, in 2016 I took part in what was then Scotland's biggest music festival, the now defunct T in the Park. I spent my time soaking up the music festival atmosphere, observing what was going on, eavesdropping on what people were saying to each other and observing their interactions. This helped me understand something of what these primarily teenage festival-goers were experiencing, and gave me a better chance of understanding the experiences of festival-goers who were recruited for semi-structured interviews.

Given my findings from political crowds, in this part of the research, I added to my three original research questions a fourth question relating to variability (Section 7.3):

4. Is there variability in the scope or intensity of shared identity in music festival crowds?

There are obvious and not so obvious differences between political crowds and music festival crowds (Chapter 7), of which for our purposes the most important was that it was not at all clear whether there was a social identity, a festival-goer identity, at music festivals, and if there was, what its content might be. Even less clear was the question of whether there was an outgroup at music festivals, and if so what its identity might be. These issues were addressed in the eighteen semi-structured interviews I conducted with music festival participants.

I chose to analyse the music festival data firstly through a case study of one music festival, Boomtown Fair 2016, in which I presented the music festival experience of two festival-goers (Chapter 8). This raised interesting questions about the content of festival-goer identity and the identity of a possible comparison outgroup. These questions were answered alongside my research questions in my analysis of all sixteen remaining music festival interviews in Chapter 9, in which I also drew comparisons between shared identity in the two different types of crowd.

In the next Section, I review my key findings from the empirical research, and review the similarities and differences between shared identity in the different types of crowd.

10.3 Key findings
10.3.1 Shared identity

I have found evidence of shared identity in political and music festival crowds, thus answering my first research question. Indeed, we have seen a remarkable convergence in the evidence of shared identity in the two types of crowd.

Firstly, participants across both types of crowd used what I have called the language of shared identity to describe their relations with others in crowds. The crowd was often described as 'everyone' and participants consistently talked of the crowd as 'we' and 'us', not 'me' and 'them'. Critically, there were references to perceptions of the one-ness of the crowd, as well as to feelings of togetherness and unity in the crowd.

Secondly, participants from both types of crowd referred to a sense of belonging in the crowd. In interpersonal psychology, belonging tends to be characterised as a fundamental human need, rather than, say, a desire (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1943, 1954; 1968; Stillman & Baumeister, 2009). Whether or not it is a fundamental need, belonging is certainly a feeling that is important to people - a reciprocal sense of fitting in and feeling at home and a sense of being recognised (Guibernau, 2013) which involves meta-representational perception. The feeling of belonging is also a feeling of being safe and comfortable in the crowd and there is evidence that this feeling, which otherwise may seem contradictory, far removed from notions of people's need for personal space (Hayduk, 1978, 1983), is directly related to the extent to which people identify with the crowd (Alnabulsi & Drury, 2014). Indeed, I have characterised the feeling of belonging as the subjective feeling of shared identity.

Thirdly, participants from both political crowds and music festival crowds talked about feelings of love, emotional warmth, and *care* for the crowd. These expressions

are particularly striking given that they relate to feelings not only for friends and acquaintances, but also explicitly in participants' own words, to feelings for strangers in the crowd. I have interpreted feelings of love as the breaking down of barriers between people and therefore as an instantiation, perhaps the ultimate instantiation of the self expanding to include other ingroup members (Aron & Aron, 1996; Aron et al., 1991; 1992; 1995), and hence of one-ness.

Expressions of love for the crowd not only represent concrete evidence of shared identity in the crowd, they are also evidence of the passion of the crowd (sub-Section 1.3.1). Empirically, I believe the evidence of love for others in the crowd to be a novel finding in crowd psychology (though not, as we saw in sub-Section 8.5.5, in literature: Sartre, 1938/2000).

Startlingly, in music festival crowds, I found evidence that shows that *people can have a sense of shared identity even if they actually have different understandings of the content of the identity they perceive themselves as sharing*. This is a fascinating finding that calls out for further research.

Furthermore, my analysis of the music festival interviews enabled me to identify and catalogue the content of a generalized music festival identity, and also to identify with some degree of certainty the nature of a possible comparison outgroup at music festivals, an outgroup which is psychologically but not physically present. These findings extend our understanding of shared identity and highlight the importance of understanding the *content* of the identity which may be shared, something that calls out for further research.

The analyses also showed similarities between how people come to perceive themselves as sharing identity in political and music festival crowds.

10.3.2 How do you know?

In political crowds, we saw evidence that people's perceptions that they shared identity with others was based on a number of factors, which might be characterised in terms of being there together (simple physical presence), doing things together, (marching, chanting and dancing together), and feeling things together (shared

emotions). Marching together, and particularly chanting together, intensified feelings of togetherness and unity in political crowds, and in music festival crowds we saw the importance of equivalent activities, such as dancing together, or moving in time together, especially when everyone was 'jampacked' together in close physical proximity, and singing along together, especially to a well-known song or 'anthem'. These traditional political protest and music festival behaviours are, of course, synchronised behaviours, which as we saw in sub-Section 1.3.2 tend in themselves to bond people together and promote helping and cooperative behaviours.

But not only is physical proximity welcomed in music festival crowds, in a new finding my analysis of the music festival interviews showed that in certain contexts in these crowds people will welcome *physical contact* with others, something that in other contexts tends to be abhorrent or aversive.

We found that protesters in political crowds tend to presume that others in the crowd share important beliefs and values that are relevant to the protest, but also that this is a *fragile presumption* which may be ruptured by evidence of difference, for example, the Tory incident described in Chapter 5, or the display of political placards or banners discussed in Chapter 6. In music festival crowds, on the other hand, perhaps as a function of the permissive and inclusive nature of festival-goer identity (sub-Section 9.3.1) the equivalent of the presumption of shared beliefs and values may have been festival-goers' *assumptions of shared emotions*. We have seen that when festival-goers perceive that others share the same emotions in a given context, they assume that they know what others are thinking and feeling, and come to see those others as being similar to or even the same as themselves.

One of the most interesting of my findings from the focus group discussions in Chapter 6 related to the role of shared emotions as an *antecedent* of shared identity in political crowds. My analysis suggested that emotions may be normative in political crowds - in other words, it may be important in political crowds to display the *right* emotions, and by extension, any 'mismatch' in emotions may be taken as a sign of difference, which is likely to disrupt shared identity. Interestingly, these findings were largely replicated in my analysis of music festival crowds, in Chapters 8 and 9.

This is an important finding, as it suggests that the perception of shared emotions may be one of the factors that lead to people's perception that they share identity with others in the crowd, or in other words that the perception of shared emotions is an *antecedent* of shared identity. Until now, with few exceptions, in the social identity approach shared emotions have consistently been treated as consequences of self-categorization, and in the shared identity model as consequences of shared identity.

Of course, given the circular nature of crowd processes (sub-Section 1.3.3), the perception of shared emotions may *also* be a consequence of shared identity, so that not only do people come to perceive themselves as sharing identity with others because they perceive that those others share the same emotions, they also tend to share the same emotions because they perceive themselves as sharing identity.

10.3.3 Consequences

We found evidence of Reicher's (2018) suggested cognitive, relational and emotional transformations of which the first is proposed as a consequence of *social* identity and the second and third as consequences of *shared* identity in participants' perceptions of the consequences of shared identity.

In political crowds, a cognitive transformation was evidenced by a sense of support and validation from the crowd, which in turn gave people a sense of confidence in their shared beliefs and values. Similarly, in music festival crowds, participants talked of their sense of being similar to or even the same as others in the crowd, and we also saw evidence of feelings of validation from the crowd.

There was evidence of a similar relational transformation in both types of crowd, in terms of which participants felt able to strike up conversations, interacting and bonding with strangers in the crowd. In music festival crowds, participants felt able to trust others in the crowd, and it may even have been normative for festival-goers to help and cooperate with others. In political crowds these sentiments were expressed in terms of comradeship and solidarity, terms which also imply trust. In both types of crowd participants reported feeling safe and comfortable in the crowd,

feelings which have been shown to be dependent on the extent to which the individual identifies with the crowd (Alnabulsi & Drury, 2014).

In political crowds, an emotional transformation was witnessed by feelings of love for and emotional warmth towards the crowd, and a sense of excitement about the size of the crowd. Likewise, in music festival crowds, participants described feelings of love and care for, and emotional closeness to the crowd, as well as feelings of excitement and happiness in the crowd. There was evidence of feelings of power and empowerment in political crowds, which I have interpreted as related to collective self-realisation ('CSR') or the enactment of a shared social identity. Equally, in music festival crowds we saw evidence of feelings of euphoria, which I have similarly interpreted as related to CSR; I have argued that music festivals figuratively 'clear a space' in which festival-goers can be themselves or an alternative festival-goer self through their enactment of a shared permissive, open and non-judgmental festival-goer identity.

Importantly, my analysis has shown that shared identity is not static, but dynamic, and not 'on/off' but variable. In both types of crowd, shared identity is variable, but it is variable in different ways.

10.3.4 Variability

The evidence of variability in both the intensity and the scope of shared identity (who was included in the identity that was shared and who was not) was one of the most important of my findings in political crowds. Firstly, there was evidence of variability of the *intensity* of shared identity amongst the three focus groups who took part in the same political protest, Scotland's Climate March 2015. The Transition Group felt a sense of shared identity most intensely while milling and mingling with the crowd at the Gathering, at the beginning of the Climate March, while for the other two groups, the P&P Group and the Green Group, the feeling was most intense while they were marching together, and for the P&P Group, while they were chanting together. For all three groups, their sense of shared identity was spectacularly ruptured by perceived differences in the crowd during what I have called the Tory incident.

Secondly, there was evidence of variability in the *scope* of shared identity in political crowds, in who was included and who was not, and this was most acutely demonstrated by the P&P Group, for whom the content of the identity they perceived themselves as sharing may have first expanded and then progressively contracted as they identified different physically present groups as outgroups, as the Climate March progressed. My analysis also suggested that the physical presence of outgroups may itself serve to intensify the feeling of shared identity.

In my analysis of music festival crowds, I found evidence of considerable variability in the *intensity* of shared identity. The evidence suggests that for some, the feeling of shared identity may be experienced as 'running' in the background, a feeling that was a backdrop to their festival experience, but also a feeling that ebbed and flowed in intensity. For all music festival participants, the feeling was most intense during what Amanda (Boomtown) described as the "crowd moments" when everyone was singing along to a well-known song or 'anthem', hands in the air and moving together to the beat of the music. What was equally interesting was that in contrast with political crowds, in music festivals I found no real evidence of variability in the *scope* of shared identity; at music festivals, everyone belongs. Importantly, I explained the difference by reference to the *content* of festival-goer identity, which as open, accepting, non-judgmental is by its nature an *inclusive* identity.

This demonstrates that to understand the shared identity process, it is critically important to understand the content of the identity that may be shared. Although in the current research this has, to some extent at least, been achieved in music festival crowds, it has been assumed but not examined in political crowds.

10.4 Future directions

10.4.1 Shared emotions and identity content

My exploration of shared identity in crowds has been a process in which the research has proceeded alongside the analysis of data, so that the results of the analysis were fed back into the research as the research progressed. Just like crowd processes, the research process has to an extent been circular, and just like crowds themselves, sometimes the research process has been messy. For example, while I was

interviewing my music festival participants, I discovered that I did not know what the content of the identity or identities that may have been shared in political crowds was, because I had made the assumption that I knew, and had not asked the question. In retrospect, it is obvious that people's perceptions of the content of the identity that is shared has an important impact both on the scope and the intensity of shared identity. This is amply demonstrated by my finding from musical festival crowds that people may perceive themselves as sharing an identity, even if their understandings of that identity are different.

For example, I had assumed that in climate change protests there may have been an overall identity that might be labelled 'environmentalist' or something similar, and that other less abstract and more exclusive identities might be labelled in a similar way, such as 'student climate change activist'. But reflecting on what participants have said about their relations with others in the crowd, and taking into account the number of adjectives music festival participants used to describe festival-goer identity, these labels may be inadequate as descriptions of people's perceptions of the content of the identities concerned. Climate change participants said that they knew that others shared their beliefs and values simply from their physical presence, which was taken as a sign of engagement with or investment in climate change issues. So the identity climate change protesters see themselves as sharing may be not simply 'environmentalist' but 'environmentalist who is here in solidarity', or 'environmentalist who is here demonstrating camaraderie'. Camaraderie, or comradeship, and solidarity are both terms that carry emotional connotations - you do not 'think' solidarity or camaraderie, you feel it - and this fits well with my finding that shared emotions may be antecedents of shared identity. It may even be simpler than that.

One of the elements of festival-goer identity is that festival-goers care for each other (for example Extracts 8.31, 9.15 and 9.44). It may be that in the same way, in political crowds, protesters see physical presence at a protest as a demonstration of care. Certainly this is a plausible reading of Alan's (London) comments in Extract 4.15, some of which are worth repeating here:

> [] people [] care about this planet they care about each other,
> they care about what's going to happen to their children, their
> friends' and relatives' children and the people that come after
> us, they care.

At a fundamental level (and perhaps even at an ontological level), it may be that the foundation of the identity that is perceived as shared in crowds, is the sense that the people who are physically co-present *care* not only about the issues (climate change, nuclear weapons, refugees, etc), but also about, or for, everyone else who is physically present and taking part. In other words, it is theoretically possible for perceptions of the content of the shared identity to contain elements of emotion. This would help to explain the role of shared emotions as an antecedent of shared identity.

More controversially, it may be that shared emotions play a part in the self-categorization process itself, in strict theory a cognitive process of which emotions are generally treated as consequences.

We have seen that Novelli et al. (2013), examining spatiality and identity in crowds, found that their results were bi-directional - the more people identified with the crowd, and the more they tended to be in the thick of the crowd, the more they enjoyed the event; *and*, the more people enjoyed the event, and the more they tended to be in the thick of the crowd, the more they identified with the crowd. In explaining their findings of bi-directionality Novelli et al. noted: "we are not aware of any theoretical reason to expect positive emotion to lead to identification with a crowd" (p. 6). However, as we saw in sub-Section 2.2.3, Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, Bruder and Shepherd (2011) provide such a theoretical reason in their proposal that positive (happiness) as well as negative (anger) emotions may play a part as *antecedents* in the self-categorization process. Subsequently, Livingstone, Shepherd, Spears and Manstead (2015) showed that participants who were angry about an identity-related matter self-categorized more with others who shared that emotion, than with others who did not. Combined with my own findings that shared emotions may be antecedents in the achievement of shared identity, Livingstone and colleagues' findings raise the possibility of an alternative 'route' to shared identity.

The shared identity model assumes that self-categorization in a social identity is a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for shared identity; the model proceeds on the logic that to share a social identity, the individual must *first* have categorized her self in that identity (Neville & Reicher, 2011; Reicher, 2011). But there is an alternative possibility that has not been considered.

In short, it may theoretically be possible to share identity by moving from 'personal' or individual identity, or from some other social identity, directly to a shared identity by self-categorization in an identity which itself includes 'sharing' and emotional elements, such as solidarity and camaraderie in political crowds, or their equivalents in other crowds, mutual trust and helping and cooperative behaviours, or, more simply, care. If so, in line with Livingstone et al., (2011; 2015) it may not be necessary for people first to (cognitively) categorize themselves in a social identity before they can, subsequently, share that identity with others. Instead, it may be possible for people to categorize themselves directly in a shared identity not only cognitively, by *thinking* their way into it (through a cognitive route), but also and in addition by *feeling* their way into it (through an emotional or affective route). Indeed, we have seen that when people talk about one-ness, togetherness and connectedness in the crowd, they tend to talk in terms of feelings and emotions, (love, for example) rather than in terms of cognitive perceptions.

To investigate this, it should be possible to capture the feelings associated with such an identity through field interviews, which are useful in identifying emotional responses 'on the spot' in the crowd. Ideally, this would be investigated longitudinally, by conducting field interviews with the same participants before, during and after the crowd event, to capture changes in their emotional response. Although it might be possible simultaneously to collect detailed descriptions of the content of the identity participants perceived themselves as sharing, this might best be deferred to post-event semi-structured interviews with the same participants, which could be used to identify in a more considered way the detail of perceptions of the content of the relevant identity.

The objective would be to identify a description of participants' perceptions of the content of the identity, including specifically any emotive elements, as well as the

actual emotions associated with such an identity, and an understanding of when and how participants came to perceive themselves and others in terms of such an identity.

Another important finding has been the variability of shared identity, which also merits further investigation.

10.4.2 Variability and achievement of shared identity

The variability of shared identity has been an emergent theme in this research. We saw that in political crowds, perhaps in consequence of the physical presence of groups who came to be perceived as antagonist outgroups, the scope of shared identity (who was included in the shared identity and who was not) was variable. But in music festival crowds, perhaps because of the permissive and inclusive nature of festival-goer identity, there was little or no variation in the scope of shared identity. The nature, cause and consequences of the variability of shared identity in different types of crowd requires further systematic examination

Furthermore, I suggested in sub-Section 4.5.2 that even before they arrive at a political protest, protesters may be 'primed' for shared identity, and it would also be interesting to investigate when, precisely, shared identity is achieved. For example, although I do not have data that demonstrates this, while I was on the bus from Dundee to Edinburgh for Scotland's Climate March, I sensed from the way they were interacting that those around me might already have achieved shared identity, at least within their group and perhaps beyond that, with the protesters they anticipated might be already there, milling at the Meadows, people they had never met. It is possible that even before then, perhaps while preparing for the Climate March by making banners and placards, protesters might have achieved shared identity. Similarly, festival-goers may experience shared identity while they are packing for the festival, or when they are on their way, or even at the gates of the festival.

These issues could usefully be investigated together, longitudinally in the lead up to and through the course of a crowd event and its aftermath, by recruiting participants

prospectively to record an audio diary[109] of their feelings of shared identity, covering the period from, say a day or two before the protest to a day or two after, including specifically during the protest itself. The audio diaries could then be transcribed and used as the basis of retrospective semi-structured interviews, conducted shortly after the crowd event.

10.5 Conclusion

I was once asked whether shared identity is a useful concept, at once a terrifying and an intriguing question[110]. Tempting though it is, this late stage is not a time for a philosophical discussion on what concepts are, or what is the measure of their utility. Instead, I will simply answer the question as best I can.

The concept of shared identity is an attempt to define the process by which people come to identify themselves along with others as part of the same class or category, and to specify the type of feelings, thoughts and actions that are likely to result from such a definition. Its usefulness, of course, just as in any other scientific endeavour, depends precisely on the extent to which the concept explains actual phenomena in the real world. My research has sought to do just this, using the concept to address how real people in real crowds perceive their relations with real others, and particularly with strangers, in crowds, and how this affects the ways they think, feel and act. My analysis shows that shared identity is a process which under the right conditions, which I have identified, goes on in more than one type of crowd, and most likely, goes on in all psychological crowds; and that its consequences are also similar in different types of crowd.

The concept of shared identity can therefore explain a real psychological process and as such a part, at least, of what is going on in crowds, in the real world. Any concept that can do *that* is not only useful, but *necessary* in the task of social psychology, the explanation of the psychological aspects of society.

E pluribus unum!

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[109] Although I had little success in recruiting music festival participants for such a study, it is possible, and in my experience likely, that political protesters might be more willing to participate.
[110] Thank you, Ines Jentzsch, School of Neuroscience and Psychology, University of St Andrews.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Ethical Approvals

University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee
Sub-committee

7 January 2015

Ethics Reference No: *Please quote this ref on all correspondence*	PS11315
Project Title:	Leaders, emotions and crowds
Researcher's Name:	Philip Thomas Anderson
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered at the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee meeting on the 16th December 2014. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form   01/05/2015
2. Data Management Plan   01/05/2015

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelines/ are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

pp

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs   Prof S. D. Reicher (Supervisor)
        School Ethics Committee

University of St Andrews | FOUNDED 1413

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

16 June 2016

Dear Philip

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which comprised the following documents:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form

The School of Psychology & Neuroscience Ethics Committee is delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has approved this ethical amendment application. The particulars of this approval are as follows –

Original Approval Code:	PS11315	**Approved on:**	05/01/2015
Amendment Approval Date:	16/06/2016	**Approval Expiry Date:**	05/01/2020
Project Title:	The individual and the crowd: identity, emotion and leadership		
Researchers:	Philip T. Anderson, Dr Samuel Pehrson and Dr Fergus Neville		
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher		

Ethical amendment approval does not extend the originally granted approval period of five years, rather it validates the changes you have made to the originally approved ethical application. If you are unable to complete your research within the original five year validation period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that you adhere to the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf).

Yours sincerely

MP Catimer

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc   Professor Stephen Reicher (Supervisor)

University of St Andrews
from first to foremost

600 YEARS
1413 – 2013

Project Title	The individual and the crowd: identity, emotion and leadership
Researcher's Name	Philip Anderson
Supervisor	Professor Stephen Reicher
Department/Unit	School of Psychology & Neuroscience
Ethical Approval Code (Approval allocated to Original Application)	PS11315
Original Application Approval Date	05 January 2015
Amendment Application Approval	25 February 2015

Ethical Amendment Approval

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which was considered at the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee meeting on the 24th February 2015. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form   25/02/2015
2. Debriefing Card   25/02/2015
3. Data Management Plan   25/02/2015

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years from the original application only. Ethical Amendments do not extend this period but give permission to an amendment to the original approval research proposal only. If you are unable to complete your research within the original 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply. You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf) are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

MP Latimer

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs   Prof. S. Reicher (Supervisor)
       School Ethics Committee

School of Psychology & Neuroscience, St Mary's Quad, South Street, St Andrews, Fife KY16 9JP
Email: psyethics@st-andrews.ac.uk Tel: 01334 462071

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University of St Andrews

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee
Sub-committee

17 June 2015

Ethics Reference No: *Please quote this ref on all correspondence*	PS11566
Project Title:	The individual and the crowd: identity, emotion and leadership
Researcher's Name:	Philip Thomas Anderson
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher

Thank you for submitting your application which was considered at the Psychology & Neuroscience School Ethics Committee meetings on the 24th March, 7th April and 16th June 2015 . The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form   17/06/2015
2. Advertisement   17/06/2015
3. Participant Information Sheet   17/06/2015
4. Consent Form   17/06/2015
5. Personal Safety Advice Form (Participants)   17/06/2015
6. Debriefing Form   17/06/2015
7. Data Management Plan   17/06/2015
8. Solo Fieldwork and Travel Risk Assessment   17/06/2015

The University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) approves this study from an ethical point of view. Please note that where approval is given by a School Ethics Committee that committee is part of UTREC and is delegated to act for UTREC.

Approval is given for three years. Projects, which have not commenced within two years of original approval, must be re-submitted to your School Ethics Committee.

You must inform your School Ethics Committee when the research has been completed. If you are unable to complete your research within the 3 three year validation period, you will be required to write to your School Ethics Committee and to UTREC (where approval was given by UTREC) to request an extension or you will need to re-apply.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelines/ are adhered to.

Yours sincerely

MPLatimer

Convenor of the School Ethics Committee

Ccs   Prof S D Reicher (Supervisor)
        School Ethics Committee

University of St Andrews | FOUNDED 1413

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

13 May 2016

Dear Philip

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which comprised the following documents:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form
2. Advertisement
3. Participant Information Sheet
4. Participant Consent Form
5. Participant Debriefing Form

The School of Psychology & Neuroscience Ethics Committee is delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has approved this ethical amendment application. The particulars of this approval are as follows –

Original Approval Code:	PS11566	Approved on:	17/06/2015
Amendment Approval Date:	13/05/2016	Approval Expiry Date:	17/06/2020
Project Title:	Crowd experiences		
Researcher:	Philip T. Anderson		
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher		

Ethical amendment approval does not extend the originally granted approval period of five years, rather it validates the changes you have made to the originally approved ethical application. If you are unable to complete your research within the original five year validation period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that you adhere to the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf).

Yours sincerely

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc   Professor Stephen Reicher (Supervisor)

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University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

16 June 2016

Dear Philip

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which comprised the following documents:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form
2. Participant Information Sheet
3. Consent Form
4. Debriefing Form

The School of Psychology & Neuroscience Ethics Committee is delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has approved this ethical amendment application. The particulars of this approval are as follows –

Original Approval Code:	PS11566	**Approved on:**	17/06/2015
Amendment Approval Date:	16/06/2016	**Approval Expiry Date:**	17/06/2020
Project Title:	Crowd experiences		
Researchers:	Philip T. Anderson		
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher		

Ethical amendment approval does not extend the originally granted approval period of five years, rather it validates the changes you have made to the originally approved ethical application. If you are unable to complete your research within the original five year validation period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that you adhere to the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf).

Yours sincerely

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc   Professor Stephen Reicher (Supervisor)

School of Psychology & Neuroscience, St Mary's Quad, South Street, St Andrews, Fife KY16 9JP
Email: psyethics@st-andrews.ac.uk Tel: 01334 462071

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University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

20 October 2015

Dear Philip

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which comprised the following documents:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form
2. Advertisements (Poster and SONA)

The School of Psychology & Neuroscience Ethics Committee is delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has approved this ethical amendment application. The particulars of this approval are as follows –

Original Approval Code:	PS11566	Approved on:	17/06/2015
Amendment Approval Date:	20/10/2015	Approval Expiry Date:	17/06/2018
Project Title:	The individual and the crowd: identity, emotion and leadership		
Researcher:	Philip T. Anderson		
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher		

Ethical amendment approval does not extend the originally granted approval period of three years, rather it validate the changes you have made to the originally approved ethical application. If you are unable to complete your research within the original 3 three year validation period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that you adhere to the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/).

Yours sincerely

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc   Prof Stephen Reicher (Supervisor)

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University of St Andrews | FOUNDED 1413

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

22 December 2015

Dear Philip

Thank you for submitting your amendment application which comprised the following documents:

1. Ethical Amendment Application Form
2. Participant Information Sheet
3. Consent Form

The School of Psychology & Neuroscience Ethics Committee is delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has approved this ethical amendment application. The particulars of this approval are as follows –

Original Approval Code:	PS11566	**Approved on:**	17/06/2015
Amendment Approval Date:	18/12/15	**Approval Expiry Date:**	17/06/2020
Project Title:	The individual and the crowd: identity, emotion and leadership		
Researcher:	Philip T. Anderson		
Supervisor:	Professor Stephen Reicher		

Ethical amendment approval does not extend the originally granted approval period of five years, rather it validate the changes you have made to the originally approved ethical application. If you are unable to complete your research within the original five year validation period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

Any serious adverse events or significant change which occurs in connection with this study and/or which may alter its ethical consideration, must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee, and an Ethical Amendment Form submitted where appropriate.

Approval is given on the understanding that you adhere to the 'Guidelines for Ethical Research Practice' (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/UTRECguidelines%20Feb%2008.pdf).

Yours sincerely

pp

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc   Professor Stephen Reicher (Supervisor)

Appendix 2

List of political protests in which the researcher took part.

Living Rent Demonstration: Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 18/12/14.

Clan Alba 4 Independence (Scottish Independence): Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 31/01/15.

Time to Act March (Climate Change): Lincoln's Inn Fields to Houses of Parliament, London 07/03/15.

Scrap Trident demonstration: George Square, Glasgow 04/04/15.

Scrap Trident demonstration: Faslane 13/04/15.

Hope over Fear (Scottish Independence demonstration): Caird Square Dundee 04/10/2015.

Edinburgh sees Syria: demonstration for refugees, Scottish Parliament 12/09/15.

Walk for Freedom (protest against modern slavery): St Andrews 17/10/15.

Scotland's Climate March, Edinburgh 28/11/15.

People's Climate March, London 29/11/15.

Paris Climate Change Protest 12/12/15.

Anti-Trump rally: Trump Turnberry Hotel, Turnberry 24/06/16.

Anti-Brexit demonstration, Scottish Parliament, Edinburgh 29/06/16.