Psychological change as an outcome of participation in collective action

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Abstract

Most of us have some experience of collective action, may it be sitting at home on the sofa being annoyed over damage done by rioters, being stuck in traffic due to a demonstration taking place, having signed a petition for a cause we believe in, or taken part in rallies and campaigns. This thesis explores the experiences of participation in collective action and how that participation affects us on a personal level.

The present thesis focuses on the range of types of psychological changes that sometimes emerge through participation in collective action, the processes that lead to those changes, and the endurance of the changes. It aims to extend previous research and develop new knowledge and theoretical understanding of the psychological consequences of participation in collective action. This thesis draws upon data from a systematic literature review, a longitudinal interview study with 28 participants from an environmental campaign, and a longitudinal survey of 144 activists. The data was analyzed through thematic analysis (qualitative) and mediation analysis (quantitative).

Four original research papers are included in this thesis. Paper 1 gathers all previous literature on collective action and psychological change and provides a typology of change. Paper 2 describe the range and process of psychological changes in one campaign. Paper 3 focuses on the endurance of the changes identified in paper 2. Paper 4 includes both the emergence and endurance processes of psychological change.

Keywords: collective action, protest, social identity, psychological change, activism, intergroup, intragroup, interaction
Empirical studies

The thesis is based on the following four original research papers:


Thesis overview

In this thesis, I explore the range of types of psychological changes through participation in collective action, the processes leading to those changes, and the endurance (or discontinuance) of the psychological changes. Before introducing the studies included in this thesis I start by providing the background for the thesis. More specifically, I start by placing the thesis within its context by reviewing the legal basis for the right to protest. Once the legality of collective action is presented, the campaign that became the main study for this thesis, the Ojnare campaign, is introduced. As the Ojnare campaign is crucial for the theorizing in this thesis the features, events, and parties involved will be described in detail.

Continuing from the campaign, I review and discuss previous research that has identified types of changes, processes of change, and endurance of changes that sometimes occur through participation in collective action. I argue that there are some gaps within the previous literature regarding comprehensive studies of the range of psychological changes in one campaign, the limited amount of theoretical explanations for those changes, and the lack of longitudinal data.

After placing this thesis within the collective action literature by explaining what it needs to explore I continue by presenting the theoretical framework for this thesis, the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM: e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000), and the previous theories within the social identity approach that ESIM derives from. It is suggested here that psychological change reflects a transformation in the social identity, that is, the subject’s place within social relations together with possible and appropriate actions associated with that place (Drury & Reicher, 2000). Even though ESIM has been successful in accounting for the processes of psychological change in collective action, I argue that there are still developments needed, for example, the studies within the
ESIM framework are mainly cross-sectional which limits the possibility to explore and test the theory regarding endurance of changes.

To address the issues relating to previous models and research, and being able to explore the research topic of the thesis I introduce the methodological framework adopted to be able to account for both range of types, processes, and endurance of psychological changes. I argue that utilising an ethnographic approach where the researcher participates in the campaign is necessary to collect data of the participants’ construals and interpretations of their social world and changes in social relations (and therefore social identity) over time.

When the theoretical and methodological framework has been presented, I proceed by presenting a short summary of the main findings in the studies. In first study, a systematic literature review (paper 1) I identified 19 psychological changes addressed by previous research. These changes are organized in a new typology based on whether they can be view as ‘subjective’ (how people see themselves; self-reported) or ‘objective’ (changes in what people do; measurable by an observer). I also argue that there is a need for a comprehensive account of all possible change in one campaign, examination of processes leading to those changes, and exploration of the endurance (or discontinuance) of the identified changes. These three areas (of limited evidence) motivated the subsequent studies.

Through a longitudinal interview study where I interviewed the same participants in the Ojnare campaign repeatedly over a period of 18 months, I identified 11 types of psychological changes, and two main processes leading to these changes (paper 2). Furthermore, I suggest that enduring social relations are vital for the psychological changes to endure beyond the immediate campaign (paper 3). Based on the results from the interview study, and theoretically derived from the ESIM, I suggest a model for the emergence of psychological changes and a model for the endurance of psychological changes. These two models are subsequently tested quantitatively through a three-wave longitudinal online survey of the Swedish activist community (paper 4).
The thesis continues with a discussion of the results from the studies in relation to previous models and research, addressing both contributions and limitations. Furthermore, I discuss in detail the methodological challenges I faced through embedding myself in a protest context. The thesis concludes by addressing future directions and a summary of the main conclusions drawn.
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Psychological change as an outcome of participation in collective action

In the summer of 2012, just a month after I started my PhD-project on psychological change as an outcome of participation in collective action, a campaign to save a forest and protect a water reserve from becoming a limestone quarry on an island in south Sweden reached its culminating point. This campaign, the Ojnare-campaign, became the foundation and starting point for this thesis through a longitudinal panel study where 28 participants were interviewed in relation to their participation in the campaign over 18 months. Subsequently, to quantify and further the results, I designed and conducted a three-wave survey exploring activists’ (in different areas) views of themselves, and their experiences and involvement in collective action related to psychological change. This thesis has its place within the domain of collective action research in social psychology.

Throughout history, people have used collective action to try to achieve, or sometimes prevent, social change. For example, food riots in the 17th century France (Tilly, 1971), civil rights protests such as the women’s movement (Agronick & Duncan, 1998) and the Mississippi Freedom project (McAdam, 1989), the students’ movement (Flacks, 1967), anti-road protests (Drury, Reicher, & Stott, 2003), nuclear waste resistance (Fisher & Boehnke, 2004), and more recently the Arab Spring (Hamdy, 2012), anti-austerity protests in Greece (Evripidou & Drury, 2013), the international #MeToo movement (Khomami, 2017) to name a few.

The right to protest is protected by Article 11 – Freedom of assembly and association - in the European Convention on Human Rights 1950 (ECHR). Article 11 states:
“Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests”, and “no restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of these rights other than such as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This Article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on the exercise of these rights by members of the armed forces, of the police or of the administration of the State” (ECHR, Article 11).

Corresponding with the ECHR Article 11 is the second Chapter of the Swedish System of Government 1974 (RF: Regeringsformen, 1974.152). The chapter ensures that every citizen has the right to organize and participate in demonstrations in public places (2 Ch. 1 §, RF). Restrictions to the second chapter of RF may only be imposed to meet a purpose acceptable in a democratic society. The restriction may never exceed what is necessary with regard to the purpose that brought it about, nor go so far as to constitute a threat to the free formation of opinion as one of the popular government foundations. Restrictions may not be made exclusively based on political, religious, cultural or other such opinion (2 Ch. 12 §, RF). However, at gatherings and protests etcetera, the Act of Order 1993 (OL: Ordningslagen, 1993:1617) may be implemented to, as the name implies, keep the order. Freedom of assembly and freedom of demonstration can be limited with consideration of order and security or traffic (Ch. 2 § 10, OL). Otherwise, these freedoms are limited only by the account of national security or to counter the scourge.

On some occasions, these gatherings contain elements of civil disobedience, that is, the refusal to obey a law or governmental demand perceived as unjust. These types of actions can be in the form of picketing, occupying and so forth. However, they are non-violent. In fact, most gatherings are conducted without any criminality, disruptions or disorder, and mainly without any police presence. The events that took place in the summer of 2012
on the Swedish island Gotland, in a forest that has come to be called Ojnare, were like most collective actions characterised by non-violent direct action.

The following section introduces the campaign that became the main study for this thesis by describing the campaign features and context, the issues and area, the parties involved, the camp in the forest, and a detailed description of the events that took place during the campaigning in the forest. The section is based on participants’ accounts of the campaign, media reports, organizations’ and government websites, the researchers’ experiences during the time in the campaign, and information given to the researcher from campaigners and people not involved in the present studies. The social context of the campaign, that is the intergroup interaction, is fundamental for the theoretical claims made in this thesis. Consequently, the events in the Ojnare forest during the summer of 2012 are the basis for this thesis and therefore needs to be outlined in length and detail.

The Ojnare campaign
The summer of 2012, and August especially, was a significant period for the Ojnare campaign (Ojnare kampen). As I will show in the interview study, this period was of critical importance when it came to the emergence of psychological change in the participants of the Ojnare campaign, such as campaigners changing from being neutral in their attitudes to becoming oppositional. Through their involvement in the campaign participants changed in their self-concepts, for example militant vegans and meat-farmers became close friends, peaceful law-abiding pensioners turned to direct action, and participants dared to stand up for themselves and their opinions in other areas of life. The indications of behavioural and psychological transformations that the campaigners experienced needs to be explained psychologically. However, the Ojnare-campaign itself is about 10 years older, starting with the County Administrative Board (Swedish: Länsstyrelsen) trading a piece of land in Bunge¹ (Ojnare forest) with the company Nordkalk in

¹ Bunge is a village/parish in close proximity to the Ojnare forest
exchange for Hoburgsmyr (a protected area on the north of Gotland).

The Ojnare campaign is an environmental struggle taking place on the island of Gotland in south of Sweden aiming to defend a piece of forest from becoming a limestone quarry. The legal process concerning the license to quarry has been ongoing since 2005. However, the Ojnare campaign is mostly recognised by the events that occurred after the judicial decision on the 5th of July 2012 giving the quarry company permission to start work in the area of the Ojnare forest on northern Gotland. Up until this point the campaign had mainly focused on raising awareness, small-scale demonstrations and manifestations, appealing court decisions, send appeals and letters to agencies etcetera.

Throughout the text, I use four recurrent categories of participants in the Ojnare-campaign: ‘self-defined activists’ or ‘activists’, ‘locals’, ‘participants’, and ‘campaigners’. *Self-defined activists and activists* includes people that defines themselves as activists. The activist category consists of people both with affiliation to various organizations and people that have independent individual involvement in the Ojnare-campaign. The category *locals* refer to people already living in and around the area of north Gotland involved in the campaign. In the category locals the ‘summer-islanders’ – people living in the area every summer – are also included. When the term *participants* is used it refers to those in my sample. The last category, *campaigners*, is used as a generalization term that includes all of the categories mentioned above and participants in the campaign not included in my sample.

**The issue and the area**

Located in the area Bunge, on the north of Gotland are the lake Bästeträsk and the Ojnare forest. The lake Bästeträsk is part of a protected Natura 2000 site (Natura 2000: European Environmental Agency, 2015) on the northern part of the island Gotland.

Bästeträsk is since 2009 the municipal water catchment providing the residents in the area with drinking water, and functions as the water reserve for the entire island of Gotland. The inflow of water to Bästeträsk is partly from the Ojnaremyr - an area in the planned quarry zone (Söderdahl, 2013). The limestone
The limestone quarry was planned to be located just metres from Natura 2000 sites, as can be seen in Figure 1 below, and also to cut through large parts of the water inflow to the lake Bästeträsk (Fältbiologerna, 2013).

![Figure 1. Map of the Ojnare area. Downloaded from http://www.arcgis.com, 12 December 2016, and adapted to highlight important areas.](image)

Figure 1 outlines the location of the planned quarry and some areas of importance for the events that occurred in the Ojnare forest during the summer of 2012. The limestone quarry was to be located in a unique environment, an environment estimated by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (Swedish: Naturvårdsverket) to be irreversibly damaged by the quarrying of limestone in the area. Amongst other things, species such as the Pilosella dichotoma (Gaffelfibbla: small yellow flower) and Scolia hirta (hårig dolkstekel: hairy flower wasp) would be extinct from the area if the quarry would be permitted. The area was thought to be home to
about 250 red-listed species (The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, 2016). The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency suggested in their plan for National parks from 2008 to establish the Bästeträsk area as a National park. A non-government bill was submitted to the Swedish parliament in 2012 to highlight the importance of a quick implementation of the National park as the area was under threat of becoming a limestone quarry (Leander, Eriksson, Lillemets, Bergström, & Pertoft, 2012). The two issues, the water and the unique environment, are the foundation of and the background to the Ojnare-campaign.

The parties involved
The company behind the planned quarry was Nordkalk, a part of the Finnish corporate family owned Retting Group (Nordkalk, 2015). Nordkalk argued that through the implementation of the quarry they would be able to offer work to people in the area for about 25-30 years. The promise of long-term work opportunities created a division amongst the residents in the area, as some thought that work opportunities had to be prioritized. Both sides agreed that all parts (water, environment, and work opportunities) were important; the difference was in the order of priorities – which subsequently divided the community on North Gotland in two.

The most active long-term stakeholder in opposition to the quarry was the independent non-profit volunteer organisation Save the Ojnare forest (Swedish: Föreningen Bevara Ojnareskogen). Save the Ojnare forest was founded in 2005 (Ojnareskogen, 2014a) as a local organization to fight for the protection of sites on northern Gotland from becoming limestone quarries. The organization’s aims are: (1) dedicatedly work to protect northern Gotland’s largest coherent wilderness area, (2) protect the area’s water reservoir and water quality, and (3) to gather knowledge and share information about the Ojnare forest and surrounding areas’ environmental and cultural values and thereby contributing to assure that the area’s qualities can be used in a sustainable way rather than large-scale limestone quarrying (Ojnareskogen, 2014b).
Another organization of importance to the Ojnare-campaign was the youth-organization of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Swedish: Naturskyddsföreningen) the Fieldbiologists (Swedish: Fältbiologerna: Fältbiologerna, 2014). The Fieldbiologists are Sweden’s largest non-profit organization for young people interested in the climate and environment. The organization is structured into three networks: the mining network, the climate network, and the forest network. During the annual Almedalen week on Gotland between the 1st and 8th July 2012 the Fieldbiologists were one of the participating groups. Thus, they were in the area when the judicial decision to approve the onset of the work for the quarrying in the Ojnare forest was announced on the 5th of July 2012. The youth-organization had already been involved in the campaign for a couple of years and participated in for example writing appeals and raising awareness of the case. The day for the judicial decision, the Fieldbiologists organized a gathering and later marched through the streets of Visby (the city of Gotland) to protest against the decision. The following days they continued with social gatherings to raise awareness. Activists and locals participated in the actions together with representatives from various environmental organizations. During these days, the Fieldbiologists decided to go to the Ojnare forest and set camp as a protest against the quarry.

The camp

The information provided in this section and the next is mainly based on consensual information from campaigners, police, media, and the researcher’s own observations during the events.

The camp, which was established on the 8th July 2012 by members from the Fieldbiologists, came to function as a base for both activists and locals. The camp was a place where people could gather to plan, share information, and socialize to get a sense of togetherness and security during the whole event. As time went by the camp grew bigger and became more developed. People from all

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2 Almedalsveckan; an open public annual summit where Swedish political parties, government agencies, organizations, businesses, etcetera gather for formal and informal events and discussions.
around Sweden donated military tents, clothes, food, caravans, money, kitchen supplies such as a sink with running water, gas stove, and large cooling boxes. In addition to this, the campaigners in the camp were also given access to cars, from people supporting the campaign, that they could use freely for as long as needed, and there were standing offers for showers and laundry provided by the locals in their homes.

The campaign participants were in contact with the police from the onset of the camp (initially with the local police, and later with the special Dialogue-police unit from Stockholm) regarding sharing information and plans for action. The subsequent weeks continued with the campaigners trying to influence the case by informing opinion in society in general, and more explicitly on the island by for example holding public meetings and guided forest-walks in the area, and camp-life in the Ojnare forest. No major incidents occurred, just a few minor halts in the deforestation work. For example, the deforestation in the area for the conveyor belt, from the coast to the quarry, was halted due to campaigners residing in the closed off area. However, there were no reports of civil disobedience, and the deforestation in the area for the conveyor belt could eventually continue.

In the end of August, there was a significant change. The island police called for reinforcements, as they, due to their small police force, were not able to ensure that the deforestation work could be carried out safely (see. ‘police week’ below). Furthermore, the camp and the daily campaigning in the forest came to include campaigners that were not members of the Fieldbiologists. Up to this point, members of the Fieldbiologists in the camp had acted as representatives of the organization, and the organization had taken responsibility for actions and for facilitating the sharing of information etcetera. As a result of the camp becoming more inclusive, the Fieldbiologists announced that they

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3 The dialogue police is a special police unit developed as a result of the experiences of the riots at the EU summit in Gothenburg 2001. The aim of the dialogue police is to function as a link between groups or people arranging protest demonstrations and the police (Dialogpolisen, 2014). Today, the basis for the dialogue police approach is the four conflict-reducing principles: knowledge, facilitation, communication, and differentiation (e.g., Reicher et al., 2007).
would no longer as an organization take responsibility for the actions carried out against the quarrying company (Nordkalk) and the sub-contractor (Mellanskog). Members from the Fieldbiologists stayed in the camp, but no longer as representatives for the organization. From this point, there was a change in the group of campaigners from being various organizations fighting the quarry to becoming one large united group of people fighting for the same goal – saving the Ojnare forest. This could, for example, be seen in a change of ‘name’ – they were all now ‘Ojnare fighters’. Locals and activists together become ‘Ojnare fighters’ rather than several isolated groups. They started including each other in events, such as lunches at the Bunge museum, and locals that previously had been reluctant to drive their cars all the way to the camp, or even be seen together with the activists in the camp, now saw themselves as part of one large group of ‘nice’ people fighting in the same campaign. The superordinate identity as ‘Ojnare fighters’ became very evident when vegans and meat-farmers came together, helping each other, and holding hands fighting side-by-side. These groups, vegans and meat-farmers, would have been enemies fighting on different sides in another context. The large influx of participants to the campaign at this point was connected to the upcoming court decision (regarding permission to start the quarrying), and the large number of police reinforcements. There were also international campaigners joining the camp and international media showed interest in the Ojnare campaign (see for example Rowley, 2012).

The participants described the organization of the camp as a flat organization, as opposed to a hierarchical structure, which meant that no one had collective responsibility or was in charge of the actions. Instead, everyone could participate based on their own capability and liking – within the boundaries and norms of what was seen as appropriate in the current context. The events that occurred during the four weeks in August 2012 are outlined below.

**The events in August 2012**

In this section I will briefly describe the events in the Ojnare forest during the four weeks in August 2012 that ended with the ‘police week’, which is demonstrated to be of significant importance in the process of psychological change for the participants in the Ojnare
campaign, therefore crucial for the focus of this thesis. For a full detailed description of the administrative and legal processes, see The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (2016).

Week One
By the 2nd August, the deforestation machines were approaching the Ojnare forest. Hence, the campaigners prepared a big mobilization. On Monday the 6th August, a busload of people arrived at the camp and gathered in the forest to stop the machines.

During the weeks subsequent to the 6th August, the number of campaigners increased further, and the actions to stop the deforestation work in the Ojnare forest continued. The actions had now come to include actions of civil disobedience. Campaigners were stopping machines by placing themselves physically in the way of the deforestation machines. Both activists and locals, from different social classes, with various political orientations, from toddlers to pensioners, men and women were involved in physically obstructing behaviours – which is very apparent on all the photos posted on the Internet during these weeks (see for example Sandahl, Jacobson, Wannerby, & Behrenfeld, 2015). It is worth noting that no actions such as sabotage and/or violence against person or property from the campaigners were reported during the whole event.

Week Two
From the 8th August, the local police, who had been present during the entire campaign in the forest, were reinforced by specially trained police officers from the Dialogue unit. The police mission and aim during the event was to ensure that the deforestation work could carry on in a safe way. During this week, there were no clashes between police and participants; all interaction was of an informative and communicative character.

Week Three
A welcomed addition to the Ojnare campaign came on the 16th August, and has come to be known as the ‘farmer uprising’ (Swedish: ‘bonde upproret’). Even though it was in the middle of
the harvest season farmers from the island joined the campaign to manifest their support in saving the drinking water. They gathered with their tractors in Anna-Greta’s pen (see Figure 1) in connection to the forest to be in the way of the deforestation machines. Subsequently they also parked large tractor-trailers, dumped large piles of soil etcetera in various places in the forest where the deforestation machines would have to pass.

The campaigners continued watching and hindering the deforestation machines, by being physically present, from early morning to late night, some even slept under the bare night sky in the forest just so they could be there in case the deforestation work would start earlier than said.

**Week Four – the ‘Police week’**

Another date of importance to the Ojnare-campaign was the 22nd August. On that day the campaigners gathered in the camp for a general meeting to share information and talk through what had happened so far in the campaign, and where to go next. This meeting has been indicated by participants to be a contributing factor in unifying the campaigners further and empowered the campaign as a whole, but there were still some divisions between the different groups involved in the campaign. Campaigners did not agree on what methods to use, but there was a consensus concerning non-violent behaviour.

The campaign continued as before, until further police reinforcements from Stockholm, 74 police officers, police vans, terrain vehicles, helicopter, and horses arrived at the Ojnare forest on the 27th August (Granlund, 2012; Polisen, 2012). However, it was not only the number of police officers that increased, due to the media coverage and the campaigners’ social networks there was a huge influx of people travelling to the forest from other areas of the island and from the mainland (Sweden) to participate in the campaign.

When the police reinforcements arrived in the Ojnare forest, they started evicting campaigners physically from the area. In other words, the police carried the campaigners out of the restricted area. As a reaction to this, several of the campaigners turned to non-violent direct action and passive resistance. They were standing,
sitting, and laying in the way of the machines, they wandered around in the forest, climbed up and stayed in trees to hinder felling, they hid all over the forest so the machines would not be allowed to work as the safety of people comes before working the machines. The police drove some campaigners back to the camp or dropped them off several kilometres away in an attempt to hinder the campaigners to get back to the restricted area and continue the action as soon as they were carried out of there. At this point in time, there were approximately 200 participants in the forest at all times, engaged in different types of direct action, still without using violence against person or property. The police took several of the participants to a nearby hostel for questioning. The event continued in the same pattern for almost a week, until the morning of Saturday the 1st September.

Early on the morning of the 1st September a couple of Greenpeace activists joined the campaign. They did this without the campaign participants (apart from very small group) or the police knowing about it beforehand. The activists from the organization Greenpeace chained themselves to the deforestation machines before the drivers of the machines came into work. The Greenpeace action followed the same pattern as the Ojnare campaign, and only used passive resistance. When the police, after a couple of hours managed to get the chains off and evicted the Greenpeace activists from the area more people had arrived in support of the campaign, and there were now about 300 campaigners in the forest, hindering the deforestation machines from working. A couple of hours later the police made the decision to instruct Mellanskog to stop the attempts of deforestation that day. Later that day, the subcontractor Mellanskog announced that, without agreement from Nordkalk, they would stop all the work in the forest until the judicial decision from Sweden’s High Court was announced.

The police stayed another day, and the campaigners stayed on their guard in the forest, not yet sure if they could trust the temporary work stop. The camp stayed active in the forest even after the deforestation had been stopped and the police had left, but there was a reduction in the number of participants in the camp to about 10-20. They continued with their guided forest walks and
raising awareness with the aim to highlight issues with Sweden’s environmental laws. Throughout the months subsequent to this intensive period for the campaign, when the interviews were conducted, the campaigners continued keeping the campaign alive by trying to raise awareness of the issues. Some of the campaigners stayed in the camp for another three months until some of them moved to an abandoned hospital nearby and some went home or to other campaigns.

Throughout the 18 months that the study took place, the campaigners continued to hold meetings and organized rallies on the island and elsewhere in Sweden. This period is of importance to examine the endurance and the process of endurance (or discontinuance). The information about this period builds upon my own account of events that I attended within the campaign, together with accounts from the participants. For example, in collaboration with anti-mining activists and Samis (indigenous people from north Scandinavia), Ojnare campaigners gathered for a huge march and rally in Stockholm. During the event, there were both Swedish speakers and international speakers highlighting environmental issues. This collaboration was a result of members from different groups and organizations in Sweden coming together during the events in the Ojnare forest. There were also smaller actions in support of the Ojnare campaign in various towns of Sweden to raise awareness of the environmental threat and legal issues. These events, following the struggle in the Ojnare forest, were mainly carried out without any interaction with the police during the events. However, police were present at the larger gatherings, such as the march in Stockholm, where a few police officers filmed the campaigners.

The campaigners stayed in contact with each other, some met up outside of the campaign and others stayed in contact from afar through social media. Some campaigners extended their engagement to fighting the mining industry abroad, or in the north of Sweden. For example, a small group of ‘Ojnare fighters’ travelled to Kallak in the north of Sweden and set up camp, continuing the struggle based on the same principles of direct action as in the Ojnare forest. There were frequent informal meetings in the Ojnare forest where campaigners got together for
fika and/or walks in the forest. These meetings were sometimes organized in advance, for example advertised on Facebook as guided walks, and sometimes spontaneous. Whether organized or spontaneous, it was not unusual to run into another campaigner while in the forest. Furthermore, gatherings were often posted (before and after) on social media, and campaigners that did not have the possibility to be physically in the forest participated with comments and online discussions. Throughout the time of the study there were continuous interactions between the campaigners both in physical form and online through platforms such as Facebook.

The campaign continued through the court struggle to achieve a legal decision against the quarry, and was still ongoing at the end of the 18 months interview period. For example, in October 2012, the Swedish Supreme Court decided that the quarry was not permitted to carry on until further court proceedings had been carried out. In awaiting this decision, campaigners had gathered in the forest where the camp had been, and celebrated the brief break in the struggle. In March 2014 the case was again due in the local court on Gotland. Several representatives from the Ojnare campaign gave statements and there were about 30 campaigners present. Before the court proceeding took place campaigners had gathered for a small rally outside the court. Most of the campaigners stayed in the courtroom through the whole day to show their support. The campaign has had both successes and setbacks regarding court decisions; however, the decision to make the Ojnare area a Natura 2000 area has been approved. Hence, the forest is still standing as this thesis is submitted while the campaigners are awaiting the (hopefully final) decision regarding permission to quarry in, or in close proximity to, the Ojnare forest planned to be announced by the court in mid-September 2018.

These events, and the campaigners’ experiences of psychological change through their participation, in the Ojnare forest during the summer of 2012 became the basis for my research, resulting in a longitudinal interview study and

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4 Everyday Swedish tradition where you get together with other people, informally, and have a cup of coffee (or tea) and something baked. It can be described as a coffee break with social features.
subsequently a three-wave survey both exploring the psychological consequences of participation in collective action. The following sections outline the theoretical framework for explaining and understanding these events and the psychological changes identified as outcomes of participation in the campaign.
Previous Research on Collective action and Psychological change

In this section, I describe and introduce research on collective action and psychological change. Before reviewing the different types of changes identified by previous research I will define the concept of collective action.

Collective Action

What do I mean by collective action? Collective action is usually defined as any action aiming to increase the status of the ingroup (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990). Becker (2012a) widens the definition by adding actions ‘conducted in political solidarity’ (p. 19) to account for groups participating in solidarity with other groups. Hence, collective action includes a wide range of different forms of actions such as signing petitions, blocking roads and participating in plenary meetings, demonstrations and rallies. It is also important to note that when I talk about ‘activism’ in this thesis, I use it as a term describing what people do in practice with others. Thus, collective action implies that there is a collective of people, who are willing to act (activists), such as a protest crowd. Hence, both activism and the protest crowd can be elements of collective action and can therefore be seen as related (even though not necessarily dependent on each other).

There is an extensive research literature concerning motives to engage in collective action, collective action tendencies, and predictors of collective action (e.g., Becker, Tausch & Wagner, 2011; Klandermans, 1997; Simon et al., 1998; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarthy, 2012; van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). For example, the way protesters experience previous and/or current collective action(s) affects their motivation to participate in future collective actions (e.g., Becker &
There is no doubt of the importance of research and models of predictors for collective action. However, the explanations for outcomes of collective action remain somewhat neglected (e.g., Louis, 2009; Thomas & Louis, 2013). Therefore, in this thesis I aim to give an account of: (a) the range of types of psychological change that sometimes occurs through participation in one collective action, (b) the processes leading to the changes, and (c) the endurance or discontinuance of the psychological changes acquired through participation in collective action.

**Psychological Change and Collective Action**

There are various psychological changes reported in previous literature that sometimes occur in and through participation in collective action from a number of disciplines. Through a recent systematic review of previous literature (paper 1), 19 different types of psychological changes were identified. These types of changes can be organized as ‘objective’ changes (measurable by an observer) – such as marital status, children, relationship ties, work-life/career, extended involvement, and consumer behaviour - or ‘subjective’ changes (self-reported beliefs and perceptions) - such as identity, empowerment, radicalization/politicization, (ill)legitimacy, sustained commitment, self-esteem, general well-being, ‘traits’, self-confidence, religion, organizing, knowledge, and home skills.

'Objective’ changes

Previous research has found differences between activists and non-activists regarding marital status. For example, participants in the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer camp (McAdam, 1989) and in the 1960s’ student (Nassi, 1981) and anti-war (Sherkat & Blocker, 1997) protests have been found to be more likely than others in the same cohort to remain single later in life. Furthermore, concerning reproduction, activists had fewer children than non-activists (Franz & McClelland, 1994). Previous research has also found changes in relationships, changes that were perceived to be positive or negative. To serve as an example, women involved in the Women’s
Liberation movement highlighted both the formation of new very strong and close relationships through their participation, and stress and tension affecting personal relationships (Cherniss, 1972). In addition to relationships and family changes, there have also been noted changes in work-life/career such as changes in education (Sherkat & Blocker, 1997), and occupational areas (Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Fendrich, 1974; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). Further, former 1960s activists where found, after participation, to be more educated in comparison to non-activists (Sherkat & Blocker, 1997), and a decade after participation former activists were more likely to change job more frequently than non-activists (McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997).

There are also evidence from previous research that activists change and extend their involvement into other causes and struggles (Drury et al., 2003; Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997; Shriver, Miller & Cable, 2003; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). For example, labour activists have been found to extend their involvement into causes such as animal rights and opposing the death penalty (van Dyke & Dixon 2013). In accounts from activists against whaling involved in the Sea Shepherd Conservation Movement, changing consumer behaviour regarding diet was demonstrated. Participants in the Sea Shepherd Conservation Movement changed their consumer behaviour to becoming vegan, vegetarian or at least decreasing their consumption of meat (Stuart, Thomas, Donaghue & Russell, 2013).

'Subjective' changes
Connected to some of the changes (for discussion see paper 1), identity can be seen as both a psychological change per se and as a component of the process of change. Klandermans, Sabucedo, Rodriguez and de Weerd (2002) found, in their three-wave interview study, that amongst the farmers in the Netherlands and Spain identity processes generated action preparedness, which in turn generated action participation. Further, they demonstrated that participation strengthened the collective identity, which in turn
affected participants’ sense of personal identity. Participation in activism has also an effect in the form of empowerment (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Cable, 1992; Cherniss, 1972; Drury & Reicher, 1999, 2005; Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson & Rapley, 2005; Shriver et al., 2003; Tausch & Becker, 2012). Empowerment is defined as ‘that positive social-psychological transformation, related to a sense of being able to (re)shape the social world, that takes place for members of subordinate groups who overturn (or at least challenge) existing relations of dominance’ (Drury & Reicher, 2009, p. 708). Furthermore, in accounts from participants in the environmental protest organization Yellow Creek Concerned Citizens the effect of the empowerment was found to effect power structures outside of the campaign (Cable, 1992).

Empowerment is connected to our beliefs of what we can achieve and change, another belief aspect found in previous literature to change as a consequence of participation in collective action is the ‘change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviors in direction that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defence of the ingroup’ (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008, p. 416) – radicalization. Becoming politically radical, or politicised (see Simon & Klandermans, 2001), or at least more liberal or progressive, has been proposed by several previous studies to be a psychological change emerging through participation in collective action (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Drury et al., 2003; Dunham & Bengtson, 1992; Hendrich, 1974; Hendrich, 1977; Hendrich & Smith, 1980; Hendrich & Tarleau, 1973; Flacks, 1967; Hirsch, 1990; Marwell, Aiken & Demerath, 1987; McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979; Profit 2001; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997; Thomas, McGarty & Louis, 2014). Hendrich (1974) found a direct effect between radicalization and former protest participation in civil rights activists, compared to non-activist, many years after participation (Hendrich, 1974), even though it may declined a bit in strength.

(Ill)Legitimacy of action, self or others’, is yet another reported psychological change demonstrated in previous research (Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Hirsch, 1990; Marwell et al., 1987; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997).
Legitimacy can be seen to change in views of actions related to the own group as well as in relation to other groups seen to support the existing order. For example, none of the No M11 Link Road campaign interviewees perceived the police as neutral after they evicted the campaigners from George Green, however, many of them changed their view to seeing the police (the outgroup) as an illegitimate force (Drury & Reicher, 2000). Furthermore, in addition to changing the perception of legitimacy of the outgroup there are also accounts of changes in the perception of the ingroup’s legitimacy. For example, protesters involved in the Kent state sit-in were after participation more willing to take part in ‘activist’ behaviours such as civil disobedience as they now viewed it as legitimate actions. Previous research has also shown accounts of sustained commitment, as a consequence of participation in collective action (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Downton & Wehr, 1998; Einwohner, 2002; Fendrich, 1977; Fendrich & Smith, 1980; Fischer & Boehnke, 2004; Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979; Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013) compared to non-activists (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989). There is some evidence that activists, who participated in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in 1965, still maintained their commitment to activism and ideological beliefs 20 years later (Marwell et al., 1987).

Participation in collective action may also increase participants’ level of self-esteem (Becker, 2012b; Cherniss, 1972; Tropp & Brown, 2004). The protest environment is argued to be an opportunity for personal growth and actualization (e.g., Cherniss, 1972). For example, participants involved in the Women’s Liberation movements showed higher self-esteem compared to a control group (Cherniss, 1972). Not only has participation in protest and activism a positive effect on self-esteem, it has also been demonstrated to have positive effect on different measures of well-being (Boehnke & Wong, 2011; Cherniss, 1972; Evripidou & Drury, 2013; Foster, 2013, 2014, 2015; Gilster, 2012; Klar & Kasser, 2009; Páez, Basabe, Ubiellos, & González-Castro, 2007). Participants in activism experienced greater happiness, and fewer worries, later in life (Boehnke & Wong, 2011), and greater subjective vitality or ‘flourish’ (Klar & Kasser, 2009). Furthermore
in a study (Páez et al., 2007) of the aftermath of the 2004 March 11th Madrid bombing it was found that people who had participated in demonstrations and experienced the positive emotional collective climate reported greater social support and positive affect, consequently a positive effect on coping.

There are also some accounts regarding change in 'personality traits' in previous research (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Nassi, 1981; Whittaker & Watts, 1971), for example, Whittaker and Watts (1971) found that student activists, active during the mid-1960s, scored higher on cognitive flexibility, autonomy, and impulse expression than non-activists. Relatedly, some studies report changes in collective action participants' self-confidence after participation in protest events (Cable, 1992; Cherniss, 1972; Macgillivray, 2005; Profitt, 2001; Shriver et al., 2003; Whittaker & Watts, 1971). Macgillivray (2005) found that participants in the Gay-Straight Alliance gained in self-confidence, and some even overcame their fright of speaking in public, as an outcome of their participation. Women involved in collective struggles against gender violence were found to find a way to make sense of their lives and changed in consciousness and subjectivity, subsequently increasing their confidence in themselves through the opportunity offered by engaging in collective struggle (Profitt, 2001).

Additionally, a difference in religious orientation or level of engagement in religion has been demonstrated to differ between activists and control groups (Nassi, 1981; Sherkat, 1998; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). To serve as an example of the transformation in religion, Sherkat (1998) and Sherkat and Blocker (1997) reported that participants in the anti-war and student movement showed to be less devoted to and held less traditional religious orientations after participation. The collective action context has also shown to be a platform where participants have the opportunity to acquire or improve their organizing abilities (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Friedman, 2009; Macgillivray, 2005; McAdam, 1989; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). Friedman (2009) found that after participation in the Chinese labour movement participants had improved their organizational skills. The context of the collective action not only functions as a platform for the acquisition of organizing skills, it
can also be a platform to obtain new knowledge (Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Steklenburg, 2008; Lawson & Barton, 1980; Macgillivray, 2005; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). For example, through workshops and conversations with other participants, labour activists passed on knowledge about labour issues to each other (Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). The possibility to obtain knowledge has importance in participants’ lives subsequent to the action (Klandermans et al., 2008; Lawson & Barton, 1980; Macgillivray, 2005; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). Protest and activism can function as a developmental and educational zone for participants where they can learn and develop new skills they can use in their everyday lives (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Friedman, 2009; Macgillivray, 2005; McAdam, 1989; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). For example, women involved in the Gulf War Illness movement learned skills they could use in their everyday lives, such as paying bills (Shriver et al., 2003).

In most cases, the studies indicate that the changes endure beyond the participation in the collective action and stays with the participants in other areas of their lives. However, some studies have shown some decrease of the changes over time. In their study of participants in the Berkeley Free Speech movement, Nassi and Abramowitz (1979) found that, even though more radical than the general population, 15 years after participation some participants had decreased in their radical features, or changed to somewhere in between radical and liberal. Relatedly, participants in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had decreased in their sustained commitment to action over twenty years of time (Marwell et al., 1987). Lastly, Boehnke and Boehnke (2005) found that German peace movement activists decreased in their change of both macrosocial worries and political activism over the course of their 6-wave longitudinal survey.

As outlined above a variety of psychological outcomes through collective action participation have been documented in the social science literature. Most of these studies describe one or a few types of changes; however, none of the studies aim to demonstrate the whole range of changes that can occur in one collective action. The point of the range of changes is important in relation to processes of emergence and endurance, as it might be
that different types of changes are connected to different types of processes, for example skills and wellbeing might be better explained by intragroup dimensions whereas intergroup processes might explain changes in such as as radicalization better. Furthermore, most of these studies draw upon post-hoc accounts and fail to provide an account of whether the participation in the collective action itself produced the psychological change. However, McAdam (1989) was able to establish the relationship between change and participation by surveying participants in the Mississippi Freedom Summer camp and comparing them with applicants for the camp that did not participate. Nonetheless, the question concerning processes behind those psychological changes is still somewhat under-researched, as most studies examine the change without offering a theoretical explanation for the transformation that occurs through participation in collective action.

Theories of psychological change in collective action

There are some studies that directly or indirectly touch upon the subject of process. In the literature on processes of psychological change through participation in collective action, many of the changes are conceptualized as a change in identity or self-concept (e.g., Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Boehnke & Wong, 2011; Braugart & Braugart, 1990; Klandermans, 1997; Klar & Kasser, 2009; McAdam, 1989; Shriver, et al., 2003; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Stuart et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2014; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). Furthermore, these theories explaining change in collective action focus on two types of social interaction as fundamental in the change: intergroup and intragroup.

*Intergroup interaction*

Interaction between groups, intergroup interaction, and especially a conflictual relationship with an outgroup, such as the police, has in previous research been shown to be an antecedent of psychological change (e.g., Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975). The Kent State shooting of 1970 and the anti-R.O.T.C (Reserve Officers’ Training
Corps) sit-in of 1972 can serve as examples for the intergroup interaction as a process of change through participation in collective action. During a protest against the Vietnam War on the 4th May 1970, members of the Ohio National Guard opened fire against the protesters and killed four Kent State students and left 9 injured (History, 2017). Adamek and Lewis (1973) explored the impact of the shooting on students present at the rally on the 4th May 1970 compared to students that were not present. They found that the students who had experienced violence from the police were more radical than the comparison group. In addition, the students that had experienced violence from the police were also more likely to participate in subsequent collective actions, be more anti-government, and increase their left-wing orientation (Adamek & Lewis, 1973). Using the same sample of students, Adamek and Lewis (1975) demonstrated that participation in the event increased the civil disobedience tendencies from zero per cent (before the event) to 44 per cent after the event, and concerning tendencies to participate in violent confrontation the participants increased from 11 per cent prior the event to 94 per cent after the event. To expand and support these claims they also explored intergroup interaction at the anti-R.O.T.C. sit-in on Wednesday 26th April 1972 (Lewis & Adamek, 1974). After a talk by a well-known anti-war activist, students moved to an administrative building to talk to R.O.T.C. officers and cadets about the Vietnam War. This ended with approximately 300 students blocking corridors and offices through a non-violent sit-in, which ended after a couple of hours by 129 of those students getting arrested (Lewis & Adamek, 1974). Again, Adamek and Lewis (1975; Lewis & Adamek, 1974) found that those students that participated in the sit-in, and were exposed to the violence from the police (outgroup) were more radical after the event than students that did not participate.

In an experimental setting, Australian right-wing supporters decreased, as a consequence of politicised intergroup conflict and especially when informed by the political identity, in their belief that climate change was contributed to by the human factor (Unsworth & Fielding, 2014). Hence, experiencing conflictual intergroup interaction with another group was linked to psychological change towards radicalization, illegitimacy of
outgroup’s action, and politicised consumer attitudes. In addition to the transformation through intergroup interaction, some studies have proposed explanations through intragroup interaction.

**Intragroup interaction**

The second type of interaction connected to psychological change focuses on the interaction within the group. This process is often referred to as interpersonal ‘discussion’ with other members of the same social category (e.g., Hirsch, 1990; Klandermans, 1997; Klar & Kasser, 2009; McAdam, 1989; Shriver et al., 2003; Thomas et al., 2014; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). Through such discussions with other members of our group, intragroup interaction, we get a sense of support for our new views and become aware that others share our worldview (Shriver et al., 2003). For example, Van Dyke and Dixon (2013) explored the process through which empowerment was generated through participation in an intensive labour movement campaign. They used interview data from participants involved in the AFL-CIO Union Summer programme, between 1996 and 2002, and found that various forms of intragroup interaction, such as workshops, seminars, and day-to-day conversations with other activists involved in the campaign, affected the participants in several ways such as acquiring organizing skills. The relationship between intragroup interaction and acquiring new skills can be seen in this quote from one of the participants:

I credit Union Summer with every organizing skill I have, and Union Summer is basically the reason that I am active in political organizing and things like that. . . . I remember one thing that really helped was we had a seminar where two college students - I think, part of some action network - came in and kind of went through with us very step by step how you run a campaign (Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013: p 204).

In sum, through various forms of intragroup interaction the participants in the AFL-CIO Union Summer programme acquired skills such as organizing, which in turn empowered them and subsequently motivated them to sustain their involvement in the
campaign and/or involvement in other campaigns.

Even though inter- and intragroup interaction has been acknowledged in previous research to explain psychological changes sometimes occur through participation in collective action, the two types of interaction have, mainly, been separated from each other and treated as isolated factors (Dovidio, 2013). In a theoretical account, based on previous research, of the importance of combining intergroup relations and intragroup processes Dovidio (2013) highlighted that within-group interaction most likely affects the way people perceive outgroups. Conversely, the way people construe intergroup relations and how they conceptualize outgroups can shape intragroup dynamics (Dovidio, 2013). The limitation in focusing on processes of intergroup or intragroup interaction could have its foundation in two issues with the design. Firstly, most studies did not have interaction as their main focus and relied on data from questionnaire survey measures (e.g., Fendrich & Lovoy, 1998; Klar & Kasser, 2009). Secondly, the studies have tended to be cross sectional rather than panel studies (e.g., Shriver et al., 2003; Stuart et al., 2013; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). However, to address the first limitation, some researchers have explored the intertwined relationship between the two kinds of social interaction in accounting for psychological change through participation in collective action. More specifically, the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM; e.g., Drury & Reicher 2000, 2009; Stott & Reicher 1998) combines the concepts of intergroup and intragroup interaction specifically to examine psychological change in collective action. The ESIM suggests that the actions from an outgroup can change the context in which the ingroup define themselves, and this in turn can be the foundation of identity change. The principles of ESIM (described below) have been used to understand and explain the phenomena of psychological change in collective action and will be used as the theoretical framework for this thesis. In order to provide an account of this framework it is necessary to start with reviewing the theoretical base of the ESIM approach to collective action and psychological change.
Theoretical Background

There have been a number of attempts to theoretically understand collective actions and their psychological consequences. However, at closer examination limitations become apparent as many of the studies does not account for the psychology behind the changes, the processes of psychological change, and their endurance (for a review see paper 1).

The elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM) has its origin in the social identity approach, originated by Tajfel and Turner (1979). The social identity approach, containing social identity theory (SIT) and self-categorisation theory (SCT), has had an immense impact on social psychology and its various areas (e.g., Postmes & Branscombe, 2010), including the field of collective action. Specifically, research derived from SCT (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) has been fruitful in accounting for psychological variability in collective action.

Social Identity Theory (SIT)

SIT was developed to explain the minimal conditions crucial and sufficient to produce out-group discrimination. The ‘minimal group experiments’ that were the basis of SIT showed that the mere division of people into different groups could produce intergroup discrimination (Reicher, Spears, & Haslam, 2010). In the experiments, Tajfel and colleagues (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971) aimed to explain discriminant behaviour towards an outgroup in a context were neither personal interest nor existing hostile attitudes towards the outgroup were attributed as factors. To execute the experiment, students (boys aged 14-15 from Bristol) were randomly allocated to either of two groups. However, the students were told that they were purposely allocated to a specific group. The boys were then asked to complete a series of reward matrices where they were requested to distribute rewards between the two groups. In sum, Tajfel and colleagues (1971) found that there was a consistent ingroup favouritism concerning the distribution of both rewards and penalties. Furthermore, in a second series of experiments, they demonstrated that the distribution was linked to the creation of a maximum difference between the
ingroup and outgroup, even when it was at the expense of both fairness and ingroup profit.

The conclusion drawn from the experiments was that the biased behaviour was a function of positive ingroup distinctiveness, a drive for positive social identity. Tajfel and Turner (1979) defined social identity as ‘that part of an individuals’ self concept which derives from his [or her] knowledge of his [or her] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership’ (p. 63). Based on the early social identity theory studies Tajfel was able to describe intergroup relations and its connection to personal attitudes and behaviours. However, the effect of intragroup interaction (interaction between members in the group, within the shared identity), that is, how we categorize ourselves as ‘the same’ as others, was still not accounted for.

**Self-categorization Theory (SCT)**

To expand SIT by adding the relation between the self-concept and the group, SCT was developed (Turner et al., 1987). SCT made exploration of the process of self-categorization possible, consequently offering an account of the process of group behaviour. According to SCT, different levels of self-categorization determine if actions or behaviours are informed by a salient personal identity (‘I’), the uniqueness of the individual self, or by a salient social identity (‘we’), characteristic of the ingroup (Turner et al., 1987). SCT proposes that the personal identity and social identity are not in opposition to each other, they are simply self-concepts on different levels of abstraction depending on the current context (Onorato & Turner, 2004). Through the psychological process of depersonalization, people transform from behaviours informed by the personal self to behaviours informed by a shared social identity. It is important to point out that the shift from personal to social through depersonalization is by no means a loss in identity, rather, our self becomes viewed in terms of our category membership. Hence, depersonalization is transformation (Turner et al., 1987). Consequently, due to the intertwinement of the identities, variations in one can have consequences for aspects in the other (Reicher, Haslam, Spears, & Reynolds, 2013).
In addressing the process of how people categorize themselves, how a specific self-category becomes salient (or varies), SCT draws upon the relation between two components (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994): perceiver readiness, (the individual difference variables such as expectations, motivations, memories, commitments, knowledge, and our social identities), and fit (category specifications). Fit has two dimensions: comparative and normative. Comparative fit refers to the structure of the category through objective similarities and differences with other categories, that is, whether intragroup differences are smaller than intergroup differences. Normative fit refers to the content of those categories, that is the content of what other group members are saying and doing related to our expectations of what members of that category are supposed to do and say. Correspondingly, as the social context varies so does the salient social identity that informs our self-concept and behaviours. For example, I am likely to act and view myself based on my ‘protester identity’ when attending an anti-fracking blockade over the weekend. However, come Monday when I am back lecturing students at the university, the protest identity with its corresponding behaviours are most likely no longer appropriate and my self-concept and behaviours are more likely to be informed by my ‘lecturer identity’, which then becomes salient. Hence, our self-categorization varies depending on the context; therefore, stability in our self-concept can be a function of context regularities. My protest identity might stay salient on the Monday lecture if I perceive the context to be similar to the anti-fracking protest, for example if I perceive that most of the students are anti-fracking protesters.

Another important element of SCT concerns who is seen as a ‘model’ representative of the ingroup (Turner et al., 1987). Some ingroup members are seen as prototypical of what it means to be an ingroup member. These prototypical members are representatives perceived to best embody the ingroups values, norms, attitudes, and behaviours, and therefore represent what it means to be ‘us’ in relation to ‘them’. Just as variations in self-categorization and social identity are depending on the social context so is the ingroup prototypicality.
To sum up, self-categorization theory explains how people come together, and how those people act in coordinate ways. Thus, it explains variations, but does not give an account of change within group contexts, how people change in group contexts such as collective actions. For example, how a peaceful crowd, without pre-event organization, can turn to nonnormative behaviours such as rioting.

The social identity model of crowd behaviour (SIM)

Based on the principles of SCT, Reicher developed an account of crowd behaviour and social influence in opposition to previous models, such as deindividuation theory that claimed that people in crowds lost their identity and self-control due to anonymity in the crowd (Reicher, 1984, 1987). Reicher (1984) analysed the ‘riot’ in the St. Paul’s area in Bristol where the police conducted a raid against a café, which in turn lead to several violent clashes between police and the crowd. After raiding the café, prompting a clash between the crowd and the police, the police were forced out of the area by the crowd, before they re-entered with reinforcements. Reicher (1984, 1987) suggested that the shared ingroup identity of being part of the ‘St. Paul’s community’ that emerged by the attack from the police, governed unified behaviour enabling the crowd to act as one. Furthermore, Reicher also demonstrated that the crowd behaviour only influenced other crowd members. Hence, the shared identity had limits and boundaries. If there were no limits and boundaries, following earlier theories, then everyone in close proximity to the crowd would have been influenced, that is, the police and crowd would have been under the same influence. Instead, Reicher (1984) found that there were contextual constraints placed on the social identity; the crowd members were gathered under a shared sense of ‘locality’, the attacks were targeted at the police and businesses owned by ‘outsiders’ (small locally owned shops were protected), the most influential crowd members were those who were seen to embody the shared identity, and the geographical location for the rioting stayed in the St. Paul’s area even though it could have easily moved to nearby areas. Reicher argued that the pattern of events followed SCT principles by demonstrating how the social identity enabled the crowd to act
as one, with identity content that set limits and boundaries for the behaviour, who counted as ingroup and outgroup, and also who would be influential. However, due to the lack of data on the outgroup perspective Reicher could not empirically account for, or demonstrate the relationship in which social identity informs the behaviour that in turn changes the social identity.

Following his early work on the social identity model of crowd behaviour, Reicher further developed the model together with Stott (e.g., Stott & Reicher, 1998) and Drury (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000) explaining escalating crowd conflict and psychological change within crowds.

**Elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM) – addressing psychological change**

Research within the ESIM framework (Drury & Reicher 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher 1998) proposes that intergroup interaction transforms the context in which the participants define themselves, consequently functioning as the foundation of transforming the identity. In Reicher’s early development of the SIM, as in the SCT framework in general, the focus was on processes within the group. Consequently, limiting the ability to integrate the context in which the event took place by excluding the outgroup perspective and actions. Developing the model further by placing the escalating crowd conflict within its context, in order to explain the dynamic reciprocal relationship between social identity and behaviour (i.e., how social identity not only guides behaviour but how the behaviour through repositioning of the self in relation to other groups inform the social identity), Stott and Reicher (1998; Reicher, 1996) added the ‘outgroup’ perspective. Through analysing the events in a student loans demonstration that came to be called ‘the Battle of Westminster Bridge’ (Reicher, 1996) and riots in connection to a march against the poll tax in 1990 (Stott & Reicher, 1998), both in London, the process behind escalating crowd conflict was demonstrated.

In both studies, the marches started peacefully, with only a small minority of protesters intending to create disorder, and ended in violent clashes between the police and the protesters (Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998). The transformation from a peaceful
crowd to becoming a crowd in direct opposition to the police was explained through the protesters, initially perceiving themselves as several subgroups within the marches, experiencing indiscriminative attacks on themselves and their rights to protest from the police and perceiving the own actions as legitimate and the outgroup’s actions as illegitimate. The police had come to perceive the whole march as a threat, based on the presence of a small minority with non-peaceful intentions. The police grouped all the protesters together perceiving them as a threat, which in turn made the protesters coming together as one unified group instead of several subgroups. Further, the unification of the group made the protesters feel like they were more able to challenge the police, as they were supported by other group members in their view of the police action being illegitimate and supressing their rights to protest. This was explained by the conflictual intergroup interaction, the police treating the protesters indiscriminately and illegitimately, changing the perception of the outgroup (police) and consequently the behaviour of the crowd and the social identity within the crowd, which informs further behaviour.

Of specific importance to the framework for this thesis, this work demonstrated how collective actions not only reproduce existing social identities but also how social identities can transform through being challenged, contested, and interpreted. However, the studies in the ESIM framework described above were mainly based on cross-sectional samples and post-hoc data which limits the model in accounting for enduring changes, furthermore, even though the studies offer indications of the causes of change, there was still a need for explicitly focussing on the processes of change.

To further develop and extend the ESIM framework, by accounting for the processes of emergence and endurance of psychological changes, and the role of intragroup processes Drury and colleagues conducted a longitudinal study (12 months) of an anti-roads campaign in London (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). This work by Drury and colleagues is the main theoretical framework for the present thesis, and both the interview schedule and survey items derives theoretically from this work; therefore it needs to be explained in more length and detail.
In the UK during the 1990s, there were protests against the government’s road-building programme. One such campaign was the No M11 link road, protesting against building an extension of the M11 in northeast London, that would demolish both houses and green areas (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). Drury spent a year (1993-94) with the No M11 link road campaign in London collecting data through participant observation (interviews, filed notes, campaign documents etc.). Participant observation was chosen as the aim of the studies were to explore how the members of the collective action changed in their self-categorization as a function of the intergroup interaction (Drury & Reicher, 2000). Since events within collective actions are of an unpredictable nature (events develop without pre-planning, participants disappearing after the event and so on) embedding oneself in the event is crucial in sampling participants (Drury & Stott, 2001). The rationale for the choice of data collection strategy was the necessity to acknowledging the change as an outcome of dynamic and developing interactions between and within groups. Hence, being part of the action over time would allow for data on the change in social relationships and how these affected participants over time. This strategy, based on the same rationale, was adopted for the present thesis as described in the ‘method’ section.

A variety of people came to take part in the No M11 campaign: people living in the area and people that travelled to the area specifically for the campaign, pensioners and children, women and men. The characteristics of the campaigners resonate well with the campaigners in the campaign that is the subject for this thesis, the Ojnare campaign. In fact, there are many parallels and similarities in the interaction between and within groups during the events of the No M11 campaign and the Ojnare campaign (see ‘context’ in the introduction). I will briefly describe the No M11 campaign before outlining the results of importance to the theorizing in this thesis.

In September 1993 the direct action against the contractors preparing for the M11 link road started (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). Campaigners climbed up trees and onto diggers, invaded construction sites, and occupied houses to hinder
the preparation work for the link road. To ensure that the contracted work could be carried out the contractors were assisted by security guards and on occasion by the police. There were direct actions taken nearly every day by campaigners. When the contractors erected a high fence around a green area with an old chestnut tree that the campaigners had come to see as their ‘social space’, a land that belonged ‘to the people’ (campaigners had gatherings there every night where they socialized and talked about campaign issues), the campaigners came out in even larger force and pushed most of the fencing down and occupied the area. It is important to note that the campaign as a whole was perceived as non-violent in their actions throughout, and the campaigners felt that they acted upon their right to protest. About a month later, the police arrived in hundreds, along with bailiffs, to evict the campaigners from the area. The police evicted campaigners physically, and the bailiffs evicted people that had climbed up in the tree by using cutting tools from hydraulic platforms. The contractors could then carry out their work and the tree was felled. Subsequent to the chestnut tree felling, the campaign got ready for an even larger eviction to take place in early 1994 (Drury et al., 2003), where a whole block of houses in the area was occupied. This time, the police came out with 800 officers and a dozen bailiffs. The campaign and the occupation (and the eviction process) did not end until December 1994 when the last house was demolished (Drury et al., 2003).

Through his analyses of the campaign, Drury found support for the earlier work by Stott and Reicher (1998; Reicher, 1996) suggesting that as a result of conflictual intergroup interaction collective action participants re-positioned themselves in terms of identity in relation to the outgroup when the outgroup behaviour was perceived as illegitimate and indiscriminate. Based on the studies of the No M11 campaign Drury theorized psychological change in collective action events along at least four dimensions: content (what the identity is about), boundaries (who counts as ingroup ‘we’, and who counts as outgroup ‘them’), legitimacy (what actions, both by self and others, counts as legitimate or illegitimate), and power (what actions/behaviours are seen as
possible within the shared identity, connected to the restraining power of outgroups/others) (Drury & Reicher, 2000).

In the No M11 campaign, the campaigners saw their actions in occupying the land as peaceful, legitimate, and lawful. Within the campaign, there was a shared sense of importance to maintain non-violence, and some participants were initially reluctant to take direct action. Campaigners who initially saw themselves as law-abiding citizens, and acting in legitimate ways changed their view of the police due to the police behaving in ways perceived by the campaigners as supressing their individual rights by forcefully removing everyone from the occupied green area and the chestnut tree (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). Hence, there was a shared view amongst the campaigners of the police acting illegitimately and indiscriminately. When these social relations changed the campaigners changed in their self-conception and saw themselves as oppositional (from their previously neutral stance), not only towards the police in the immediate conflict but some campaigners also came to see the whole government system as illegitimate. Furthermore, these changes in social relations with the outgroup, the redefining of the context, affected the participants’ future action tendencies (Drury & Reicher, 2000). Campaigners took part in other actions, towards the outgroups perceived as supressing their rights, perceived as unjust based on their redefining of the social relations (the ingroup, outgroup, and context). In sum, the identity content changed when there was a contradiction (negative) between expected outgroup action and experienced outgroup action; this in turn changed the conception of the social relations which inform the identity, and this change was seen to endure and influence future actions.

Related to the change in identity content was the change in identity boundaries. Firstly, as the campaigners redefined their conception of the police, the police became excluded from the ingroup (Drury & Reicher, 2000). Hence, the view of the police as a force upholding the law and peoples’ rights changed to viewing the police as an antagonistic force. Being perceived as antagonistic towards the campaigners, the police were no longer seen as part of the wider ingroup. Secondly, the boundaries changed in terms of inclusion (Drury & Reicher, 2000). For example, from initially
being several groups involved in the campaign, locals came to define participants from outside the area as the same as them, they became unified under one superordinate campaign identity. Furthermore, the more inclusive identity boundaries rendered a more generalized definition of the identity for some campaigners, including both contemporaneous and historical campaigns, perceiving themselves to be part of a global movement (Drury et al., 2003).

Additionally, there was a change in what was conceptualised as legitimate ingroup behaviour. Through the perception of the outgroup behaviour being illegitimate the actions taken by the campaigners were seen as legitimate in resisting the illegitimate social relations (Drury & Reicher, 2000). It was suggested that legitimising direct action and defining the identity based on that action, was affected by the ability to define the action in legitimate terms (with the collective action) such as democracy and justice. Additionally, radical arguments became more persuasive and legitimate within the ingroup of campaigners as the social relations changed through conflict with the police (Drury et al., 2003).

Power, the forth dimension, was demonstrated to be influential in all the other dimensions of identity change. The asymmetry in power relations during the event meant that the police had the power to impose their perspective on the situation, that is, they had the legal right to evict campaigners and they also had the numbers (of officers) to execute the eviction (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). However, the police intervention created a sense of unity amongst the campaigners, which in turn elicited more inclusive identity boundaries making the campaigners feel supported by a greater community (Drury & Reicher, 2005). By redefining the action to include more than ‘only’ the immediate struggle, for example fighting illegitimate authoritarian behaviour, the participants could define the events as moral victories even though saving the area failed (Drury & Reicher, 2005). That is, even if they did not succeed in saving the tree they did win the moral fight by opposing and standing up to the illegitimate behaviour from the police. Hence, there was a perceived power transformation in the form of enhanced empowerment. Feelings of empowerment arose for campaigners in
the collective action as they in opposition to the police (an opposing force) actualized their shared identity (Drury & Reicher, 2005, 2009). This empowerment process motivated the campaigners to sustain their participation, and identity changes, through feeling supported, agentic, and in control of their world and behaviours, beyond the immediate campaign (Drury & Reicher, 2005).

According to ESIM our social identity is formed by our perception of our place within a set of social relations, together with possible and appropriate action in relation to that the place within those social relations (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). Hence, if the social relations change, so do dimensions of our social identity. However, to account for and explore emerging and enduring psychological change there is a need to follow participants over time to collect contemporary data over an extended period (Drury & Reicher, 2000). In his study of the No M11 link road campaign Drury was able to gather some data from the same participants over time and develop ESIM by specifying four dimensions of identity change, address change not only within the collective action, develop the empowerment element, and explored endurance of psychological change. However, due to the dynamic nature of collective actions (i.e., campaigners going in and out of the campaign, and difficulties with staying in touch with campaigners after the campaign ended) Drury’s data, as with previous ESIM studies (cf. Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998), was mainly cross-sectional. Hence, there is a need for longitudinal ethnographically designed studies to further test and develop ESIM regarding psychological change and explicitly explore the process/es of enduring psychological changes. Furthermore, Drury (Drury & Reicher, 2000) highlighted four dimensions of identity change, however, the studies did not account for the range of all types of changes associated with these dimensions in one campaign. The present thesis aims to further explore the ESIM principles and dimensions of change identified by Drury and colleagues, by utilising a longitudinal design following participants throughout their involvement (or disengagement) in a campaign over 18 months exploring all possible types of psychological changes along with the processes
and endurance of such changes. However, before describing the studies in detail there are some concepts (relating to inter- or intragroup interaction), which can be related to the dimensions of identity change identified in the ESIM, in recent research exploring collective action participation that needs to be addressed.

**Recent concepts used to predict action and explain future action tendencies: emotions, efficacy, identity, and social networks**

Some recent models have highlighted the importance of the concepts efficacy and emotions when predicting collective action intentions in both disadvantage groups (e.g., van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) and advantaged groups (Thomas & McGarty, 2009). Achievement emotions such as pride in success and anger in failure have both been shown to predict future engagement in collective action (Tausch & Becker, 2012). Further, different sets of appraisal and emotions predict engagement in different actions. In a recent model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action behaviour Becker and Tausch (2015) outlined how participation in collective action had identity-related and emotional consequences for participants in forming their motivation to engage in future action. When intergroup interaction was based on contempt rather than anger in emotional response to the outgroup the likelihood of engaging in non-normative behaviour was increased (Becker & Tausch, 2015).

Furthermore, Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor (2009) and van Zomeren, Leach, and Spears (2012) suggested that the basis for psychological change regarding new efficacy perceptions or empowerment could be found in within group processes and appraisal of collective action. van Zomeren and colleagues (2012) explained this through the context collective action offers the participants. In the collective action context, participants can re-evaluate their perception of collective disadvantage, consequently motivating future collective action participation. To generate endured commitment to collective action, Thomas and colleagues (2009) suggested that a social identity with norms relevant for that identity concerning emotion, efficacy, and action needed to be created through intragroup interaction. In turn, these identity
relevant norms generate a system of meaning that forms the endured commitment (Thomas et al., 2009). Thomas and McGarty (2009) explored prosocial behaviours towards international groups, and suggested that outrage norm enhanced intragroup interaction was a key component in motivating commitment to a cause. This was explained by the outrage norm generating increased identification with the group and efficacy beliefs.

The importance of efficacy was also demonstrated in Blackwood and Louis’s (2012) study of Australian peace activists opposing the involvement in the Iraq war. They proposed a model of predicting future collective action engagement based on both group-level and individual-level variables. In their model, activist identification had an impact on motivations to engage in future collective action through perceptions of the efficacy of those actions (group-level) and the personal costs/benefits (individual-level). Motivation to engage in future collective action was predicted by the strength of activist identification and this was partially mediated by the goals for the whole group as well as for one self. This was explained through the process of politicized identity (see Simon & Klandermans, 2001) where the group goals became conceptualized as personal.

In the widely used social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), integrating existing theories and concepts, three predictors of collective action are suggested: group identification, emotion (anger), and efficacy. SIMCA suggests a dual pathway from social identity (politicized identity) to collective action through perceptions of injustice (emotion) and the perception that others’ share this opinion, and/or through collective efficacy and the perception that there is a willingness from other group members to act. SIMCA has been extended with a fourth predictor (van Zomeren, Kutlaca, & Turner-Zwinkels, 2018), moral conviction (the strong conviction of what is right and wrong) that functions as an antecedent of the three predictors (cf. van Zomeren, Postmes & Spears, 2012; van Zomeren, Postmes, Spears, & Bettache, 2011).

Others point to within-group processes where social networks influence participation in collective action. Thomas and Louis with colleagues (Louis, Amiot, Thomas, & Blackwood, 2016; Thomas,
McGarty & Louis, 2014) suggested that in sustaining our commitment and generalizing the activist identity, which in turn increases the likelihood to engage in other campaigns, the size of our social networks are of importance. The larger the social network the more likely we are to sustain in commitment and generalize the identity. All of the above reviewed theories and concepts address the importance of psychological change but they do not provide a complete model of emergence and endurance of the psychological changes that can occur through participation in collective action.

There are some further limitations related to the previous studies described in the literature section above: first, there is a lack of documentation of the range of possible psychological changes through participation in collective action. To my knowledge, no single piece of previous research has attempted to document the range of possible types of psychological changes as consequences of participation in a single campaign. The range of changes is of importance as some changes might be informed by one process rather than another, and some changes might endure while others may discontinue. For example, radicalization might be explained best by intergroup interaction when it comes to emergence whereas skills might be better explained by intragroup interaction. Furthermore, radicalization might decrease or discontinue over time whereas skills endure. Additionally, to account for participants’ construals and explore the range of different types of changes we need to adopt an ethnographic design, as some changes might be unintended and unexpected for both participants and researcher. The possibility of unexpected changes further addresses the need for a design that allows the researcher to embed herself with the campaign and campaigners. In a survey or experiment the variables would be decided by the researcher before participation, hence there would be a risk of missing certain types of changes, or processes.

Secondly, most studies that address the source of psychological change do so by referring to one of two types of interaction, intergroup or intragroup, which to some extent neglects the impact of the context in which the collective action takes place. Where both intergroup and intragroup processes have been
accounted for, Drury’s studies of the No M11 campaign (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003), the data is mainly cross-sectional limiting the possibility to explore the same participants developing self-concepts as a function of social relations. Thirdly, previous research lack of systematic examination over time. As noted by Drury and Reicher (2000) it is crucial to examine psychological change within collective actions as developing social relations between groups. Hence, to study how people’s conceptualisations of themselves and their social relations change over time, and factors that might affect that change we need to adopt a longitudinal design. Finally, there is a lack of exploration of the range of possible psychological changes in relation to the interconnecting inter- and intragroup processes. However, some changes might be explained by the interconnection, others, such as the development of skills, may not necessarily be dependent on intergroup interaction.

I intend, through the research conducted for this thesis, to overcome (at least some) these issues by gathering data systematically through a longitudinal panel study and a three-wave survey study exploring: (a) the type and range of all possible changes through participation in collective action, (b) the processes behind these changes, and (c) the endurance or discontinuance of the psychological changes over time.

Present Research

Some events during recent years highlight the importance of the questions raised above. We have seen people coming together and acting like a collective to bring about change through large physical gathering and rallies fighting an unjust legal system by for example the Black Lives Matter campaign (Bradford Edwards, 2016), sometimes resulting in violent confrontations with an outgroup, and gathering online and in smaller contexts protesting for changing unequal power systems such as the #MeToo campaign trying to generate equality between the genders and denounce sexual harassment and sexual assault towards women (Khomami, 2017). One of the campaigns that received some attention in the media (in Sweden) but have not yet rendered any academic
publications, which in the case of some of these campaigns could be due to the extensive and time consuming data review process, is the environmental campaign on the North of Gotland in Sweden, the Ojnare campaign.

**Aim**

The overall objective with this thesis is to broaden our knowledge about psychological changes that occur in and through participation in collective action. More specifically, to provide knowledge about: (a) the type and range of possible changes in a single campaign, (b) the process of change, and (c) the factors underlying the endurance or discontinuance of the changes. Based on previous research, I hypothesized that intragroup relationships (and self-categorisation) could function as a link between the social and personal, making the endurance of change possible beyond the collective action into one’s personal everyday life. There is a need for longitudinal research to be able to address the process and endurance, and explore the developing self-concepts and social relations relating to the psychological changes over time, as established through the literature review above. Therefore, the data in this thesis has its foundation in a longitudinal panel study with participants from the environmental collective action in the Ojnare campaign. Complimentary to this longitudinal interview data, I collected data through a three-wave online survey to support or disconfirm the results from the interview study. Further, the survey extends the qualitative studies by allowing for a more fine-grained quantitative analysis of the processes of change and endurance.

Four papers addressing the questions of types and range of psychological change, process of change, and endurance of change are included in this thesis.

*The biographical consequences of protest and activism: a systematic review and a new typology* is a systematic literature review with the aim to bring together previous research concerning psychological changes as an outcome of activism, protest and collective action. Further, I set out to evaluate the previous research to get a comprehensive view of the area, and to create a typology of the various psychological changes found in the existing literature. The systematic literature review demonstrates the range and types
of changes (aim a) that occur in and through participation in collective action.

The second paper, *How participation in collective action changes relationships, behaviours, and beliefs: an interview study of the role of inter- and intragroup processes*, address the questions of type and range of possible changes (aim a) in a single campaign and the processes (aim b) leading to these changes, by focusing on data, gathered through a panel study, from participants involved in the Ojnare campaign.

*How collective action produces psychological change and how that change endures over time: a case study of an environmental campaign.* The third paper included in this thesis, also draws upon data from the longitudinal panel study of the participants in the Ojnare campaign, and has an emphasis on exploring the intertwined relationship of the processes of change (aim b), and the endurance and discontinuity (aim c) of the psychological changes that emerged through participation in collective action. Additionally, the paper uses change in consumer behaviour as a case study to demonstrate the process of endurance in more detail.

The fourth and last paper, *Collective action and the emergence and endurance of psychological change: mediating effects of intragroup interaction*, goes beyond the previous studies by adding a longitudinal quantitative perspective to support (or disconfirm) results from the previous studies. Furthermore, it enables a more thorough and closer examination of the process (aim b) and endurance (aim c) of psychological change as a consequence of participation in collective action.

To be able to address the questions and the aim for this thesis I used three different designs to gather data: systematic literature review, longitudinal panel study, and a three-wave online survey. Before describing each method separately, I will discuss the rationale and the decisions that informed the particular methodological approach used for this thesis.
Methodology

This thesis explores experiences of participation in collective action, and more specifically psychological consequences of such participation. The areas of exploration are: (a) type and range of psychological change, (b) process of change, and (c) the endurance of change through participation in collective action. The main analysis in this thesis, based on the interviews, intended to demonstrate the participants’ construals of themselves, others, and their social world in relation to their participation within the campaign and after.

ESIM defines social identity as a person’s perception of her place within a set of social relations along with the possible and appropriate actions within those relations (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). Therefore, as social relations change so do our social identity, conversely, as our social identity changes so does our perception of our social relations. In order to explore psychological change there is thus a need to understand, and over time examine the social context within which those changes occur. A longitudinally designed study would thereby allow, and be necessary, for the researcher to examine the social relations as they develop over time within and outside of the campaign, for example in the participants’ home- and work life. As previous studies (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003) have been mainly cross-sectional, adopting a longitudinal design would allow this research to resolve and address some previous theoretical issues that arose from that research such as novelty and range of changes and endurance. By default, to be able to measure the changes over time, ‘time’ needed to be a key factor in choosing appropriate method design; hence, collecting data from the same participants over an extended period was a requirement rather than one of many options.
Due to the nature of collective actions it was necessary to adopt a method of collecting data that has the flexibility to account for unintended and unexpected changes, developing social relations, and at the same time explore previously identified concepts and models regarding both types of changes and processes. Using an ethnographic framework, consisting of interviews and researcher participation in the context, allows for data to be collected in vivo, as social relations develop and participants express their changes through both words and actions over time. This approach to data collection had been utilised in previous research with similar aims (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003).

Collecting the data primarily through a survey would produce quantifiable, comparable data from a larger sample of participants. Consequently, the survey could have an advantage over the ethnographic approach in the increased possibility of generalizing the results. Through a survey, different types of changes, attitudes, and conceptualisations could be measured and connected to processes identified in previous research. Hence, correlational accounts could be produced. However, there would be limitations in addressing the processes leading to these changes, and the process of endurance. As noted earlier, the change is related to changes in social relations and the self-concept connected to those social relations (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003). Producing an account of how those changes takes form in terms of behaviours, how those changes are expressed and actualized, would be limited without the possibility to go beyond the response and explore how the participant interprets the current collective action situation and her place within the set of social relations.

To find quantifiable support for suggested methods and theories, a survey can prove to be a good complement to the present thesis to be able to make correlational conclusions and generalize the result to a wider population. Surveys have a lot of value to add (see for example studies by Blackwood & Louis, 2012; McAdam, 1989), and are less time consuming than studies based on an ethnographic approach. To address the aims of exploring the range of types of changes, processes of change and endurance in relation to participants’ self-concepts and social
relations the ethnographic approach offered a larger promise in providing evidence. However, as survey design was considered a good complement to the ethnographic approach to be able to support or disconfirm the results from the main study of this thesis it was decided to utilise a longitudinal online survey, as a form of triangulation (Turner & Turner, 2009).

Studying collective actions and the possible, unintended, psychological consequences and processes of change in such events through a design where the researcher has full control over the data, as in the laboratory experiment, would inevitably be limiting in the nature of the questions that can be asked, and how they are asked (Drury & Reicher, 2000). Reicher (2011) argues that experiments are invaluable in looking at outcomes of different variables and making causal claims of psychological processes. Further, he argues, and this is the main flaw an experimental design would have on the research aims in this thesis, “it [experimental design] is less helpful in looking at the slippery way in which people make, debate, and contest meaning in the world (Reicher, 2011:395). Based on the ESIM, people are active agents in interpreting and reinterpreting their context and deciding on appropriate behaviours in relation to how they interpret the social situation and the social relations within the context. In a design where all possible changes are defined beforehand, there is an obvious risk of excluding changes that may not have been identified in previous research. For example, only one previous study had identified a change in diet (Stuart et al., 2013). This is not to say that methods such as experiments are not valuable to the field, contrary they are crucial in testing results from the field and through manipulations measure effects of changing contexts and relations (for example Becker et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2004).

In sum, previous research has suggested that a longitudinal design is required to examine psychological change as an outcome of participation in collective action, and the conditions under which such change occurs (Drury & Reicher, 2000; Drury et al., 2003). Furthermore, the ethnographical approach where the researcher embeds herself in the collective action context and the participants have been argued to be the most promising approach for such
longitudinal research (Drury & Stott, 2001). The results would then be tested through a quantitatively designed survey. The decisions made in choosing methodological approach in data collection are further discussed in ‘methodological challenges’ under the ‘discussion’ section.

There were also some decisions made on inclusion criteria for the campaign to be studied. First of all, even though collective actions occur frequently, to be the main subject of analysis in this thesis the campaign needed to include an intergroup element, have some promise of a longer occurrence (to be able to collect participants), allow me to study it as a participant researcher, and fit the timeframe for my thesis.

Fortunately, a couple of months after I had started my PhD the Ojnare campaign had reached a culminating point, which included conflict between campaigners and the police, as described above (see ‘context’), and fulfilled all criteria set for inclusion. It was also thought that due to the nature of the issues of the campaign it could be ongoing for enough time for me to introduce myself and my research and sample participants. Finding participants that are willing to give their time and participate is not without problems, and can be a time consuming task, the issues I faced are discussed under ‘methodological challenges’ and in particular ‘keeping the trust’.

Related to the design of the data collection, was decisions made in how to analyse the data and present the results. The analysis of the data from the interviews would not be entirely bottom-up, as specific research questions were formulated guided by previous research and conducted within the framework of ESIM. Neither would it be completely top-down as novel concepts and actions within the data were sought. The method chosen to approach the data had to be able find patterns in the data regarding types of changes, at the same time as allocating meaning to the data to explore processes related to the changes. Additionally, the analysis would require attention to the context and social relations in which the campaign took place. Hence, there was a need for both describing and interpreting the data. The flexibility desired in the analysing tool excluded analytical methods that are primarily interested in generating a new theory grounded in the data, such as
grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Furthermore, using interpretative phenomenological analysis (e.g., Smith & Osborn, 2003), even though seeking patterns in the data, the method is bottom-up. By utilising a discourse analysis, the research question would have addressed the function of the language used by the participants (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Furthermore, approaches such as discourse analysis generally focus on greater detail of utterances, and would therefore not be able to utilise the entire broad data set for this study. For the present thesis, the methodological approach needed to be able to deal with relatively large data set (as the design was longitudinal) and flexible enough to allow for both deductive and inductive analysis. Based on the requirements related to the research aims and the data set, thematic analysis (e.g., Braun & Clarke, 2006) was argued to provide a framework that was able to seek patterns in a large data set and can therefore capture a broad range of conceptualisations and characteristics, have room for both descriptions and interpretations, and not tied to a specific predetermined theoretical position. Hence, using the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM) framework for theoretically driven thematic analysis does not become problematic in terms of theory. Thematic analysis, and how it was used here is described under ‘data analysis’ for the interview study below.

For this thesis, I adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods. One advantage of using a mixed method approach for the data included in this thesis was to be able to account for both the deeper richness of the participants’ experiences and construals of their participation and psychological changes, and to add a quantifiable measure to test the models and results from the qualitative elements. The general purpose of mixed methods is to achieve a greater understanding of the research topic (Cresswell, 2009). The two methods, quantitative and qualitative, have been argued to not be sufficient on their own, but combined limits their individual weaknesses and strengthens the research (Ivankova, Creswell, & Stick, 2006; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). The qualitative measures enables to go beyond the ‘numbers’ and account for the personal meaning of the numbers, to add richness to the numbers (McNamara, Stevenson, & Muldoon, 2013). For
example, I asked participants to grade their involvement in a campaign on a 7-point Likert scale. This gave me data to compare and correlate to what extent the perceived involvement affected other variables such as the endurance of changes. However, the quantitative measure alone could not tell me what that involvement meant to the participants subjectively. By asking the participants to elaborate on what that number meant and contained I was able to identify the intragroup importance of enduring change, as all interview participants related their involvement to interaction with other campaigners. There are of course limitations with using a mixed methods approach, for example, as highlighted by Ivankova and colleagues (2009), it is a very time consuming and resource demanding approach. However, for this study the benefits were considered to outweigh the limitations, such as time consumption.

The initial phase of this thesis consisted of reviewing previous literature (paper 1). Subsequently, in the second phase, based on the results from the literature review and principles of the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM), I designed and conducted a longitudinal panel study (paper 2 and 3). In the final phase, theoretically derived from the ESIM and based on the preliminary results of the interview data I set out to quantify the data by designing a survey study (paper 4). The choices of methods was based on appropriate measures, as described above, for collecting data to be able to explore the aims: (a) type and range of psychological change, (b) process, and (c) endurance (or discontinuity) over time, and are summarized in Table 1.
Table 1: Key features of the included papers/studies

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The three methods: literature review, interviews, and survey are outlined below in said order.

**Systematic Review**

The general aim for the systematic review was to bring together previous research concerning personal changes through participation in collective action, and to structure and organize the findings into a new typology.

**Search procedure**

The search for literature was conducted in two steps. The first step consisted of locating previous literature in the database PsycINFO. The keywords: ‘collective action’ + ‘outcomes’, ‘collective action’ + ‘consequences’, ‘activism’ + ‘outcomes’, ‘activism’ + ‘consequences’, ‘protest’ + ‘outcomes’, ‘protest’ + ‘consequences’, ‘longitudinal’ + ‘collective action’, ‘longitudinal’ + ‘activism’, and ‘longitudinal’ + ‘protest’ were used, and the search was limited to keywords, titles and abstracts. In the second step an examination of the reference lists of the papers found in step one was conducted to include more papers meeting the criterions. In addition to this, an examination of reference lists in review papers concerning...
collective action was made. Papers that were available via the Linköping University Library were included in the dataset.

Analysis
Each paper was read thoroughly and initial notes were made in the margins. The notes were then gathered and compared, and finally classified into common categories. In the final step, the content of the categories was compared both within and between different categories. Consequently, some categories merged and others separated to create new categories.

When the final step was completed, an inter-rater reliability test was conducted with the help of a neutral judge. In the inter-rater reliability test 10 per cent of the papers, randomly selected, were included and agreement was calculated using Cohen’s Kappa (κ= .898).

As a result of the analysis, 57 papers from 1967 to 2015 covering 19 categories of change were included in the typology.

Interview
The aims of the interviews were to explore: (a) the types and the range of psychological changes that occur through participation in collective action, (b) the processes behind these changes, and (c) explore the endurance (or discontinuity) of the changes.

Participants and sampling
The primary inclusion criterions for participants in the present study were that they had turned at least 18 years old at the onset of the participation in the study, and perceived themselves as involved in the collective action taking place in the Ojnare forest in Sweden. The age criteria was set to 18 years of age even though you are allowed to participate in research without legal guardian’s approval from the age of 15 (Act of Ethics; Lag om etikprövning av forskning som avser människor, 2003:460 §18). In Sweden, you become legally responsible for yourself at the age of 18. The rationale for this decision was based on the possibility of participants having engaged, or would engage during the study, in activities of civil disobedience or criminal character that might be
addressed in the interviews. Participants were sampled from the pool of people with some involvement in the Ojnare campaign (ranging from participating by sharing information on Facebook to living in the forest for months). The initial target was to reach a sample of 10 self-defined activists, and 10 locals. This would give a total sample of 20 participants. The number of 20 participants was set with possible attrition in mind (Baker & Edwards, 2012). However, based on earlier contacts, and relationships built, with self-defined activists and locals involved in the campaign, the attrition rate was thought to be low.

The sampling of participants in the present study was initially based on a convenience sample consisting of contacts already made with people involved in the campaign, and subsequently using that sample to include more participants by snowball sampling (Bryman, 2015; Vogt, 2005).

To gain access to the campaign and possible participants, I travelled to the area of the campaign and met with campaigners in the camp to see if there was a willingness to participate in the research. Contacts were established with influential campaigners (i.e., people with good and close connections to the campaign participants) during my first visit to the camp. These campaigners were asked to participate and to suggest other potential participants (i.e., snowball sampling). To establish contact, and good relations with the participants in the campaign, I travelled back down to the Ojnare forest and spent some time with activists and locals in and around the camp. This approach of finding participants showed to be very successful and I ended up with 28 participants, 14 self-defined activists and 14 locals, willing to participate. During the invitation process one campaigner declined participation and one activist withdrew their participation after the first interview. As the withdrawal was in the early stages of the study, and therefore not affecting the outcomes, an additional activist was approached and invited to participate as a replacement. Table 2, below, outlines the demography for the two participant groups: activists and locals.
Table 2: Demography: gender, age, previous participation and occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Previous participation</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Range</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activists</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18-43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locals</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36-78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Gender: F = Female, M = Male. Previous participation: 0 = no, 1 = yes. Occupation: E = Employed, S = Student, R = Retired, U = Unemployed

One aim in the sampling of participants was to get a variety of the degree to which they had been involved in the struggle of the Öjrare forest. The rationale for this was to include participants with less self-changing experiences, thereby enabling the possibility of capturing the change and the process of change as it happens. Including both activists and locals provided different starting-points for change as some (such as experienced activists) had already started to change, or were already changed (e.g., Barr & Drury, 2009; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Drury et al., 2003), which also added the element of being able to comparable data between more and less-experienced participants (paper 3). For the distinction between activists and locals they were given an identification letter and number, for example, L3 equals local number 3 and A14 equals activist number 14. In paper 2, where there was no distinction between the participant groups highlighted, therefore they were identified by a number, 1-28.

Before they agreed to participate, all participants were informed that the study concerned experiences of participation in collective action.

Data collection

Data from the participants was gathered using two strategies: individual semi-structured interviews and a short query email sent out before each interview. The data gathered focused on three primary themes: firstly, categorization of ‘who are we’ (the query email), secondly, personal change (the interview guide), and
thirdly, future participation in collective action (the interview guide).

Query email
Before each interview, the participants were asked to fill out and return a short email with a few questions. The email consisted of a version of Kuhn and McPartland’s (1954) ‘Twenty-statements’ test (TST) that aims to measure the participants’ self concept. Instead of, as Kuhn and McPartland, using the question ‘Who am I?’ I used the question ‘Who are we [the Ojnare campaigners]?’. The procedure was as described by Kuhn and McPartland (1954, p.69) apart from the number of blanks which in the present study was cut down to five rather than Kuhn and McPartland’s twenty blanks. The limitation to only five blanks was made to not make the query email too much of an effort for the participants, and five characteristics of the group seemed enough to get a sense of their identity. In short, the participants were asked to write five answers, a word or a short sentence, to the question ‘who are we’.

To get a conception of the participants’ involvement and commitment to the Ojnare-campaign, the email also addressed the questions ‘I feel strongly for the Ojnare campaign’ and ‘I participate regularly in the Ojnare campaign’ were the participants rated their involvement on a 7-point Likert scale. The query mail was also used alongside the interview guide to form the seven interviews for each participant. For full information about the query email see Appendix 1.

Interviews
Semi-structured interviews were used to get access to participants’ accounts of their experiences of change as a result of participation in collective action (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The first interview was in a face-to-face setting, and the following were primarily conducted by the use of Skype, and in some cases were Skype was not applicable the interview was conducted via telephone. All interviews were audio recorded.

The interviews were conducted once a month for a 6-month period of time, and then followed up 12 months after the last
interview (i.e., 18 moths after the first interview) with each participant. The repeated interviews over time enabled information about the endurance of the changes. Key features of the interviews are outlined in table 3.

Table 3: Key features interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Int. 1</th>
<th>Int. 2</th>
<th>Int. 3</th>
<th>Int. 4</th>
<th>Int. 5</th>
<th>Int. 6</th>
<th>Int. 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>120 min</td>
<td>40 min</td>
<td>40 min</td>
<td>40 min</td>
<td>40 min</td>
<td>60 min</td>
<td>90 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra topics</td>
<td>Back-story</td>
<td>Demo-graphy</td>
<td>Plans for the coming 12 months</td>
<td>Experiences and construals from the past 12 months</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Int. = Interview

The interview agenda was structured around personal change as a consequence of participation in the campaign, focusing on the participants’ accounts of: (a) themselves; (b) their relations to others; (c) actions they participated in; and (d) campaign issues. The interviews started with open ended questions, for example, ‘tell me about your everyday life’, ‘what did your life look like before the campaign?’ and ‘has anything changed during your time in the campaign’ (here: the Ojnare campaign). The interview schedule was designed so the more general initial questions could be followed by more closed and specific questions related to the information given, or not given, by the participants initially in the interviews. These were questions such as ‘what about your consumer behaviour’, ‘what about your social relationships’, and ‘you told me that you are a vegan now, tell me the story of how you became that’. These more specific questions were based on answers given in the first section, and previous research (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000; McAdam, 1989). However, these more
detailed and specific questions were only used a few times, and avoided as long as possible to reduce prompting from the interviewer. There were also more participation and campaign specific questions such as ‘would you participate in other campaigns’, ‘have you participated in other campaign’, ‘what are these campaigns’, and ‘what is the link between these two campaigns’. All initial questions were followed up by ‘why’-questions such as ‘why did it change’, what’s the link’, and ‘what’s A got to do with the campaign’, this aimed to explore how they construed the experience that led to change. For full information of the interview schedule, see appendix 2.

The longitudinal design enabled exploration of the endurance (or discontinuance) of the changes, and what the process behind the sustainability or relapse was. The timing of the last interview was based upon the timeframe for the whole thesis, and not primarily by previous research. Previous longitudinal studies using a follow-up design were conducted up to ten or twenty-five years after participation in collective action (e.g., Boehnke & Wong, 2011; Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; McAdam, 1989). The rationale for choosing a period of one year before the follow-up interview (18 months after the first interview) was to get as much time, allowed by the timescale for the thesis, as possible between the first and the last interview to explore the endurance of change. In sum, 196 interviews with the participants were conducted.

Additional data
To be able to triangulate the data from the interviews with the participants, and further confirm (or disconfirm) some of the changes, I interviewed a family member or a close friend appointed by each participant, and collected information from local shops regarding fluctuations in their sales.

Witness accounts
The interview with a family member or close friend was conducted once, most of them within the first five months of the research project. With this additional interview, I intended to explore if other people noticed the psychological changes. The family
member or close friend was chosen by the main participant (activist or local) and then approached by the participant or me. The rationale for choosing someone close to the participants was that they were assumed able to pick up on changes concerning the participant, accounting for type, process, and endurance. This interview schedule was more open than the others and was based around three questions: firstly, ‘can you tell me a bit about X’s life?'; secondly, ‘can you tell me a bit about X’s life before the campaign?'; and thirdly, ‘have you noticed any change in x since he/she became involved in the Ojnare-campaign?”. Informed consent was obtained from the significant others, and the interviews ranged from 20-90 minutes.

Behavioural data
This additional data collection was specifically designed for this thesis to explore change concerning consumer behaviour over time among the campaign participants in general. For example, I hypothesised that an increase in sales of locally produced, organic, fairtrade, vegan, and vegetarian groceries, or a decrease in meat sales, could indicate that there had been a change in consumer behaviour and attitudes as a result of increased involvement and/or awareness of the issues in the environmental campaign within the locals living in the area. I collected this data by approaching the shop managers, asking them about their sales, and were possible obtaining a printed transcript or having a look and making notes of their sales numbers for different months. Two local supermarkets and one greengrocer on North of Gotland, in close proximity to the protest area were approached. One supermarket did not want to give out their sales records. The data consisted of information about the increase/decrease of products such as meat, organically and fairtrade produced food and products (e.g., shampoo), and ranged from one month before the ‘police week’ to eight months after.
**Data analysis**

The data collected was analysed qualitatively using thematic analysis as described and suggested by Attride-Stirling (2001) and by Braun and Clarke (2006).

To prepare for the analysis of the data the interviews were transcribed verbatim to assure that no data, that might be of importance in the participants’ accounts of sense making, was excluded.

The process of analysis can be described in five steps (Braun & Clarke, 2006): (1) getting to know the text by reading through it repeated times and writing down initial thoughts, (2) identifying initial codes in the essence in the text, the importance in peoples’ experiences, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing and organizing the themes, and (5) defining the themes and labelling them.

The analysis of the data followed the suggested steps above by initially reading the transcripts several times to get a holistic sense of the material. This “getting-to-know” phase was already started before the first step in the analysis as I transcribed all interviews verbatim. Notes were written in the left margins of the transcripts. When a sense of the holistic picture was achieved, the initial codes from the left margins were transformed into themes capturing the essence of the psychological concepts. For example, one participant talked about how the police had behaved inappropriately, and another talked about only shopping organically and ethically produced shampoo, these were highlighted in the left margins of the transcripts in step 1. In step 2, an initial coding process was conducted. The initial codes were then examined again for their fit in the data corpus. To continue using the examples from step 1, the highlighted passage in the transcript was coded as ‘unjust treatment’, and ‘shopping’ in the right margins of the transcript. In the third step, the preliminary codes were organized in clusters of themes by making connections between them. The preliminary codes found in step 2, ‘unjust treatment’ and ‘shopping’, were included with other codes (such as ‘police incompetence’, and ‘change of diet’) under the themes labelled ‘(ill)legitimacy’ and ‘consumer behaviour’. Lastly, the final superordinate themes were collected and organized in a summary table. Assuring that the analysis process was possible for
the researcher (or others) to trace back, the excerpts from the transcripts gathered under themes had identifying information attached.

To add to the reliability, I gave the initial themes constructed through the analysis to a second coder (a PhD-colleague) to test if they were robust by coding a sample of the interviews using the initial coding scheme. In addition to this, 10% of the data was subject to an inter-rater reliability test with a neutral judge, testing the 12 initial coded types of change in the coding scheme, using Cohen’s Kappa ($\kappa = .86$). The test resulted in merging two codes: self-esteem and self-confidence.

**Survey**

The longitudinal survey (paper 4) goes beyond the previous papers in this thesis by adding a quantitative longitudinal perspective, which enables a closer, quantifiable, insight in the process of change and the endurance of the changes. Paper 4 reports findings of quantitatively testing the mediation models suggested in papers 2 (emergence) and 3 (endurance) through a three-wave online questionnaire, similar to the design of Louis and colleagues (study 2: 2016). The study was conducted in Swedish (i.e., the questionnaire was in Swedish). Hence, all items used in the survey were translated to Swedish by the researcher to fit the intended population. The items (described below) were based on results from the interview study, previous research, and theoretically derived from ESIM (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000).

**Participants and sampling**

The primary inclusion criterion was to have participated in at least one collective action, with a police presence, at Time 1. Additionally, the participants were asked to confirm that they were at least 16 years old (for age requirements see the Act of Ethics, 2003:460 §18), and consented to participation in the study with the information that they could withdraw their participation at any time. For this study, the age criteria was set to 16 years as the data was less detailed than in the interviews (age criteria was 18). The participants in this sample were only identified by the email
address they supplied to be identified by (to receive the Time 2 and Time 3 questionnaire link). The descriptive demographics of the participants in the survey can be seen in Table 4 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Range</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>17-56</td>
<td>24.37</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19-41</td>
<td>26.02</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tot.</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>17-56</td>
<td>24.37</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Type of collective action: E = Environmental, AR = Anti-racist, A = Animal rights, SI = Social inequality. Occupation: E = Employed, S = Student, U = Unemployed

Procedure

Data was gathered using a three-wave designed online questionnaire. Each wave was open for two weeks, with two months between the waves, with Time 1 questionnaire opened on 1st July 2016. To be able to distribute the questionnaire link for Time 2 and Time 3 the participants were asked to include an email address. The email address was further used to identify the participants over time to be able to connect the three waves to the correct participant. In the closing of the survey, each participant was assigned an identity code instead of the email address.

To recruit participants I used snowball sampling based on existing contacts with organizations and the ‘activist community’, giving short information about the study and a link to access the web-questionnaire. Contacts already established within several organizations, facilitated permission to use activist groups’ and organizations’ emailing lists to distribute information about the study and the link to the questionnaire. The total number of participants completing all three waves was 114 (Time1 n=197, Time2 n=163), with the response rate between Time 1 and Time 2 163/197, or 83% (i.e., 27% attrition), and between Time 2 and Time 3 114/163, or 70% (i.e., 30% attrition). The retention rate between Time 1 and Time 3 was 114/197, or 53% (overall attrition 47%). There were no significant differences in demographic
measures between the dropouts and the participants that completed all three waves.

Measures

The measures used in this questionnaire were theoretically based on the principles of the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM: Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998), previous research, and the initial results from the interview study (paper 2 and 3). Furthermore, the questionnaire contained more measures than included in paper 4 and described in this thesis. For the full questionnaire, see Appendix 3.

All measures outlined below were included in all three waves and assessed on a Likert scale from 1, strongly agree, to 7, strongly disagree. To test the reliability of items merged into one variable Cronbach’s alpha was calculated for each wave, the reported $\alpha$-values for each variable reflects the waves the variable is included in, following the suggested models of emergence and endurance.

Dependent variables

The empowerment measure was adapted to fit the present context and the personal dimension from items used in previous literature (e.g., Drury & Reicher 2000, 2005; Evripidou & Drury, 2013). Empowerment has been demonstrated to shift along the lines of social identity, through a shift in perceived power relations during collective actions where the police are seen as acting unjust and illegitimate towards collective action participants (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005). The empowerment that emerged through participation in collective action was also demonstrated to endure beyond the immediate struggle (Drury & Reicher, 2005). The three-item scale (I am able to act in a struggle, I can affect the debate, and I can affect the future) aimed to capture the personal dimension change in empowerment ($\alpha = .99_{T1}, .99_{T3}$).

---

5 Importance of event and campaign, legitimate ingroup behaviour, identity boundaries, identity content, joy, perceived support, personality/BFI, personal habits
The measure of social identification was adapted from the single-item measurement developed by Postmes, Haslam, and Jans (2013) and used to measure identification with other activists (I identify with activists). As social identity is defined in terms of our perceived position within a set of social relations (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000), if the social relations change during the event or after, the social identity is expected to change accordingly.

To explore if the participants perceived themselves as radical we used the item ‘I am radical’. The item was based on results from the interview study (paper 2 and 3), and theoretically derived from principles of ESIM. Participants have been shown to become more oppositional towards the outgroup and the government/state in general after participating in collective action with conflictual intergroup interaction (Drury & Reicher, 2000).

The items used to measure the participants’ confidence were developed for this study specifically from results from the interview study. However, previous research has identified an increase in confidence as an outcome of participation in collective action (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2005). Confidence was measured on a three-item scale (’I feel confident in saying my opinion in personal settings’, ‘I feel confident saying my opinion in public settings’, ‘I feel confident giving talks in public’, $\alpha = .83_{T1}$, $\alpha = .85_{T3}$).

**Independent variable**

A two-item scale with one positive item (I was surprised by the way the police behaved) and one reversed-score item (During the event the police behaved in a way I expected) assessed the activists’ perception of the police interaction ($\alpha = .99_{T1}$). The two-item scale was theoretically derived from principles of the ESIM (Drury & Reicher, 2000; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998) regarding the contradiction element of intergroup interaction, that is, a contradiction in expected outgroup behaviour and experienced outgroup behaviour.

**Mediators**

Intragroup communication, the mediator for the emergence model, was measured on a five-item scale of communication at the event,
and was developed based on the intragroup dimension of ESIM (Drury & Reicher, 2000) and results from previous research (e.g., Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Kiecolt, 2000; Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Steklenburg, 2008; McAdam, 1989; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). Intragroup communication was assessed on a five-item scale (*People shared information within the group*, *People in the group talked to each other*, *Other people in the group talked to me*, *I talked to other people in the group*, and *People communicated within the group*) ($\alpha = .99_{T1}$).

To measure the participants closeness and amount of activist relationships, the mediator for the endurance model, participants were asked to rate to what extent they spent their leisure time with other activists (‘*I spend most of my leisure time with other activists [participants in collective action]*’), and to rate to what extent their closest friends are part of the activist community (‘*My closest friends are in the same activist/collective action group*’). Along with these two items were two reversed-score items (‘*I spend most of my leisure time with people outside the activists [participants in collective action] group*’, ‘*My closest friends are outside the activist/collective action group*’) ($\alpha = .97_{T1}, .96_{T2}$). ESIM highlights the importance of endurance in social relationships for the endurance of psychological changes (related to the social identity) (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2005). Furthermore, the size of social network has been demonstrated to affect the likelihood of sustaining collective action commitment and generalizing the identity (e.g., Louis et al., 2016).

Before distribution, the questionnaires were tested on five non-participating (in the survey) people within the Swedish activist community, to ensure that the wording was appropriate and understandable. No changes were suggested. The items used in paper 4 (intergroup interaction, intragroup interaction, intragroup relationships, empowerment, identification, radical, confidence) were intended to quantify the suggested mediation models from the interview study (paper 2 and 3) outlined in Figure 2.
To explore the proposed models of emergence and endurance of psychological change I conducted regression analyses. More specifically, I used model 4 for simple mediation in the macro PROCESS for SPSS (see Hayes, 2013). The resamples in the bootstrapping was set to 10,000 and confidence intervals were bias corrected (Hayes, 2013; Preacher & Hayes, 2004). There were no missing values.

**Ethical Limitations and Considerations**

Both empirical studies, interview (Dnr 2013/49-31) and survey (Dnr 2014/36-31), were approved by the Regional Ethical Review Board at Linköping University in accordance with the Ethics Act 2003:460.

The participants’ well-being and right to confidentiality were of great importance throughout the project, in accordance with the ethical guidelines provided by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) and the American Psychological Association (2013). Signed consent was obtained from all participants at the first time of participation. In the initial interview and questionnaire, the participants received a written informed consent form and were asked to read it carefully and sign it if they approved participation. In the survey, consent was obtained through the participants ticking a box at the end of the introduction page to allow the survey to open.
The informed consent form, following the ethical guidelines, also included information that the participation was based on them freely giving fully informed consent to participate and that they could at any time withdraw from the research without giving a reason why. In the case of withdrawal, the data from the particular participant would be returned to them or deleted if requested according to the participants’ wishes. In interview 2 – 7, verbal consent was obtained and audio recorded, and in the subsequent questionnaires (wave 2 and 3) the participants were again asked to tick a consent box.

All participants were anonymous to others, apart from the significant others chosen by the participants, than the researcher throughout the studies. The interview participants were identified with alias such as 11 (paper 2) or A1 (paper 3), and the code list for the aliases was only known to the researcher and was stored separately from the data. Even though the researcher took great lengths in keeping the participants’ anonymity and confidentiality as a priority, through quotes in the published results of the interview study, other people involved in the particular action may be able to identify them. This is a common issue in behavioural science when using quotes to validate the results. However, I made sure to make the participants aware of the issue with not being able to guarantee total anonymity due to the possibility of identification through quotes used from the interviews.

There were also ethical considerations specifically for the campaign in question, as I would spend time with the participants outside the campaign, in their homes and everyday life. Furthermore, by me spending time with the participants it became visible to others that we were interacting. Throughout my time within the campaign, I interacted with a lot more people than the 28 participants included in the study. However, me interacting with the participants in different contexts made the anonymity guarantee very vulnerable. This was an issue that could not be overcome without extracting myself from the campaign and collecting data as an external observer. These issues are reflected upon and discussed further in the section ‘methodological challenges’.

In the survey, no personal information (such as social security number or name) was gathered. Due to ethical
considerations regarding anonymity, the email address used for disseminating the Time 2 and Time 3 questionnaire (paper 4) was changed to a participant specific identity number for each participant and the email addresses subsequently deleted.

Data from the interviews, in its initial form, consisted of audio files, these audio files were stored on a USB memory stick in a strongbox to which only the researcher has the key. The transcripts of the audio files are stored following the same procedure as the audio files. The data files from the survey were stored on the researcher’s password protected computer after being collected.

One apparent issue concerning web-questionnaires is the possibility for the researcher to ensure that the participants are a certain age, in this case 16 (or above) years old. As no social security numbers were collected, the study relies on participants’ honesty concerning age.

Further, the researcher will not use the results from these studies for anything else than research.

The evaluation is that the benefits in knowledge generated by this thesis will exceed the risks of possible identification involved in the reporting of the study. The knowledge from the studies is presented in four papers summarized in the next section.
The Studies: Summary of the findings

This section provides a short summary, an overview of the main results from the papers included in this thesis.

**Paper 1: The biographical consequences of protest and activism: a systematic review and a new typology.**


The literature study aimed to explore the types of psychological change through participation in collective action that had been identified in previous research to create a typology of change. The typology includes 57 papers from 1967 to 2015 describing 19 categories of different types of psychological change that can occur through participation in collective action. The 19 categories of change can be organized under two main themes: ‘objective’ changes measurable by an observer (marital status, children, relationship ties, work-life/career, extended involvement, and consumer behaviour), and ‘subjective’ self-reported changes (identity, empowerment, legitimacy, radicalization/politicization, sustained commitment, self-esteem, general well-being, ‘traits’, self-confidence, religion, organizing, knowledge and home skills). In addition to the results addressing the types of psychological and behavioural changes three key issues in previous literature arose: study design, process, and transferability. For example, only 21 of the studies mentioned in previous literature had some elements of longitudinal design, and they were predominantly cross-sectional.
rather than panel studies. Furthermore, only six of the studies in the review contained some pre-participation measurements, hence most research relies on post-participation data. Moreover, most studies of psychological change and collective action address the change without offering a theoretical explanation, only 19 of the 57 papers addressed or touched upon process of psychological change. Finally, many of the studies were based on activists from the 1960s, when society was different regarding dimensions such as the women’s’ place, consequently, some of the changes such as family status could be specific to that specific time in history.

Based on this review (paper 1), some future directions for research were identified: need to focus on all possible types of changes in one protest, process of change, and the endurance (or discontinuance) of the psychological changes.

Paper 2: How participation in collective action changes relationships, behaviours, and beliefs: An interview study of the role of inter- and intragroup processes.

(Revision submitted)

This study, building upon the identified research gaps highlighted in the literature review (paper 1), intended to explore all types of possible psychological changes in one collective action campaign, and the processes leading to those changes. Data was collected through a longitudinal panel study where 28 participants were interviewed, and the data was analysed thematically.

In the data, 11 changes were identified, organized as changes in how they see themselves (subjective); (ill)legitimacy of action, radicalization, empowerment, self-esteem/confidence, well-being, skills, knowledge, and changes in what they say they do (objective); personal relationships, work-life/career, extended involvement, and consumer behaviour. Each participant reported between 4 and 11 changes linked to their involvement in the campaign.

The participants in the sample reported two interrelated processes associate with psychological change: intergroup
interaction (conflict with the police) and intragroup interaction (communication within and support from the ingroup). The conflictual intergroup interaction with the police during the ‘police week’ was of profound significance in accounting for the process of change. Additionally, participants linked some of the psychological changes to perceived intragroup support, discussions, sense of unity and shared togetherness. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that the two processes interrelate, with intergroup interaction as the foundation for increased intragroup interaction, which made the participants more susceptible to intragroup arguments and values. Consequently, the results suggest that the conflictual intergroup interaction conditions the intragroup interaction, and thereby affecting psychological changes such as relationships. The paper suggests a model of the process of psychological change through participation in collective action where intragroup interaction mediate the effect of intergroup interaction on psychological change.

Paper 3: How collective action produces psychological change and how that change endures over time: a case study of an environmental campaign.

Having explored the range of psychological changes (paper 1 and 2) and offered a tentative theoretical explanation for the emergence of the various changes (paper 2), this part of the thesis explored the endurance (or discontinuance) of the psychological changes. Following paper 2, this study examined how the two forms of interaction (intergroup and intragroup) interrelated over time to explore the endurance (or discontinuance).

It was found that that all the identified changes (paper 2) endured to various lengths for various participants in the sample. Addressing explanations of the endurance of the psychological changes, participants in the sample specifically talked about the intragroup relations, as an effect of the conflictual intergroup interaction.
interaction, as the mechanism that kept them ‘being the new person’ they had become through their participation in the collective action. The conflictual relation with the police (intergroup), the perceived contradiction between expected police behaviour and experienced police behaviour, created new identity boundaries that were more inclusive, hence including all the campaigners under one united category which generated within group support and discussion. These new intragroup relations enabled the participants to sustain in their new beliefs and practices and made them more open to arguments as they now identified more with activists.

Paper 3, demonstrates that identification alone is not enough for the psychological changes through participation in collective action to emerge and endure. To sustain the changes there need to be an enduring perceived intragroup interaction.

**Paper 4: Collective action and the emergence and endurance of psychological change: mediating effects of intragroup interaction.**

*(In preparation)*

Paper 4 goes beyond previous studies by adding a quantitative longitudinal perspective on the process of emergence and endurance of psychological change as an outcome of participation in collective action. Based on a longitudinal, three wave, online survey distributed to the Swedish activist community, the models proposed in paper 2 and 3 suggesting that the psychological changes emerge through intergroup interaction, specifically the contradiction between expected outgroup behaviour and experienced outgroup behaviour, and intragroup interaction in the form of communication with other collective action members during the event (paper 2), and are sustained by continued perceived intragroup relationships, in the form of closeness and amount of relationships with other activists, were tested quantitatively (paper 3).

In the sample of participants (*n* = 114) there were 68 females between the age of 17 and 56 (*M* = 24.37), and 46 males between
the age of 19 and 41 ($M = 26.02$) that all, to various degree, had participated in collective action. Statistical analysis using simple mediation was performed using the macro PROCESS for SPSS. The dependent variables empowerment, identification with other activists, radicalization, and confidence, along with the independent variable intergroup interaction (informed by contradiction between expected outgroup behaviour and experiences outgroup behaviour), and the mediators intragroup interaction in the form of communication during the event (emergence) and intragroup relations in the form of closeness and amount of relationships with other activists (endurance) were included and measured for all three waves.

The results from the study support the proposed models. For the emergence of psychological change, the model was significant for all outcome variables (empowerment, radicalization, confidence) apart from identification. That is, the intergroup interaction was associated with psychological change via intragroup interaction (communication), demonstrating a significant positive indirect effect of intergroup interaction on psychological change via intragroup interaction.

Furthermore, exploring the process of endurance, the model proposed suggesting that psychological change is more likely to endure when mediated by intragroup relationships was significant for all the psychological changes (empowerment, identification, radicalization, confidence). More specifically, the mediation model of endurance supported the suggestion that the relationship between intergroup interaction (contradiction) and the psychological change was affected by intragroup relations.

The results from the survey, supports, and extends the results from the previous papers (2 and 3) by quantifying the models proposing that intragroup dimensions mediate the effects of intergroup dynamics on emergence and endurance of psychological change.

I have now, reviewed the literature, described the methods and results from this thesis. In the next section, I will discuss all of the above.
Discussion

Previous studies of psychological consequences of participation, or studies that to some extent deal with psychological consequences in collective action participation have mainly addressed one change at a time, often without offering a theoretical explanation, and rarely with a longitudinal design. In this thesis, I have explored psychological changes that sometimes occur in and through participation in collective action. I have documented and analysed: (a) the range and types of psychological changes (paper 1 and 2), (b) the processes of emergence (paper 2, 3, and 4), and (c) the endurance of psychological change through participation in collective action (paper 3 and 4).

The life changing experience of participation in collective action

Previous research has demonstrated that participation in collective action can lead to various types of psychological changes for the participants (for a review see paper 1). One advantage in this thesis (paper 2), compared to previous research, such as Klandermans and colleagues (2008) and Cable (1992) who mainly addressed one or a few changes at the time, is that I had the opportunity to explore all possible changes in one campaign.

The Ojnare campaigners, in the struggle to save a piece of forest on one of Sweden’s largest islands, reported 11 types of psychological changes in how they see themselves (subjective) and in what they do (objective), connected to different elements of their involvement in the campaign (paper 2). Similar to protesters in previous research (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000), the campaigners in the Ojnare campaign came to see the police action as illegitimate when the police officers acted against the campaigners by for
example evicting them from the forest area. Relatedly, through their involvement in the campaign, participants expressed an increased willingness in being in, and acting upon, opposition to society in new ‘activist’ ways. This emergence, or increase in radicalization/politicization has been demonstrated in numerous studies previously in contexts such as: the Kent State sit-in (Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Lewis & Adamek, 1974), 1960s student movement (Fendrich & Smith, 1990; Flacks, 1960; Marwell et al., 1987), and animal welfare activism (Thomas et al., 2014). In addition to the changes in beliefs and feelings about the outgroup (the police) the Ojnare campaigners reported an increase in their belief of what they could achieve, in line with previous studies of empowerment through participation in collective action (e.g., Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Drury & Reicher, 1999). Similarly, the Ojnare campaigners also increased in positive feelings about themselves, for example daring to stand up for themselves in situations outside of the campaign. The increase in self-confidence/self-esteem has been noted in previous studies of the environmental protest context (Cable, 1992) as well as in other types protest contexts such as the Gay-Straight Alliance (MacGillivray, 2005). Some of the Ojnare campaigners reported an increase in their general well-being, such as feeling stronger both mentally and physically, similar to previous research (e.g., Boehnke & Wong, 2011).

In addition to these five internal, subjective personal changes, participants in the Ojnare campaign also reported six psychological changes that were of a more objective, behavioural nature. In line with previous studies (e.g., Shriver et al., 2003), the campaigners learned new skills such as how to navigate in the judicial system and how to organize meetings. Relatedly, they also obtained new knowledge, for example how different materials work, and about social life in general. Obtaining new knowledge through participation in collective action has previously been demonstrated by Klandermans and colleagues (2008) regarding immigrants, and in the tenant movement by Lawson and Barton (1980). One change that the campaigners perceived as both good and bad was regarding relationships. Similar to Drury and colleagues (2003) the Ojnare campaigners made new friendships with people from other areas,
different age groups, different social class, and different political orientation etcetera. This was especially apparent in the relationships between the vegans and the meat-farmers, who in another context may, and most likely would, have been on different sides fighting each other. However, the possible stress and tension of participation can affect existing relationships negatively (Cherniss, 1972), leading to the break down of old relationships (Shriver et al., 2003), which some of the participants in the Ojnare campaign experienced through for example distancing themselves from relatives and long-time friends as a result of being part of the campaign. There were also reports of Ojnare participants that changed their career as a result of their involvement in the campaign, similar to the activists in the 1960s civil rights movement (e.g., Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). Furthermore, the Ojnare campaigners came to extend their involvement into other campaigns that were perceived as fighting for the same core issues such as human rights, leading to a global involvement. For example, a few of the activists from the Ojnare forest travelled up north in Sweden to Kallak, and joined anti-mining campaigners, to further their struggle to save the environment. The extension of a local campaign into a global campaign has also been noted by Drury and colleagues (2003) who activists in the No M11 Link Road campaign transformed from perceiving themselves as ‘local’ activists to becoming part of a global movement. The last of the 11 psychological changes that was reported by the participants in the Ojnare campaign relates to a change in consumer behaviour and attitudes about consumption. Several participants changed their diet to a meat-free diet, and others changed their use of plastics, cars, and other products that could impact the environment. The change in consumer behaviour and attitudes have not received much attention in the academic literature regarding collective action, only one previous study reported this type of change. Stuart and colleagues (2013) demonstrated how activists in the anti-whaling organization the Sea Shepard Conservation movement changed their diet by reducing or excluding meat.

Compared to previous studies, there were some psychological changes that the participants in the Ojnare campaign did not
address in the interviews. For example, Sherkat (1998) and Sherkat
and Blocker (1997) found that subsequent to participation in the
student and anti-war movement, activists held less traditional, and
were less committed to their religious orientations. None, of the
Ojnare activists talked about religion in any other sense than a
couple touching upon mysticism, becoming more spiritual and ‘one
with nature’. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that activists,
compared to non-activists, were more likely to stay single (e.g.,
McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981), marry later (e.g., McAdam, 1989;
Sherkat & Blocker, 1997), more likely to be divorced 10 years after
participation (McAdam, 1989), less likely to have children after
participation (e.g., Fendrich, 1974), have fewer children (Franz &
McClelland, 1994), and have children later in life (Dunham &
Bengtson, 1994). This difference between previous studies and the
interviews with the Ojnare campaigners could be due to historical
and cultural dimensions. The previous studies noting these results
were all based on participants involved in campaigns during the
1960s when the society was different from today regarding
women’s place in society and the perspective on the nuclear family.
Relatedly, some studies found culturally specific changes such as
taking on ‘male tasks’ (Shriver et al., 2003). For example, in
Sweden where society is mainly individualistic and the gender
equality is relatively high, tasks such as paying bills is seen as
neither male or female.

In sum, participation in collective action may lead to various
types of psychological changes. Furthermore, all of the
psychological changes that the participants in the Ojnare campaign
reported stayed with the participants to various extent after the
direct action in the forest had ended. Additionally, all the
participants connected these changes to their participation in the
Ojnare campaign through a transformation in their self-
categorization due to a shift in the intragroup relationships as a
consequence of the intergroup interaction with the police.
One person’s mob is another’s democracy -
The police as a catalyst

In line with previous studies (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury, Reicher & Stott, 2003; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998), there was in the data for this thesis a connection between conflictual intergroup interaction and the emergence of several of the psychological changes (paper 2, 3 and 4).

The participants in my sample from the Ojnare campaign all connected changes (e.g., becoming oppositional) to the conflictual interaction with the police. The Ojnare campaigners were before the ‘police week’ divided into different groups and organizations, with little or no interaction between them, just as the protesters in the No M11 Link Road campaign (Drury & Reicher, 2000). The, mainly young, activists that travelled to the island stayed in the camp in the forest, while the locals had their own actions in and outside of the forest. Some of the locals were even reluctant to drive their cars to the camp, and felt suspicious and cautious about the activists that had come to occupy the forest. However, when the police presence increased, so did the interaction between the campaigners, hence transforming the self-concept to a more inclusive shared activist identity – ‘Ojnare fighters’ – in opposition to the police.

The impact of the conflictual intergroup interaction with the police, the ‘police week’, that led to the Ojnare campaigners transformations followed patterns that can be found in previous research, specifically described in ESIM (Drury & Reicher 2000, 2009; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher 1998). First, the perceived unjust eviction of the campaigners (by the police) from the deforestation area, along with the actions surrounding the removal and treatment of the campaigners, was perceived (by the campaigners) as unjust and a violation of their human rights. By acting in contradiction to, and in violation of, the campaigners’ beliefs, the police action, and the police as a whole, came to be seen as illegitimate and the campaigners as a united group in opposition to the police. For example, one of the Ojnare campaigners described the shift in legitimacy as a result of the ‘police week’, ‘this changed when they [police] behaved totally
inappropriate’ and continued with ‘they just did things I never thought they would do, completely the opposite to what I thought’ (A2). This quote also highlights the contradiction between expected behaviour and experienced behaviour. Secondly, following ESIM, the Ojnare campaigners viewed the police behaviour as indiscriminate, treating everyone the same, ‘the police treated everyone like terrorists, they [police] even carried away 80-year-old women like they were some really bad threat to society or something’ (A3). The perceived indiscriminate behaviour, in turn, led to transformations in within-group boundaries making the group boundaries more inclusive and unifying the campaigners as a group, creating more supportive within-group relationships. The new perception of the police, as illegitimate and indiscriminate, transformed campaigners towards a more ‘activist’ identity in opposition to the police, more ready to categorize themselves and others in an ‘activist’ way (cf. Drury & Reicher, 2000; Drury et al., 2003). Furthermore, the change in the campaigners attitudes, linked by the participants to many of the psychological changes, was brought about through the repositioning of the self through the categorization of the relationship in terms of injustice.

However, the intergroup interaction was not the only process that the Ojnare campaigners connected to their psychological changes, the conflictual exchange with the police transformed the participants in a way that made them more open to ‘activist’ arguments and relationships with all groups fighting to save the forest.

The supportive within-group relationships (as a sustainer)

The second process connected by the participants to their psychological changes (paper 2, 3, and 4), also acknowledged in previous research (e.g., Hirsch, 1990; Klandermans, 1997; Klar & Kasser, 2009; McAdam, 1989; Shriver et al., 2003; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013) was the intragroup interaction and relationships. The Ojnare campaigners, just as the labour activists in the study by Van Dyke and Dixon (2013), talked about group activities and discussion as something that transformed them and brought about
psychological change, in for example well-being ‘I think I just feel better in general after being with the others [campaigners]’ (L8). In line with previous research (e.g., Hirsch, 1990), the Ojnare campaigners spent a lot of time in the camp interacting with the other campaigners, sharing stories, experiences and future plans which transformed them and united them around a shared identity. The intragroup interaction may be seen as a result in itself of the conflictual intergroup interaction. The transformation, through the conflictual police interaction, led to the campaigners becoming more opposition and further transformed the group boundaries. This in turn changed the intragroup relations to become more supportive ‘we were all fighting on the same side and really felt supported from each other the power was just like overwhelming’ (L6), in line with previous research (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2005; Shriver et al., 2003).

Previous research (Thomas et al., 2009) has demonstrated that psychological changes through participation in collective action are sustained through the emergence of a new, shared identity. The participants in the studies in this thesis (paper 3 and 4, and to some extent paper 2) support the claim that the identity, through strengthened intragroup relationships, facilitates the endurance of psychological changes. However, as I have demonstrated (paper 3 and 4), through the longitudinal design, a shared identity may not be sufficient to sustain the psychological changes. To aid the endurance of the changes there needs to be an ongoing, perceived, intragroup interaction.

The intertwined intergroup and intragroup interaction: change, process, and endurance

In this thesis I propose that through conflictual relationship with the police (cf. Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury, Reicher & Stott, 2003; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher, 1998), and supportive relationships with the other campaigners (cf. Hirsch, 1990; Louis et al., 2016; McAdam, 1989; Shriver et al., 2003; Thomas et al., 2014; Thomas & McGarty,
2009; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013), the participants changed in various ways.

The results from the studies (paper 3 and 4) add to the existing literature by through a longitudinal design exploring the process of sustained psychological change. In line with Thomas and colleagues (2009), I have demonstrated that to sustain the psychological changes that emerged through participation in collective action there needs to be a within-group dimension. Thomas and colleagues (2009), demonstrated how psychological change, commitment, was sustained through the creation of a shared identity with a system of meaning, that is, norms for emotion, efficacy and action. This thesis (paper 3 and 4), further that research by adding an exploration of the process of endurance regarding all possible changes. Through the studies included in this thesis, I propose a model of emergence and a model of endurance of psychological change through participation in collective action (see Figure 2), extending previous models of change (e.g., Becker & Tausch, 2015; Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Thomas et al., 2009; van Zomeren et al., 2012) by demonstrating the importance of the interrelation between inter- and intragroup interaction, and extending the ESIM (Drury et al., 2003; Drury & Reicher 2000, 2009; Reicher, 1996; Stott & Reicher 1998) by adding a longitudinal dimension.

Through interviews with campaigners from the Ojnare campaign (paper 2 and 3), and a survey of Swedish activists (paper 4) I have demonstrated that intragroup interaction influences the effect of intergroup dynamics on the endurance of the psychological changes.

The proposed model can be exemplified through the events in the Ojnare forest (see ‘the context’ section for details). First, the contradiction between expected police action and behaviour such as being ‘upright’, ‘doing what’s right’ and being on the ‘right’ side, and the experienced police action and behaviour, treating everyone indiscriminately (like ‘terrorists’) and hindering the campaigners, by evicting them from the area, from defending the forest against the deforestation and the quarry company, led to the campaigners transforming their view of the police. The police was now seen as an illegitimate category, supressing the campaigners’
rights to fight for the forest, ‘it felt like they [police] were treating me like I was a terrorist while I felt that what I did was just totally right [ ] I thought that they, like they would be on the side that I thought was right’ (A7). Through this new relationship with the police the locals and the activists become one group, rather than, as before, a mix of different groups, ‘we didn’t see them [activists] as part of our campaign they had nothing to do with us [ ] after the police came [ ] it felt like we were all just one big group of the same’ (L10). The campaigners now shared an identity in opposition to the police; they were all ‘Ojnare fighters’. However, to maintain this sharedness and the psychological changes through their new categorization as ‘Ojnare fighters’, even after the ‘police week’ was over, there needed to be a perceived ongoing intragroup relationship. This perceived ongoing intragroup relationships maintained the campaigners’ categorization of themselves and their new worldview ‘if it hadn’t been for my 24/7 engagement and all the wonderful friends everyday I don’t think I would have been me, or well I would probably have gone back to being old boring me’ (A2). The importance of maintained within-group relations was also highlighted by participants with discontinuance of their changes referring to feeling ‘disconnected’ by not seeing or being in contact with other campaigners anymore. The participants that sustained in their changes were the participants with strong intragroup relations throughout the time for the data collection.

In short, the conflict with the police, the contradiction between expectancy and experience, created more inclusive identity boundaries - the locals and the activists became the ‘Ojnare fighters’ - which in turn created enhanced ingroup support and discussions. The new ingroup relations helped the campaigners to endure in their beliefs and behaviours and made them more open to ‘activist’ arguments over time.

In theoretical terms, following self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987), if change in self is a function of repositioning through intergroup interaction, the endurance of particular self-categorizations across different contexts is also a function of the perceiver’s new readiness to categorize in that particular way. Hence, perceiver readiness (Turner et al., 1987) seems to be of particular interest for the relationship between collective action and
personal change. Perceiver readiness, which is based on peoples’ memories, knowledge, social identification etcetera, can be conceptualized as peoples’ readiness to use certain categories in different contexts, to understand contexts outside of the immediate collective action in collective action terms, hence accounting for the endurance of psychological change. Enduring psychological change may therefore be said to be a function of perceived enduring change in social relations and the individual’s greater readiness to categorize accordingly (and hence to generalize from the particular categorization). Consequently, someone who becomes an environmental activist may then be ‘readier’ than others to see the world in ‘environmental’ terms.

For example, the Ojnare campaigners, engaged in collective action around environmental issues, who experienced an ‘injustice’ through police action preventing them to express their human rights of ‘free speech’, may take the particular (the events in Ojnare) as an instance of a general (the wider social relations) and therefore be more prone to use ‘injustice’ as a frame in other areas of their lives in the future, hence taking the perceived ‘injustice’ from the collective action across to other contexts.

Perceiver readiness has not received much attention in previous research. However recently it has begun to be examined in personality research from a SCT (self-categorization theory) perspective, linking the personal and social together (e.g., Reynolds, Turner, Branscombe, Mavor, Bizumic, & Subašić, 2010). Thus Reynolds et al. (2012) uses the concept of perceiver readiness to explain some continuity and discontinuity in the self through social processes and social identity rather than fixed personality structures. This would then offer some further theoretical explanation of the endurance of psychological change as a consequence of participating in collective action as the participants have a greater readiness to categorise other areas of their life in collective action terms based on their perceived experience.
Methodological Challenges

The choice of longitudinal design (for both interviews and survey) was based on the conceptual and theoretical suitability for the overall aim of this thesis, to be able to capture the change, the process, and the endurance of the changes.

In understanding the psychological changes that sometimes occur in and through participation of collective action, and the processes that lead to these changes we need to understand how participants construe themselves, their world, and their choices in the world. The social identity approach (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979) treats the subject as an active agent in creating and understanding the world around them, and models such as the ESIM (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000) highlight the dynamic social context, the relation to the intersecting inter- and intragroup processes, in the process of sense making. The participants’ subjective construals therefore formed the basis of this thesis.

One challenge that needs to be addressed concerning subjectivity – objectivity is the choice of population. During the events in the Ojnare forest (and after), the police, the mining company Nordkalk with subcontractors, and a pro-quarry group of locals were all highly involved and visible. These groups, just as the campaigners, could all have been affected by their participation. Including all groups would achieve objectivity in the sense of giving a nuanced all-inclusive account of the events in the Ojnare forest in the late summer of 2012. However, that was not the aim of this thesis. Part of ‘being an activist’ is being in opposition to society (paper 2 and 3). Consequently, by me spending as much time with the police and the mining company as with the campaign participants, I could have been perceived as ‘one of them’ (i.e., in collaboration with the police and mining company) by the campaigners (Drury & Stott, 2001). The categorizations of me, the researcher, as ‘one of them’ could, and most certainly would, result in restricted, or total non-access to the activists (for detailed discussion see ‘keeping the trust’ below). Therefore, for this specific research the choice of subjectivity in choice of population was relatively straightforward. As Reicher and Hopkins (1996) note, research like this cannot be completely objective. However,
as I will show, subjectivity in choice of population and data collection can increase the objectivity in the analysis.

Related to the previous challenge is the effect of the interviewer and the interviews themselves on the participants’ responses. First, as the study had a longitudinal design, there could have been an increased social desirability bias were the participants tried to be as consistent in their responses over time as possible (e.g., King & Bruner, 2000). However, the longitudinal design is argued by others to facilitate productivity and less biased responses due to the relationship built between the participant and interviewer (Franklin, 2008). For example, had I only interviewed the participants once they might not have been as comfortable in responding in a truthful way about their participation. Further, the repeated interviews made it possible to cover areas that in the first interview was only briefly touched upon – this productivity was achieved by listening to previous interview and noting areas that could be elaborated on before each subsequent interview.

Second, an interviewer, at least in the first interview, can be seen as an outsider and therefore the participants could be reluctant to give all information or be defensive in their responses. In an attempt to limit this plausible alternation of the participants’ answers, I spent time with the participants in the campaign before the interview series started. Embedding oneself in the collective action context is important to give the participants a chance to ask questions and to get to know the interviewer and thereby become more comfortable (e.g., Drury & Stott, 2001). The relationship is reciprocal, as being alone in a protest context can be challenging on several levels (for discussion see ‘keeping the trust’ below). In addition, the first interview was made in a physical face-to-face setting, and the participants were offered to choose where they wanted the interview to take place (e.g., Goffman, 1963); most were conducted in the participants’ homes.

Third, there is a limitation in understanding and reporting someone else’s cognitions and conceptualisations through their responses (Franklin, 2008). However, as Drury and Stott (2001) argue, by the researcher being embedded in the campaign and the participants’ everyday life the risk for misunderstanding the responses and reporting inaccurate observations decreases. This in
turn can produce a more objective and accurate account of events and responses in the analysis.

Fourth, due to the researcher’s pre-existing knowledge (e.g., Wolff, 1976) some information might have been perceived as more important to the study and therefore got more attention in the interviews, while other issues brought up by the participants might have been ascribed less attention from the interviewer. However, the researcher’s pre-existing knowledge has been suggested elsewhere to function as a strength rather than a weakness because it increases the researchers understanding of the concepts (Ronald, 2011). Furthermore, the pre-existing knowledge may also function to cover areas that might have been neglected without prior understanding and knowledge. An advantage with a longitudinal design was the possibility to go back to previous interviews to see if there were issues that needed more examination. Therefore, before each interview, previous interview was listened through to capture both what was said and what was not said.

As the design for the questionnaire in the survey study (paper 4) draws directly on the results from previous research and the interviews some of the items may be biased toward a certain type of group, psychological change, and process. For example, it is unlikely that right-wing activists would become vegan to oppose society. However, they may change towards only using nationally produced products. In addition, in sampling participants for the survey already established contacts were used. However, even though some of the changes might differ between different collective actions, the processes behind them are expected to be the same.

As I set out to undertake an ethnographic approach in the interview study and spending an extensive amount of time with the participants, in the camp, in their homes, and outside of the campaign this raised questions about the nature of information I could be given that was not considered data. For example, spending time with participants in their homes made me exposed to private elements beyond the aims and participation in this research. Furthermore, the power relations between me, as the researcher, and them, as participants, could become even more asymmetrical as I knew dimensions of their private lives, beyond their
participation in the study, while they did not have the same information about me. The researcher usually has the power in deciding which truth is most true. Firstly, my interpretations of the participants’ accounts, even though supported by excerpts from the transcripts, will in reporting the study be the most true account of psychological changes and processes of change and endurance. Secondly, to collect data for the study it was crucial that I ‘took sides’ and only interacted with the group that was subject to the study. This in turn, means that the account I report only contains one side of the actual collective action context, hence excluding other groups such as the pro-quarry campaigners and the police. However, this exclusion criterion was a necessity to be able to collect data at all, and especially over time.

To be ethically open about my research I had strived for transparency in who I was and what I was doing in the campaign. On the one side I wanted to conduct the study by being overt; however the overtness in turn created issues with the participants’ anonymity as others could draw conclusions about who was participating in the study. Their participation in the study could become visible to observers both within the campaign and outside of the campaign. I informed the participants about this limitation in anonymity before they started their participation, and then kept the discussion about it going throughout the study. For example, we had conversations about whether or not I should say hello if I met them at an event. I never disclosed any information about who participated or what other participants had said, or discussed issues brought up in the interviews with the participants. However, the participants did on occasion bring topics up that we had discussed in the interview situation, or information about other campaigners and participants (I never followed up on this information).

Keeping the trust – challenges in embedding yourself in protest contexts

Embedding yourself in ethnographic studies of groups over a long period brings about several challenges. When that research lies within a conflictual context it can be even more demanding (e.g., Campbell, 2017; Höglund & Öberg, 2011). However, there is a
fundamental need to build relationships with the groups subject to the study to go beyond the spoken word (e.g., Hammersley, 2006; Whyte, 1993). In his study of street gangs, Whyte (1993) describes how he, through embedding himself in the context with the participants, got access to answers for questions he would not have known to ask if he had relied upon interviews alone. The need for this type of subjectivity and embeddedness has been highlighted in relation to collective action research (e.g., Drury & Stott, 2001; Stott & Drury, 2000; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996). For example, in their study of a protest against the building of the M11 Link Road outside of London, Drury and Reicher (2000) found that, due to the importance for the campaign to keep their planned actions secret, the most suitable way, and only way, to gain data was to get involved in the campaign.

However, there seems to be a lack in concrete accounts of social psychological researchers discussing the challenges, and benefits, of gaining access and trust, and how to maintain that trust more practically. In this section, I discuss the various challenges faced, in the interview study (paper 2 and 3) in gaining access to participants and maintaining relationships and trust in the field.

Gaining access

Gaining access to activist groups can be difficult for several reasons (Johl & Renganathan, 2010). For example, due to their ‘unexpected’ and dynamic nature finding a collective action before it starts can be challenging (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000). Furthermore, some activist groups are of a suspicious nature in general (Blee, 2003; Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Jipson & Litton, 2000; Reicher, 1983; Sanders-McDonagh, 2014), and sometimes with good reason. Activist groups have in the past, and possibly present, been infiltrated by both researchers (e.g., af Kleen, 2017), and police (e.g., Evans, 2017; Spalek, & O’Rawe, 2014) presenting themselves as activists and becoming involved in the activist groups. For example, af Kleen (2017) describes how a student infiltrated an American Nazi group to obtain data. Further, there have been many reports on undercover police officers collecting data for the police (e.g., Evans, 2017; Spalek, & O’Rawe, 2014) by embedding themselves in protest groups.
The ‘unexpected’ and dynamic nature raises several issues for the researcher not least when it comes to ethical approval of the research. The first one, obtaining ethical approval, for a study of an event that you do not know if or how it will happen before it happens, is challenging, if not impossible. Further, in relation to not being able to specify what event and when, the specification of the participants becomes difficult. Similar difficulties with obtaining ethical approval for ethnographic research in ‘unexpected contexts’ has been noted elsewhere (e.g., Roberts, Henderson, Willis, & Muir-Cochrane, 2013).

The very short notice, ‘unexpectancy’, of collective actions could, in addition to ‘a good opportunity’ for protesting presenting itself, have its foundation in a lack of trust. Lack of trust in the researcher, or ‘outsiders’ in general, makes it harder and more time consuming for the researcher to find contacts or gatekeepers within the activist community (Hynes, 2003). The issue with lack of trust could present itself as a major concern as it takes a long time to gain access (e.g., Ronald, 2011). In the specific case for this thesis, my previous research in relation to my first master thesis (Vestergren, 2010), and my own previous engagement in the protest/activist community was crucial in gaining access to the participants, as they validated me as a researcher and as a person. Having shared values or experiences (Taylor, 2011), and/or reputation through previous research (e.g., Feldman, Bell, & Berger, 2003) can facilitate in getting access. This again demonstrates why sometimes subjectivity needs to come before objectivity in ethnographic research (e.g., Drury & Stott, 2001; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996).

In addition to the lack of information of events due to the activists’ lack of trust in the researcher, there may also be instances were it is a crucial need to keep actions secret from outsiders, as noted in regards to student protests (Hirsch, 1990). This need of secrecy regarding actions was also apparent in the Ojnare campaign, especially regarding the action where the Greenpeace activists chained themselves to deforestation machines. Only a couple of the Ojnare campaigners knew about the action in advance to avoid interruption by the police, hence the information given to
the researcher was limited. Once access is gained, the relationship building, and building of trust can start.

Gaining trust

To gain trust and be allowed to obtain longitudinal data from sensitive groups there is a need for a relationship to emerge (e.g., Adamson & Chojenta, 2007; Franklin, 2008; Wasserman & Jeffery, 2007). To build this relationship, I travelled to the campaign area several times and spent time with the campaigners in and outside of the campaign. Giving participants the opportunity to get to ‘know’, and get used to the researcher facilitates the process of gaining trust (Wasserman & Jefferey, 2007). After some time, I was invited to stay in the camp and in the homes of some campaigners living in the area. This acceptance, by the invitation to stay with campaigners and in the camp, may be seen as a verification of trust gained. There are issues with building these close long-term relationships, as it might be hard for the researcher to distance themselves from the participants. For example, Taylor (2011) found that she, in her research of the queer community, marked parts of transcripts as ‘off the record’ (p. 14), and wanted to present participants in a positive way, or not to offend them in the reported research. It is therefore important that the researcher reflects upon the effect and impact of the relationship throughout and reports reflexivity (Gilbert, 1994; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982; Taylor, 2011).

Hammersley (2006) argues that it is not a necessity to share values with the participants to gain data. However, shared values can facilitate the access and gaining of trust. For the data collection for the interview study (paper 2 and 3), the campaigners held core values that were in line with my own, this made the relationship building easier as we had common ground to stand on, and in some sense shared a social identity. Identifying, and having a deeper relationship, facilitates the data collection and enables for more richness (Drury & Stott, 2001), and honest data (Blake, 2007). The trust that is built through these relationships, and a transparency of the research intentions and aims, also helps to create a safe research environment (Blake, 2007). In another campaign were my values might have been in contradiction to the campaign values the
gaining access and trust, and creating a safe research environment might not have been achievable. Relatedly, having your own values in contradiction with the group you are embedded in can potentially be a dangerous situation (Cohen & Arieli, 2011). Furthermore, if the researcher does not gain trust (or lose trust) from the activists and become viewed as an outsider and/or part of the ‘outgroup’ this could potentially end in a dangerous situation were the researcher is out of control of the situation (Nilan, 2003).

It should be noted though that throughout the time with the Ojnare campaign there were no unsafe or threatening situations created by the relationship between the researcher and the campaigners.

**Keeping the trust**

After gaining access and trust, you may as a researcher become vulnerable in your position. This could on the one hand show the participants that you are transparent and come ‘in good faith’, hence, building the relationships and trust further (Blake, 2007; Taylor, 2011). On the other hand, it may expose the researcher to threatening and dangerous situation. The researcher may be seen as an undercover police officer (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983) by the participants, or be assaulted by an outgroup (Whyte, 1993). For example, by ‘becoming’ part of the ingroup, you might be seen as the ‘outgroup’ by other parties such as the police. In his participant observations of the campaign protesting the M11 Link Road, Drury became part of the activist category, and was treated by the police just as any other activist (Drury & Stott, 2001). This meant being forcefully removed by the police from the area they were occupying. There were other groups involved around the Ojnare-campaign: the police and a group of anti-protesters in opposition to the campaign. The police had been in conflict with the campaigners (see the ‘police week’), and anti-protesters attacked the camp on several occasions. These groups could have posed a risk, due to the researcher identifying with and being identified as one of the campaigners.

During the 18 months the study took place, I made five visits to the island, and participated in several events in other places related to the Ojnare campaign. During these events, though
holding full transparency of my research, I was seen by the campaigns as ‘one of them’, and was participating in events and actions as one of the campaigners. Being seen as ‘one of them’ and identifying with the campaigners might have been key in keeping the relationships and the trust, hence also the participation (Hynes, 2003; Ronald, 2011) throughout the entire 18 months of the interview study. Shared identity has in previous research been demonstrated to increase cooperation and helping behaviour (e.g., Drury, Cocking, & Reicher, 2009; Levine & Thompson, 2004; Reicher, Cassidy, Wolpert, Hopkins, & Levine, 2006), and may, and most likely did, affect the participants’ willingness to participate and share information with me.

For this reason, to meet the requirement of longitudinal data collection (Adamson & Chojenta, 2007), one primary strategy I adopted was avoiding contact or interaction with outgroups such as the police, anti-campaign protesters, and the mining company. This strategy may be crucial in maintaining the relationships with the participants.

Furthermore, to get you have to give. One way to maintain participants in a longitudinal study is to give something back (Gilbert, 1994). In an attempt to give back to the participants, I offered to give talks about my research and research field to the groups and organizations involved in the campaign. This also outlined my intentions concerning my research and could potentially have decrease some mistrust that some campaigners may still have. However, giving back is not entirely without issues. Due to ethical issues with keeping the anonymity I offered to give these talks to the two main groups involved in the campaign: Save the Ojnare forest and the Fieldbiologists. By giving the talks to these two general groups, some participants, not connected to these two groups, may have been left without.

Subjectivity, as in this case, can be seen as essential to be able to conduct the data-gathering part of the research and produce an objective analysis (Drury & Stott, 2001; Feldman et al., 2003; Johl & Renganathan, 2010; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996; Stott & Drury, 2000). I have in this section outlined issues I faced in conducting the longitudinal interview study (paper 2 and 3), and the importance and implications of subjectivity. However, the
subjectivity may have further negative implications. Qualitative studies can be hard to publish as the current trend seems to present the world according to numbers (e.g., Kidd, 2002).

Limitations and Quality criteria

The participants in the studies, especially the interview study, had to, through the repeated data gathering, articulate and think about the campaign and themselves in ways they normally would not, which could become problematic in the form of reactive measures. Hence, it could be argued that the mere participation in the study, by continuously talking about the participation and the campaign in the interviews, the participants were facilitated in keeping their ‘Ojnare identity’ alive through intragroup interaction (e.g., Hirsch, 1990; Klandermans, 1997; Klar & Kasser, 2009; McAdam, 1989; Shriver et al., 2003; Thomas et al., 2014; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). It should be noted though that changes endured throughout the 18 months of the interview study and for 12 of those months there were no interviews conducted. Furthermore, the data set contained some variations, such as participants decreasing in level of change, and some participants discontinued in their psychological changes. This indicates that the interview situation, the constant, did not function as an independent variable in producing salience in the identity.

Another limitation that can be found in most collective action research is the lack of pre-participation data (see paper 1 for discussion), and contemporaneous data on the ‘police week’. I was able to collect some contemporaneous data from the ‘police week’ in the form of videos, photos, newspaper articles, and posts on social media that together help form a consensus account of the events in the Ojnare forest. However, even though some posts on social media indicating transformations of power relations such as empowerment, these are very few and I did not have access to, for example, locked accounts. The claims made in this thesis are drawn upon post-hoc data regarding the time before the participants’ involvement and during the ‘police week’, due to the dynamic and ‘unexpected’ nature of collective actions, in turn; this limits the possibility of making causal claims based on the dataset. However,
the data in relation to endurance was collected contemporaneously over 18 months.

Furthermore, the data in the thesis, apart from the limited triangulation in paper 3 (interview with family member or friend, and behavioural data from local shops), draws upon self-reports only, which makes the data vulnerable for participants overstating their changes to ‘help’ the researcher, or to present themselves (and the group) in a favourable, socially desirable, way (Huang, Liao, & Chang, 1998; Johnson, Fendrich, & Mackesy-Amiti, 2012; King & Brunner, 2000). However, with the use of external supplementary data in the form of interviews with significant others and sales figures from local shops in the area it was possible to triangulate the data and support some of the claims.

One major limitation in the survey had to do with the independent measure ‘intergroup interaction’. Firstly, I only measured if there was a contradiction in the participants expected police behaviour and experienced police behaviour. Hence, they could have been positively surprised by the police politeness. Second, according to ESIM (and the suggested models), intergroup interaction is more complex and contains elements of using indiscriminate and illegitimate force against the participants. Therefore, the intergroup interaction is conflictual and contains a contradiction between the campaigners’ expected (i.e., the police protecting the campaigners and their right to protest) police behaviour and experienced (i.e., the campaigners perceiving the police to suppress their rights to protest in a forceful and sometimes violent way) police behaviour. The measure used in the survey does not reflect the conflictual dimension or differentiates between positive or negative contradiction. This measure needs to be developed and more specific in future research.

The conclusions drawn in this thesis are based on a relatively small number of participants, 28 in the interview design and 114 in the survey. Therefore, the arguments made can come under critique regarding the external validity, transferability and generalization, that is, if the results and conclusions we make can be transferred to other groups with other ideologies, goals, etcetera (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). For the results from the studies (paper 2, 3, and 4) in this thesis, issues of external validity, transferability, are apparent
in three main areas: uniqueness of sample, historical and cultural context, and socio-cultural type of collective action. Firstly, the data from the interviews, which the conclusions are drawn from and the claims based upon, are derived from a unique sample of participants. That is, all participants were involved in the same campaign at the same time and at the same place. However, in the survey, the participants came from different campaigns, but the sample was relatively small.

Secondly, there were some differences between my sample of participants and samples in previous studies. These differences could be a result of the historical and cultural context that the specific collective actions occurred in. For example, changes in marital status and children were absent in our sample of participants. However, drawing upon samples from a specific period of time, the 1960s, Fendrich (1974) and McAdam (1989) amongst others found changes in marital status, and Nassi (1981), and Sherkat and Blocker (1997) found differences between activists and non-activists in relation to children. One could suggest an explanation for this difference drawn upon the historical context these collective actions occurred in, the 1960s was a time when the view of the nuclear family and the woman’s place in society was different from today. There may also be culturally dependent changes such as learning ‘male tasks’ (for example paying bills). Regarding the interviews, there was a general convergence in the types of change between the different participants, and these changes have been indicated in previous research, which makes me confident in the claims made in this thesis.

Thirdly, regarding the transferability is the socio-cultural type of collective action and activism. Previous research (see paper 1 for a review) has mainly focussed on Western, left-wing and environmental activism, in addition to this, the campaign of focus for the interviews, as well as the survey, also falls under the Western environmental and to some extent left-wing activism. It is possible, and most likely, that the results outlined in this thesis to some degree are specific to a particular Western socio-culture. Nonetheless, the results are in no way less important due to these limitations, but it reflects a need for investigation in whether these changes and processes are equal to other societies, for example less
privileged, and other types of collective actions. Further, I would expect to find similar results regarding types and processes of psychological changes as consequences of participation in collective action; however, the specific changes might take other forms. For example, a right-wing anti-immigrant march that has conflictual interaction with an outgroup, such as a group of left-wing pro-immigrant activists, could become more united in their opposition, and thereby strengthening their ingroup relationships which in turn facilitates to keep changes enduring. However, I am not claiming that all collective action participants change in the way described here, or that everyone in the same collective action changes in the same way. In fact, I would argue that both the intergroup context and the intragroup context can provide a platform for psychological change in different dimensions.

Returning to the example with the right-wing anti-immigrant protest, it could be that most of the campaigners had already experienced such intergroup conflict previously and were expecting to be attacked by an outgroup. Hence, the element of contradiction in terms of expected social relations is not experienced. In that case, where the campaigners already had experiences of conflictual intergroup interaction the actions from the outgroup would more likely reflect and confirm the perceived social relations and identity. This relationship reflects the process of endurance, whereby a perceived endurance in social relations within and between groups function to sustain the previous psychological changes.

For the research in this thesis, it was a necessity for me to embed myself in the activist context, and to draw upon that embeddedness in sampling of participants and collecting data (paper 2, 3, and 4). The subjectivity (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 1996), the relationship building, and the commitment to the research population, was needed to make data collection possible. Nonetheless, this commitment, and previous protest participation together with the personal values and experiences, may have affected the data on several levels (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Firstly, the choice of participants. The choice of participants was primarily based on the availability of a current collective action (see the Ojnare context). However, based on the relationships that were
possible to build this will have biased who participate in the study (paper 2 and 3) (e.g., Taylor, 2011). The participants in the survey (paper 4) were not affected to the same extent by this selectivity; however, the sample was based on established contacts and snowballing. Secondly, my own values, experiences, interests, social identities, etcetera may have affected, and limited, the data in constructing ‘what could be found’ (Willig, 2008). There is a possibility that I might have been affected to produce results that were in line with my, and the ingroups perspective (e.g., Taylor, 2011). However, it cannot be said that this is an issue only for this type of research. Most researchers have interests, theories and methodologies they want to support, which might be reflected in their choice of population, methodologies, and approaches. To avoid some of these issues, such as the self-reports and my own effect on the research, an inter-rater reliability test (e.g., LeCompte & Goetz, 1982) was performed on both the typology (paper 1), and the interview data (paper 2 and 3). Furthermore, data was consistently compared to previous research to limit the personal and epistemological affects I, as a researcher, may have on the data.

Future directions

The models of emergence and endurance suggested through the studies (paper 2, 3 and 4) included in this thesis need further exploration in future research. For example, most collective actions take place without a physical conflict with the police. Furthermore, intragroup support and relations have other sources than intergroup interaction, as discussed above. In fact, most collective actions do not lead to change; they merely reproduce participants’ construals and understandings. These points could be addressed by examining in more detail when collective action produce change and when it does not, and exploring other avenues for sources of intragroup support and the range of types of changes that can be connected to such events.

Moreover, in this thesis I have explored the pathways of intergroup interaction (contradiction) and intragroup interaction (communication and activist relationships). However, this needs to
be explored more precisely. Pathways between different mechanisms and outcomes need to be unpacked further. For example, the emergence of skills might be better predicted by certain intragroup elements than others, just as radical views on the police might be only partially mediated by communication with other activists whereas empowerment might be full mediation with intragroup support. Furthermore, a more detailed and fine grained examination of the different pathways would address emerging changes without the presence of a conflictual intergroup interaction.

Additionally, future studies should be designed to test alternative, and/or extended, theoretical explanations connected to the processes I have outlined through the suggested model. For example, Dixon and colleagues (Di Masso, Dixon, & Pol, 2011; Dixon, 2001; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006) have explored the spatial dimension of social identity, demonstrating the salience of the identity through geographical cues, and the decreased decategorization (i.e., categorization stays stable) through visible identity boundaries. The ‘locatedness’ could be part of the intragroup process, or function as a third intertwined process of endurance. Furthermore, some research (e.g., Swann & Buhrmester, 2014; Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales, & Huici, 2009) points toward the intensity of the emotional experience rather than the nature of the content of the relationship change, which further could explain some of the endurance. The magnitude and intensity of the psychological changes highlights a final direction for future research that this thesis was not designed to capture. In this thesis, I have only documented the range and type, process, and endurance of psychological changes through participation in collective action. However, future research should be designed to account for the magnitude of these changes on participants’ lives by for example asking them to rate the impact of the change. This is of importance as it can be assumed to be a difference in the impact on someone’s life between for example a change in use of plastics and the breakdown of a close relationship.
Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that a variety of psychological changes can occur in and through participation in collective action, changes that endure over time. For example, through their participation in an environmental campaign participants changed in dimensions such as: self-esteem, empowerment, consumer behaviour, and skills to name a few. Further, a relationship between the emergence of psychological change and conflictual relationship with an outgroup was demonstrated, followed by how this intergroup interaction transformed the intragroup interaction to create a stronger, more supportive, united ingroup. This transformation in the ingroup relationships was then shown to facilitate the endurance of the psychological changes. Both the emergence and endurance of psychological change was explained through the participants’ perception of their self-concept within a series of social relations, their social identity. Hence, changes in the social relations changes the social identity, which informs appropriate and possible behaviour, this behaviour in turn transform the social relations. However, it is important to note that all participants in the studies in this thesis had experienced intergroup interaction, some directly and a few vicariously. Consequently, I cannot differentiate between changes that could, and most certainly do, occur through other sources of intragroup support and relations than intergroup interaction. However, paper 2 indicates that some psychological changes might be more related to intragroup interaction whereas others seem dependent on intergroup interaction.

In short, this thesis demonstrates that psychological change through participation in collective action can emerge through a conflictual relationship with an outgroup (police), and is endured through continuous supportive relationships with other ingroup members (campaigners). It should be noted, that even though participation in collective action leads to psychological changes, not all collective action leads to change; the most mundane and predictable protests simply reproduce, rather than challenge and transform, participants’ understandings and construals.
Limitations and challenges aside, this thesis has contributed to further previous models and research by: (a) gathering all previous literature of psychological change through collective action participation into one typology, (b) exploring and describing all possible changes in one campaign, (c) extending previous research by accounting for the importance of the intertwined processes through a longitudinal design, and (d) proposing a model of emergence and a model of endurance for psychological change through participation in collective action.
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De flesta av oss har erfarenhet av någon form av kollektiv aktion. Från att ha suttit hemma i soffan och irriteras över skadegörelser efter kravaller, suttit i en bilkö när vägen blivit avstängd på grund av ett demonstrationståg, till att skrivit under en namnlista för en fråga vi brinner för, eller deltagit i demonstrationståg eller andra aktioner. Den här avhandlingen utforskar upplevelser av deltagande i kollektiv aktion, och hur det deltagandet påverkar deltagare psykologiskt.

Avhandlingen består av fyra empiriska artiklar och en kappa, som alla berör ett eller flera av områdena: (1) omfattningen av typer av psykologiska förändringar som ibland uppkommer av deltagande i kollektiv aktion, (2) processerna som leder till uppkomsten av dessa psykologiska förändringar, och (3) om och hur bestående de psykologiska förändringarna är över tid. För att undersöka dessa områden genomförde jag en systematisk litteraturgenomgång, en intervjustudie, samt en online-baserad enkätstudie. I intervjustudien intervjuade jag deltagare \((n = 28)\), sju gånger under en 18 månaders period, i en kollektiv aktion som kämpade för att rädda en skog från att bli ett kalkstensbrott. Enkätstudien hade precis som intervjustudien en longitudinell design baserad på tidigare teori samt preliminära resultat från intervjustudien och svar inhämtades från deltagare \((n = 114)\) vid tre tillfällen med två månader mellan varje tillfälle.

Genom studierna för denna avhandling fann jag att deltagande i kollektiv aktion kan påverka och förändra deltagarna på fler sätt. Till exempel genom ökat självförtroende, förändrad diet, förändring i radikala attityder och beteenden, i relationer, och i generellt välmående för att nämna några.

Genom intervjuerna med demonstranter i miljökampen som kämpade för att rädda en skog återfanns två huvudprocesser för hur dessa förändringar uppstår (dessa processer undersöktes sedan...

Den här avhandlingen visar att psykologisk förändring genom deltagande i kollektiv action kan uppkomma genom en konfliktytlig interaktion med en utgrupp (polisen) vilken i sin tur förändrar interaktionen inom ingruppen, och kvarstår genom fortsatt stöttande relationer med andra ingrupps medlemmar (demonstranter). Den aktuella avhandlingen bidrar till tidigare forskning genom: (a) samla litteratur på psykologisk förändring genom deltagande i kollektiv action i en typologi, (b) utforska och beskriva omfattningen av typer av psykologisk förändring i en kollektiv action, (c) utvidga tidigare studier genom att beakta det reciproka förhållandet mellan intergrupps- och intragrupps interaktion i en longitudinell design, och (d) föreslå en modell för uppkomst av psykologisk förändring samt en modell för kvarstående av de psykologiska förändringarna.
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My family. Your support is the backbone that has kept me standing through the process of this thesis. Cliff, thank you for supporting me and looking out for me, and more than anything - thank you for giving me a home and a family.

My friends, you are still here (most of you anyway) even though I may not even call you once a year (I know, I’m rubbish). However, the fact that I can do that and we are still as close as ever means the world to me, and I love you forever for that.

My past and present colleagues who encourage me, inspire me, and challenge me. Sincerely, thank you for making me feel welcome (both in Linköping and Keele) and including me.
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Smile, love, and respect each other, protect the environment and everyone living in it (and please avoid plastics and palmoil whenever you can ;)).

This is not the end, it is only the beginning.
Appendices

Appendix 1. Query email for paper 2 and 3
Find five numbered rows below. As a participant in the Ojnare campaign, please write five responses, what ever you come to think of, to the question ‘who are we’. Base these answers on yourself and not someone else. Write them in the order they come into your mind, do not worry about order or ‘importance’. Try doing this quite quickly.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

Please grade the two following statements between a number of 1 and 7, which ever fits you the best today.

1 = Totally disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Somewhat disagree
4 = Neither
5 = Somewhat agree
6 = Agree
7 = Totally agree

1. I feel strongly for the Ojnare campaign: _____
2. I participate regularly in the Ojnare campaign: _____
Appendix 2. Interview guide for paper 2 and 3

Interview No.1

Introduction and consent

Demography:
Age, area of residence, education, occupation, marital status, other family members/friend involved in the campaign
• Tell me a bit about how you got involved in the campaign
• Tell me about your life before the campaign
• Tell me about previous: relations, occupation, leisure time, hobbies
• Tell me a bit about your previous involvement in campaigns or protests

Current campaign:
• Tell me a bit about this campaign, what is it about
• What are the issues
• Are you involved in any other campaigns, protests

‘Who are we’ (the email query)
• Can you tell me what these replies mean (the five words of sentences in the email query)
• Tell me a bit about them

Change:
• Tell me a bit about your every day life (if change, ask for examples)
• (if no change is mentioned, what was your life like before the campaign, ask if anything has change the last x-months, has anything changed during your time in the campaign)
• (what about your – consumer behaviour, relations, hobbies – leisure, confidence, empowerment, emotions, work life)
• (You told me that... Tell me the story of when you...Why? What is the connection?).
Future:
- What are your plans for the coming month
- What is your involvement in those plans
- What type of action are you willing to take in the campaign
- What do you think the campaign can achieve
- Would you participate in other campaigns
- Tell me a bit about those campaigns (Why, what is the connection, why participate in x-campaign but not y?)

Is there anyone who knew you before you participated in the campaign that I can talk to?

Interview No. 2-7

Introduction and consent

Current campaign:
- What’s happened in the Ojnare campaign since we last spoke?
- Are you involved in other campaigns? (which?)

‘Who are we’
- Can you tell me what these replies mean (the five words of sentences in the email query)
- Tell me a bit about them
- Tell me about your participation and involvement in the campaign today
- Has your involvement changed (ask for example)

Change:
- Has anything changed/been affected since the last time we spoke? (you told me about, tell me more)

Future:
- What are your plans for the coming month
- What is your involvement in those plans
- What type of action are you willing to take in the campaign
- What do you think the campaign can achieve
- Would you participate in other campaigns
- Tell me a bit about those campaigns
Appendix 3. Questionnaire for paper 4

Introduction
Thank you for participating in this survey. Your answers are profoundly important.
This survey that you are part of aims to explore experiences of participation in collective action with police presence of some form. By collective action we mean something you did as a group, were you acted collectively (such as a demo or a rally). There are two main criteria for participation: you have to be at least 16 years old, and the police must have been present (in some form, actively or just observing) at the collective action on which you base your responses.

Demography
Gender: male □ female ☐ other

Age:
Occupation unemployed employed student
Level of education högstadie gymnasium folkhögskola universitet/högskola
Number of previously participated collective actions 0 1-3 4-6 7-9 10-

Post-event
Could you with a few word describe the issues of the campaign you participated in (e.g., what was it about?) [ Empty box ]

(The following items were measured on 1, not at all, to 7, very)
How important was this event to you?
How important was this event to the campaign as a whole?

Approximately how many hours did you spend at the event?

6 The measure headings (in italics and underlined) was not part of the survey but added here for clarification
Identification (measured on 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)

- I identify with other participants in the collective action
- I identify with activists
- I identify with environmental-activists
- I identify with militant activists
- I feel solidarity with other activists

Legitimate ingroup behaviour

Behavioural index – collective action (ingroup legitimacy)
(measured on a 7-point scale from 0, to 6<)

How many times have you participated in the following actions during the last 2 months?

- Liked pages connected to collective action/activism on Facebook
- Shared information about an event or cause
- Discussion meetings
- Distributing flyers
- Signing petitions
- Demonstrations
- Sit protest
- Throw stones or bottles etc.
- Damage on government property
- Damage on private property of responsible persons
- Damage on private property
- Attacks on police
- Attacks on businesses
- Disturb business events
- Disturb other groups’ events
- Occupy buildings or other areas
- Block buildings
- Block roads

Intergroup interaction - Contradiction

Rate the following statements based on your view today
To what extent have you, (in collective action), been involved in conflict with the police? (1, not at all, to 7, a lot)
I was surprised about the way the police behaved (1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)
During the event the police behaved in a way I expected. 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)

**Boundaries** (measured from 1, not close at all, to 7, very close)
Please rate to what extent YOU feel close to the following groups
Greenpeace
Djurrättsalliansen
Djurens rätt
Naturskyddsföreningen
RFSU
WWF
Earth First!
Militant mining protesters (Latin America)
AntiFascistiskAktion
PussyRiot
National environmental movement
Global environmental movement

**Content** (from 1, not at all, to 7, totally)
To what extent is your involvement in the collective action about
Environment
Climate
Politics
Human rights
Animal rights
Justice
Equality
Feminism

**Intragroup interaction – Communication** (from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)
During the collective action…
People shared information within the group
People in the group talked to each other
Other people in the group talked to me
I talked to other people in the group
People communicated within the group

**Perceived support (from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)**
In general, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?
I feel supported by others
I will be backed up by others if I act in a struggle
I will be backed up by others in the future

**Empowerment (from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)**
To what extent do you agree with the following statements?
Protests can change the debate
Protests successfully defend the environment
Protests are able to change the laws
Protests can affect the future
Protests can achieve social change
The government/state will never change
The system (state) will always be the same
Society can change
I am able to act in a struggle
I can affect the debate
I can successfully defend the environment
I can affect the future

**JOY (from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)**
Being part of the collective action made me feel…
Joyful
Uplifted
Elated
Depressed
Unhappy
Disheartened

**Personality (from 1, strongly disagree, to 5, strongly agree)**
Please rate the extent to what you agree with the following statements
I feel confident in saying my opinion in personal settings
I feel confident saying my opinion in public settings
I feel confident giving talks in public
What I do matters

I am…
Radical
Critical
Strong
Cooperative
Loyal [solidary]
Committed
Open
Caring

_BFI_ (from 1, strongly disagree, to 5, strongly agree)
I see Myself as Someone Who…
Is talkative
Tends to find fault with others
Does a thorough job
Is depressed, blue
Is original, comes up with new ideas
Is reserved
Is helpful and unselfish with others
Can be somewhat careless
Is relaxed, handles stress well
Is curious about many different things
Is full of energy
Starts quarrels with others
Is a reliable worker
Can be tense
Is ingenious, a deep thinker
Generates a lot of enthusiasm
Has a forgiving nature
Tends to be disorganized
Worries a lot
Has an active imagination
Tends to be quiet
Is generally trusting
Tends to be lazy
Is emotionally stable, not easily upset
Is inventive
Has an assertive personality
Can be cold and aloof
Perseveres until the task is finished
Can be moody
Values artistic, aesthetic experiences
Is sometimes shy, inhibited
Is considerate and kind to almost everyone
Does things efficiently
Remains calm in tense situations
Prefers work that is routine
Is outgoing, sociable
Is sometimes rude to others
Makes plans and follows through with them
Gets nervous easily
Likes to reflect, play with ideas
Has few artistic interests
Likes to cooperate with others
Is easily distracted
Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature

*Personal habits (from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)*
I am someone who…
Shop eco-friendly
Shop second-hand
Shop locally produced products
Shop ethically produced products
Recycles
Am a low-consumer
Usually gets food from skipping [dumpstra]
Shave my armpits
Shave my legs
Showers every day
Organizes demonstrations
Organizes meetings

To what extent is your diet… (from 1, not at all, to 7, totally)
Vegetarian
Vegan

Relationships (from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)
I spend most of my leisure time with…
Other activists (participants in collective actions)
People outside the activist (participant in collective actions) group

My closest friends are… (from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree)
… in the same activist/collective action group
… outside the activist/collective action group
Articles

The papers associated with this thesis have been removed for copyright reasons. For more details about these see:

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