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Social Identity Formation during the Emergence of the Occupy Movement

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Abstract

The Occupy movement made a series of local 'sit-ins' in cities across the world in response to financial and political injustices. Prior to the movement's emergence, the Internet provided a transnational forum for people across the world to discuss their opinions and coalesce about the financial and political context. Here, we analyze 5,343 posts on the '#OccupyWallStreet' Facebook event page to identify linguistic markers of shared social identity formation. Results suggest that discussants formed a shared identity if they agreed on both the desired change (the injunctive norm, 'revoke corporate personhood') and the pre-defined action (occupy Wall Street). Lines of consensus and dissensus on injunctive norms and actions delineated the development of both affirmational ingroup and negational outgroup identities. We conclude that online discussion can create both ingroups and outgroups through (in)validating ideas about social reformation and delineating shared psychological spaces.

Key words: Mass movements/collective, social movements, collective action, social identity

Word count: 9,883

Social identity formation during the emergence of the Occupy movement

The Occupy movement was paradoxically both local and global, online and offline. Each instantiation of offline collective action – the occupation of the cities – was geographically local. Yet, it emerged (at least in part) through discontented international discussion on the Internet about the global economy. The discussion was shaped by references to recent social movements around the world, for example those in Spain (Los Indignados) and Egypt (the Arab Spring). The relevant international political histories, antecedent cognitions and ideologies became shared and collectively self-relevant in a way that enabled people across the world to consensualize, organize and mobilize. However, while social psychology was well-equipped to explain how existing local groups might mobilize and politicize, it could not adequately explain how a new, transnational movement such as Occupy could form online.

To address this, recently scholars suggested the social-interactive mechanisms by which this can occur, specified by the identity-norm nexus formation model (the 'INN-formation model'; Smith, Thomas, & McGarty, in press). According to this model, new movements are not defined by pre-existing groups, ideologies, categories or identities. Rather, they are propelled by individuals' shared desire for social change. Instead of adopting the norms, behaviours and attitudes of existing groups, they collectively decide upon a new way to act to bring about that change. Engaging in collective action is thus a criterial aspect of a new, shared *social identity* (cf. Drury & Reicher, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) that is premised upon a norm for social change. Psychologically, these people have formed a shared *identity-norm nexus* (or *INN*; Smith, et al., in press). The identity provides a self-relevant motivational platform for acting, and the injunctive norm provides the framework for understanding what constitutes appropriate

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

actions. With its international and interactive origins, the Occupy movement provided an ideal case study with which to test the assumptions of the model.

Therefore, the purpose of the current study was a) to explore the social-psychological processes underlying the emergence of an offline event, #OccupyWallStreet, as an example of a new global social movement that formed interactively online; and b) to investigate the extent to which interactive social identity formation processes underpinned the emergence of the movement.

The Occupy Movement

The Occupy movement emerged against a background of Icelandic unrest and the Arab Spring. Both of these prior conflicts involved a complex interplay of offline and online action, including public protests, mobile phone videos, social and traditional media. At the heart of the Occupy movement was the shared belief that the majority of the world's wealth is held by a very small minority of the world's population (the 1%; Stiglitz, 2011). Fundamental disagreement with this relative inequality was compounded when the global economic market crashed in 2008, causing many people financial hardship. Several online authors, such as David DeGraw, called the remaining 99% of the population to take action in response to the financial injustices that had been perpetrated by the 1% (DeGraw, 2010). Occupy was a new movement that emerged with the belief that action should be taken to redress this economic and political imbalance.

Smith, et al. (in press) state that although INN-formation creates novel movements that cannot be described or explained as pre-existing groups, it takes place with reference to the existing social context. The origins of Occupy can be traced to a number of coalescing networks and events (see Castells, 2012), including the release of an online report and call to action written by David DeGraw, entitled "The Economic Elite Vs. The People of the United States of America," (DeGraw, 2010). However, it was a Vancouver-based online journal

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

called *Adbusters* who invented the hashtag #OccupyWallStreet, who invited people to air

their grievances, and started the "What is our one demand?" dialogue.

On 13th July, 2011 Lasn and White of Adbusters published the following call on their

blog, under the subheading 'a shift in revolutionary tactics':

<div align="center">

"#OCCUPYWALLSTREET

Are you ready for a Tahrir moment?

On September 17th, flood into lower manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful

barricades and occupy Wall Street,"

(Adbusters, 2011; emphasis in original).

</div>

By making a reference to Tahrir, Adbusters aligned #OccupyWallStreet to the movement that

caused the 2011 Egyptian revolution, which saw protesters gathering in Tahrir Square and

making one demand: the removal of President Hosni Mubarak. This provided a framework to

understand the aims and nature of the proposed new Occupy movement.

Adbusters' 'Tahrir moment' blog post attracted 534 comments. Comment number 31

on 14 July 2011 stated, "would there be a facebook event for this or something?" Seemingly

in response to this request, Adbusters stated,

> "For all you Facebookers, here is the official Facebook #OCCUPYWALLSTREET
>
> event page: http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=144937025580428
>
> go wild, but be on the streets Sept 17" (#OccupyWallStreet, 2011a).

The #OccupyWallStreet Facebook event page met with success, with 5,343 posts and

comments between its advent on July 14th 2011 and September 17th, 2011 (the first date of

the occupation of Wall Street). The discussion included participants from several countries

worldwide, for example the United States, the United Kingdom, Greece, and Spain.

Therefore, despite that fact that the planned action was geographically local, the discussion

was transnational, in the sense that discussants varied both in terms of nationality and country

of residence.

The Demands. Despite Adbusters' initial framing that the Occupy movement should

develop 'one demand', as per the Egyptian Revolution, the Occupy movement did not have a

set of concrete 'demands' or a manifesto. This may have stemmed from the fact that the

Occupy movement (like the Global Justice Movement, see Flesher Fominaya, 2010) was not

necessarily a unified movement. Attendees at Occupy Wall Street represented a great deal of

social and political diversity, including anarchists, Libertarians, and former Tea Party

activists, as well as a large proportion of Democrat and independent voters (Castells, 2012)..

In light of this, there was considerable discussion about the movement's 'one'

demand. On 17th July, in response to the call for consensual demands, Adbusters created a

Facebook poll entitled, "What is our one demand? OCCUPYWALLSTREET"

(#OccupyWallStreet, 2011b). This provided a mechanism whereby users could vote for a

particular demand and/or add additional demands. Please refer to Table 1 for details of each

demand.

The demand that received the most votes was, "Revoke corporate personhood".

'Corporate personhood' is a reference to the fact that corporations have on occasion been able

to interpret the United States Constitution in such a way that it provides their corporation

with the protections and rights as any individual or entity seen as 'persons' (Mayer, 1990).

Opponents of corporate personhood believe that the institutional Constitution is being

misinterpreted by contemporary actors with the political goal of empowering corporations.

This won 3,086 votes (24.8% of the 12,457 total votes in the poll). Of the 25 different

demands, 14 (or 56%) aimed to reform the financial and/or economic system. Therefore, the

discussants broadly aimed to motivate economic and financial reform, and there was a

minority consensus around the key demand. At the same time, we note that while ending

corporate personhood was one of the goals of the Occupy movement, the movement as a

whole could also be seen as more of an "umbrella movement" that drew its strength from a number of motivations, purposes, and demands.

The reasons we selected Occupy Wall Street as a case study were three-fold. First, this was a relatively new, grass roots movement (formed in 2011), and Occupy Wall Street was the most well-known of the city occupations around the world that used the Occupy movement's "branding". Similar occupations followed in several cities in in over 15 countries across Australia, Asia, Europe and the Americas; making it a global movement. Second, the broad aim of the movement was that of social change, thus fitting the requisite of the INN-formation model. Finally, discussions about the movement took place online by people all over the world, and grew over the weeks prior to the occupation of Wall Street, thus providing a naturalistic, transnational source of data for analysis.

The INN-formation Model

Definitions of key terms. The INN-formation model attempts to explain the creation of new, shared social change social identities. In using the term social identity, the INN-formation model applies key assumptions of social identity theory (*SIT*; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) to investigate the social-interactive underpinnings of collective action. According to SIT, the individual's self-concept comprises not only personal characteristics that define the person as a unique individual (their personal identity), but also characteristics that are shared with members of the various in-groups to which they may belong (their social identities). Tajfel (1981) defined a social identity as, "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership" (p. 255). According to self-categorization theory (*SCT*; Turner, et al., 1987), when people think of themselves in terms of a social identity, their actions occur within the social normative framework associated with their group. In line with other research into social identity (see for example,

Drury & Reicher, 2000; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), the INN-formation model proposes that social identities can be the social-psychological basis of *social movements* if they provide a motivational platform and normative framework for individuals to join together to undertake *collective action*.

We define a social movement as a group or groups of individuals that are engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity (Diani & McAdam, 2003). Building on this, we further suggest that a social movement is based upon a social change social identity, and this identity provides the social normative framework which functions not only as a shared self-definition but also as a motivational platform for collectively acting. Here, we adopt Wright, Taylor, and Moghaddam's (1990) commonly cited definition of collective action: "A group member engages in collective action anytime that he or she is acting as a representative of the group and the action is directed at improving the condition of the entire group," (p. 995). We include in our use of the term any behaviour undertaken by a person on behalf of their group aimed at causing social change. We assume that these actions are constrained by the normative framework of their social identity.

Theoretical propositions. There is a body of evidence that social identities are positively related to collective action (see van Zomeren, et al., 2008), and that they are dynamic entities, constructed and re-constructed by discourse (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2009; Postmes, Haslam, & Swaab, 2005; Reicher, Cassidy, Wolpert, Hopkins, & Levine, 2006). Indeed, Thomas, McGarty, and Mavor (2009) suggested that identities for collective action can be constructed through group discussion that aligns norms with emotion and efficacy beliefs. However, until Smith, et al. (in press), no theory could explain systematically both how and why a new shared social identity could develop through discussion around a unique social normative framework to form the psychological basis of a new social movement. To address this conceptual issue, the INN-formation model (Smith, et

al., in press) explains how a new shared social identity forms through discussion and communication about norms for social change. Specifically, Smith, et al.'s model proposes that new movements form when people communicate their opinions about how the world should change because they encounter a conflict between 'the way the world is' (the current descriptive social norm) and 'the way the world should be' (the injunctive norm). This discrepancy represents a *normative conflict* (Packer, 2008). For new social movements to emerge, first, ideas about desired injunctive social norms must be discussed (i.e., the way the world should be, compared to how it actually is); second, these norms should be agreed upon and *socially validated*; and third, the norms should become the basis of a new injunctive norm-based shared social identity (an identity-norm nexus, or INN). Social validation is the perception of positive social feedback from others that affirms the subjective validity of ideas, opinions and behaviors (in that they seem more appropriate or 'correct'; see social comparison theory; Festinger, 1954). This helps to form the normative framework of the INN.

The INN-formation model works within the framework articulated by the literature on opinion-based groups (Bliuc, McGarty, Reynolds, & Muntele, 2007). Opinion-based groups are psychologically meaningful groups that are defined by a shared opinion. The INN-formation model complements and builds upon this literature by specifying that shared opinions about social change - specifically about *injunctive norms*, 'what we should do' - are self-defining for group members. This shared opinion and self-definition around injunctive norms provides the psychological foundation for social movement formation and the resultant collective action.

There are two specified moderators to the formation of an INN: the first is social change orientation: in order to mobilize action, INNs should be formed around a norm for changing the status quo (i.e., a new injunctive norm) rather than support for maintaining the

status quo (i.e., the existing descriptive norm). The second is the experience of validating and consensual interaction about social change.

In accordance with this principle, if people receive social validation of their opinions about the injunctive norm, they should be more likely to form a shared social identity premised on that shared opinion about an injunctive norm, and feel more efficacious about acting in line with the norm. Thus, the resultant INN is a shared social identity formed around a shared opinion of an injunctive norm ('what we should do to change the world').

Once a person forms a new sense of identification with a shared opinion, their new identity may be evident in their dialogue through use of language which indicates agreement with (i.e., validates) similar opinions. Thus, validation can originate from others (as 'social' validation), and from the self, as a 'marker' of identification (for example, of an emerging INN). The former refers to receiving social validation of opinions by others as a prerequisite of identity formation; the latter process is a public affirmation of the group's ideas, and could function as a 'marker' of shared identification with such opinions. Therefore, the process of broadcast and validation of ideas is cyclical: once a new group member is 'recruited', that new recruit begins to mark their identification with the group through their own affirming rhetoric, which may then validate and attract more new group members.

As the new identity is founded upon shared injunctive norms and agreement about social change actions, then people who identify with the INN are likely to work towards shifting the undesirable descriptive norm (the status quo) towards the desired injunctive norm, creating social change. That is, participation in collective action (doing what we agree is right to change the world) becomes an expression of a new social change social identity (cf. Gee & McGarty, 2013). Through this idea, the INN-formation model connects the social identity perspective with that of activity theorists like Holland and Lave (2009), who argue that people participate in creating their world at the same time as being shaped by it. The

model also parallels the sociological work of Melucci (e.g., 1989) who argues that social

interaction helps to form and reform the collective identity of social movements. However,

Smith, et al. (in press) diverge from Melucci in arguing that consensus and dissensus on key

issues, rather than simply being a natural part of the life of collectives, can delineate new

psychological ingroups and outgroups (cf. Sani & Reicher, 1998; 1999; 2000).

In addition to the processes above, the INN-formation model assumes that socio-

contextual conditions (for example, outgroup actions, relative deprivation, perceptions of

injustice, outrage and efficacy) will affect the extent to which people are mobilized to act,

and the nature of that action. The role of these antecedents and moderators are detailed in the

collective action literature (Thomas, et al., 2009; van Zomeren, et al., 2008; Drury & Reicher,

2000). In the case of Occupy, the role of socio-contextual conditions in motivating the action

appears to be straightforward: the '99%' felt deprived relative to the '1%' (cf. Runciman,

1966). This relative deprivation caused feelings of injustice (Klandermans 1997) and outrage

(Thomas & McGarty, 2009). A combination of these factors (among others) may have

motivated individuals to join the discussion about the normative conflict and injunctive norm.

Our focus is on the processes by which the antecedent cognitions and emotions become

shared in such a way that they provided a foundation for a new collective identity. Issues of

collective efficacy were particularly relevant to the Occupy movement (in terms of what

could be achieved by an occupation).

According to the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA; van Zomeren, et

al., 2008; p. 507), perceived collective efficacy is, "a sense of collective power or strength on

the basis of which [group members] believe themselves capable of transforming the situation

and destiny of their group (Drury & Reicher, 2005; Reicher, 1996, 2001). The greater the

subjective sense of the group's efficacy, the more likely people are to engage in collective

action." According to Smith, et al. (in press), efficacy considerations should moderate the

relationship between social interaction and INN-formation because cognitions about 'what can be done' about the normative conflict will be a focus for discussion. Potentially, an absence of efficacy ('nothing can be done') should prevent discussants from reaching consensus around an injunctive norm. This view concurs with EMSICA (the encapsulated model of social identity in collective action; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2012; Thomas, et al., 2009), which argues that efficacy perceptions need to be integrated with perceptions of injustice and social identification in order for collective action to occur.

The INN-formation model has three specific novel emphases that make its application to the collective action that characterized the Occupy movement particularly useful. First, it can explain unprecedented, novel collective action that is sparked by the formation of new movements, rather than action that is enacted by existing groups and organizations and for which a prescriptive set of norms or a recognized structure already exists (the latter can be explained via SIMCA). Second, it focuses on the processes of reflection on and communication about grievances as explanatory principles for collective action. Again, this is particularly appropriate in this context because the Occupy movement started online as a discussion about grievances following the global financial crisis caused by the market crash of 2008. Third, due to its emphasis on communication, the model can explain the role of the Internet – a globally connected forum – in facilitating the development and coordination of norms and identities for collective action that occurs transnationally.

Aims of the Current Research

We assumed that *what* people talked about on the Facebook event page (the themes relating to the normative conflict, injunctive norm and collective actions) would be connected to *how* they talked about it (e.g., use of pronouns such as 'we' or 'you', and use of words that indicate assent and negation). We also assumed that how they talked about these issues would provide evidence that new, shared social identities had formed. That is, the language used by

discussants could indicate the degree to which ideas had become *internalized*: i.e., had become meaningful aspects of 'self' and therefore were subjectively important guides for behaviour (Turner, Oakes, Haslam & McGarty, 1994; Turner, 1991). To test these assumptions, we developed a blueprint to identify the language that would coincide with these psychological processes. Our analysis aimed to:

1. Explore whether discussants' position on the desired social change(s) (injunctive norm) was the basis of a new shared social identity: the Occupy Wall Street INN.

2. Determine how pronouns (e.g., 'we', 'us') were used in connection with discussion of key themes surrounding the injunctive norm and action(s). By analysing the use of these pronouns in relation to the key themes, we expected to discover the way in which new shared identities were evidenced through rhetoric.

Language Markers of Social-Identity Formation

Social interaction can enable collective development to occur to the extent that individuals communicate, validate and define their ideas together to create a new group identity (e.g., Bliuc, et al., 2007; Postmes, et al., 2005; Smith & Postmes, 2011a, 2011b; Smith, et al., in press; Thomas, et al., 2009). When individuals have developed such a shared social identity through discussion, those individuals may evidence their identity through use of particular rhetorical markers. As Haste (2004) argued in the terms of positioning theory (Harre & Langenhove, 1991), "we define ourselves with others whom we deem 'like us' and who affirm a shared response to those symbols and referents indicative of that identity" (pp. 423-4).

Discussants who develop an INN may position themselves by using assent and affirmation (Postmes et al., 2005; Smith et al., in press) and avoiding dissent and negation in relation to the normative conflict, injunctive norm, and action strategies. Thus, INN-formation would be evidenced by use of words and phrases that indicate assent on those key

themes, such as, "I agree", "absolutely", and "yes". This should be accompanied by an

absence of words and phrases that indicate negation in relation to these themes, for example,

"no", "isn't", "won't". Conversely, if there was negation without assent, this may evidence

the fact that no such identity had developed.

Furthermore, individuals are likely to change the way they talk about these themes

over time as they internalize the shared ideas and begin to view themselves as part of a

collective (Arguello et al., 2006; Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003). In particular, the

way that people use pronouns can reflect their social and psychological state (Pennebaker et

al., 2003; Pennebaker, Slatcher, & Chung, 2005). This means that we could use pronouns in

rhetoric as indices of social identity formation. For example, the use of first person plural

pronouns (e.g., "we") creates in-group affiliation and out-group distancing (Zhang, (2010).

Similarly, to the extent that a discussant refers to a specific group of people, their use of first

person plural pronouns may express solidarity with that group and affirm their identity

(Arguello, et al. 2006; Pennebaker, et al., 2005). Specifically, first person plural pronoun use

can indicate that discussants feel a sense of shared social identity (Pennebaker, et al., 2003).

In contrast, use of third person plural pronouns such as 'they' and 'their' could be understood

as indices of an outgroup and/or negational identity, whereby discussants use third person

plural pronouns as a rhetorical device to express 'who they are not', as opposed to 'who they

are' (Zhong, Philips, Leonardelli, & Galinsky, 2008). In other words, discussants can actively

disassociate themselves from norms, actions and ideas with which they do not agree in order

to make themselves (and their ideas) appear distinct from those of a group of people who do

agree with those ideas.

In accordance with the arguments above, we made the following suppositions (S):

S1. Discussants who had formed shared identification with other discussants would

use first person plural pronouns (a) and assent (b) when discussing the injunctive

norm.

S2. In contrast, those discussants who had not formed shared identification would use second person pronouns ('you', 'your') (a), third person plural pronouns ('they', 'their') (b) and negation (c) in relation to the injunctive norm.

Furthermore, we hypothesized that INN-formation processes of social validation on the injunctive norm would moderate INN-formation (H1). That is, discussants would decrease in their use of first person singular pronouns and increase in their use of first person plural pronouns over time if other discussants validated their ideas about the injunctive norm and actions.

Method

Data Collection

We retrieved the posts and comments made to the #OccupyWallStreet Facebook event (#OccupyWallStreet, 2011a) for 10 weeks between the dates of 14th July 2011 (when the Facebook event was posted) until the 17th September 2011 (the start of the occupation). There were 5, 343 total posts and comments with a combined total word count of 176, 477. These were written by 2,046 unique user IDs[1]. The maximum number of posts by a single user ID was 137, and the minimum number of posts was 1.

Selecting the Data Corpus

Whilst having many advantages, this naturalistic data also has disadvantages. The data were not longitudinal in the traditional, quantitative sense. New discussants joined the discussion throughout the 10 weeks. Therefore, the overall discussion did not 'move on' over time from one stage of the process of identity formation to another (as it might if everyone started the discussion at the same time). In any one week, a new discussant may be at a different psychological stage of identity formation (or not) than a more 'established' user. Therefore, it was not appropriate for our main focus to be an analysis of the entire discussion

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

longitudinally, in terms of inter-individual change over time. It was also not appropriate for us to analyse intra-individual change over time for the whole sample, as we could not control for the impact of differences between week of entry to the discussion or of external events to individual discussants. Furthermore, some discussants posted more often than others, and some discussants were part of the discussion (and therefore of the psychological process of the discussion) for longer than others. Therefore, our main focus was to examine the threads through thematic analysis, collapsing across time.

To retrieve relevant data from the overall corpus, first, we selectively coded the data for all posts related to the injunctive norm (revoke corporate personhood). To do this, we used LIWC software (Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007) to identify each reference to the word category 'corporate personhood' within the overall data set. We created a custom dictionary to generate rules instructing LIWC to search for specific words and phrases pertaining to the demand. Upon examination of the sub-set of data that LIWC identified, we found 58 references to 'corporate personhood' in the 10 week discussion. Corporate personhood was discussed in 37 separate threads that included 17,072 words. These posts became the data corpus for the thematic analysis.

Notwithstanding the issues above, and with those caveats in place, to test H1 we identified a subset of users for whom relatively comparable longitudinal data existed. To select this sample, we examined the data of all discussants who had posted five or more times (n=207). We chose the total number of posts as a parameter to select this sub-sample rather than the length of time they had participated in the discussion because the INN-formation model did not specify the duration of the psychological process. Rather, meaningful engagement with a discussion was the important factor for identity formation. Five posts appeared to be the minimum number of posts for engagement in a meaningful exchange (rather than 'simply' statements of support or dissent). Of those participants, we included

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

only those who made relevant remarks.

Analytic Approach

  Contextual Definitions. We defined the key concepts of the INN-formation model (normative conflict, injunctive norm, action) in the terms of the #OccupyWallStreet (2011a) discussion. Therefore, these definitions are constructed rather than absolute. Yet, they represent the reality that we (the researchers) believe was understood by the various discussants. Accordingly, we defined the injunctive norm as the top demand as voted by Facebook users in the Adbusters' poll: to revoke corporate personhood.

  The normative conflict appeared to refer to the overall remit of the Occupy movement; that is to take action in response to the financial injustices perpetrated by 'the 1%' to redress economic and political imbalances (DeGraw, 2010). This normative conflict was one of the reasons people joined the discussion. We considered any conversations pertaining to financial injustice and the need to redress this relevant to this normative conflict and reflecting the general sentiment of the movement.

  Details of the action were provided in the information section on the #OccupyWallStreet (2011a) Facebook event page (a 'sit-in' on Wall Street starting on 17th September 2011), alongside the call for the group to develop one demand (the injunctive norm). However, by adopting the action norms of the Egyptian revolution (i.e., an occupation), Adbusters had determined the action before the injunctive norm was decided upon by the discussants. In other words, the mechanism for change (an occupation of Wall Street) was planned before an intended outcome (an end to corporate personhood) was agreed.

  Thematic analysis. We then thematically analysed the selected posts as per the principles detailed by Braun and Clark (2013). Thematic analysis allows common themes and salient issues to be identified across a dataset, and was thus considered particularly

appropriate to the aims of the present study. We used this method to test the suppositions by identifying the areas of consensus or dissensus in relation to the injunctive norm and the planned action. This analysis followed the following steps:

(1) Familiarization with the selected data: reading and re-reading the posts; highlighting ideas for coding/themes.

(2) Generation of initial codes: organizing the data into meaningful groups. We worked through the data systematically and paid attention specifically to data items that might form the basis of repeated patterns (themes) across the data set, with a particular focus on expressions of agreement and disagreement between discussants.

(3) Search for themes: sorting the different codes into potential themes and collating all the relevant coded extracts within the identified themes. Relationships between codes, between themes and between different levels of themes were identified.

(4) Review of themes: ensuring that data within themes cohered together meaningfully and that the distinctions between themes was clear.

(5) Defining and naming themes: identifying the "essence" of what each theme was about and determining clearly what aspect of the data each theme captured. Again, there was a particular focus on those themes related to agreement or disagreement with the injunctive norm and the planned action. Within our discussion of each theme we include a commentary that explains the relationship between the theme, the suppositions and the propositions of the INN-formation model.

Longitudinal content analysis. We coded for the proportion of discussants who changed from using first person singular pronouns to first person plural pronouns in reference to the key Occupy ideas over the course of their posts; for those who exhibited no change; and for discussants who changed from using first person plural pronouns to using first person singular pronouns over time. We also coded for the proportion of participants who received

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

social validation from other discussants. For code definitions, please refer to Appendix A.

Using chi-square tests, we calculated whether the frequency of discussants whose pronoun

use changed versus did not change differed significantly according to whether or not those

discussants received validation from others.

Results

Thematic Analysis

The first major point that the thematic analysis raised was that many discussants were

unable to consensualize over one injunctive norm ('the one demand'). There were several

reasons why discussants felt unable to do this, and each of these reasons could be

conceptualized as a moderator to INN-formation. Below, first we describe the themes that

arose from this analysis, and then we comment on how the findings relate to the predictions

of the INN-formation model.

The injunctive norm: Issues of potential consensus/dissensus. At the most

straightforward level, the 'What is our demand?' poll indicated that there was a minority

consensus on the demand to end corporate personhood, for example:

> "Yes! Yes! YES! If I commit a crime I don't get fined 0.0001% of my income! If I
>
> commit a crime, I go to prison. Ever hear of a corporation going to prison? No?
>
> Pretty absurd isn't it? Corporations are NOT people and they are not entitled to ANY
>
> RIGHTS!" (Logan, Week 5; emphases in original).

There were a multitude of posts and comments that supported S1b, demonstrating that many

discussants agreed with and appeared to identify with the injunctive norm. At the same time,

while some discussants agreed with the normative conflict, they also actively disagreed with

the demand,

> "If it's to "end corporate personhood", then I am not attending and neither are
>
> thousands others. We [the discussants] need to identify the root of the "corporate

> personhood" problem, as well as all the other dangerous effects of misplaced power.
> The NWO ['new world order'] is what we need to drag out of the shadows and into
> the light before it's too late," (Devin, Week 10).

Here, the use of "I" in relation to the injunctive norm and action in combination with expression of disagreement appears to represent an absence of shared identity with the Occupy INN, supporting S2c. Rather than indicating shared identity, the use of 'we' in the above extract appeared to be in reference to the other people who are engaged in the Facebook discussion.

However, the process was not as straightforward as agreeing or disagreeing with the injunctive norm. Those who disagreed with the demand often did so on the basis that it was too vague. Several discussants expressed the need for the demand to be clearly understood by an outside audience,

> "Andrew does have a point about the message...so far "end corporate personhood" is
> winning in this poll. While I agree with the sentiment it is way too wonky. Your
> average passerby will have no idea what that means," (Jamie, Week 1).

Others took the view that the message did not need to be focused to be influential. As expressed by Bailey in the extract below, it is 'okay' to have an unfocused demand,

> "It is an eclectic mix of anger against our current economic structure. It may be a tad
> unfocused, but that is okay.," (Bailey, Week 9).

Indeed, some discussants did not take issue with the lack of a clearly expressed dominant demand, but questioned whether there was a need for a single, dominant demand at all. The following exchange sums up this common disagreement: the need for a clear, single message and the contrasting opinion that the goal of Occupy was too complex to be reduced to a single demand.

> "we'd be selling ourselves short by having one demand ieg. revocation of corporate

> personhood, raising taxes on the wealthiest 2 or 5%. this is going to be the first large scale demonstration in this country in a long time and in my opinion too much is wrong for one demand to fix," (Jordan, Week 9).

> "right...but without a cohesive message that unites the group, mightn't it just look like a big, nonsensical jumble to our target audience," (Harley, Week 9).

Many respondents, however, took the more extreme view that a focused demand is detrimental to the cause, perhaps undermining people's commitment to the action:

> "I can't think of a single mass event, from Red Square to Tiananmen to Tahrir, in which participants agreed in advance on a core demand. […] What I like about this event is that it's bringing people together around a shared view (ie liberation from corporate control) and then leaving it up to the PARTICIPANTS (not the organisers) to develop the goals. Don't you think this is far more democratic than having someone articulate the demand in advance and then try to gather numbers behind them? Let the whole event participate in the process... the network is the vanguard."

> (Addison, Week 7; emphasis in original)

Taken together, the analysis above suggests that for those discussants who agreed with the normative conflict, not all of them believed it was necessary to consensualize over a single injunctive norm in order to develop the new movement. There were discussants who felt that protesting publicly was sufficient in response to the normative conflict, and other discussants who desired reform of the financial system, and therefore needed clarity as to how the occupation would achieve this injunctive norm. Therefore, although discussants may have agreed upon a normative conflict, they may not have then progressed psychologically together, in terms of consensualizing over an injunctive norm. This suggests that there are mechanisms that limit discussants' motivation to reach agreement on a single injunctive norm that are not included in the INN-formation model. These mechanisms include a lack of clarity

of the injunctive norm and a lack of agreement on the specificity of the injunctive norm (i.e., is it efficacious to make a single demand? Should the desired injunctive norm be an 'umbrella norm' that covers a multitude of social changes, or is it acceptable simply to start a protest against the existing descriptive norm?). Overall, it appeared that a cause of these concerns was confusion over the efficacy of the planned action to achieve any desired social changes.

  Collective efficacy concerns. By pre-defining the action using the example of the Egyptian revolution, Adbusters created a situation in which discussants had to decide upon the injunctive norm after the action had been predetermined. That is, the action was defined prior to the start of the INN-formation process and thus before a psychological group had formed – indeed, before the Facebook discussion had started. Indeed, in this discussion, for those participants who desired financial reform much of the discussion focused on how the original ideological stance provided by Adbusters would be achieved by the predefined action. Therefore, the action became a point of consensus/dissensus, with some discussants still (falsely) assuming that they were deciding on what the action should be. Yet others were discussing the details of the action (where to meet, what to bring, etc.). A common theme for discussion was the lack of efficacy of the predefined action to achieve the change that people desired. So, like Drew in Week 10, discussants asked questions such as, "so the mass gathering is for?" In other words, how would occupying Wall Street achieve the revocation of corporate personhood? As two discussants stated, "Feels like the cart before the horse to me," (Hunter, Week 5), and, "This is retarded you need a demand first," (Parker, Week 7).

  These findings suggest that efficacy concerns can cause dissensus on the action and injunctive norm that can limit INN-formation. Indeed, the INN-formation model states that efficacy concerns could moderate the formation of INNs. In fact, the dissensus fractured the formation of INNs, as we explain below.

Implications. The thematic analysis above has highlighted that there were two points of possible consensus/dissensus within the discussion that were created by the lack of efficacy of the externally-imposed action to achieve the desired changes. Discussants could agree or disagree on the injunctive norm (what should change; either the general desire for reform of the financial sector, or more specific demands related to this goal, such as ending corporate personhood) and on the planned action (occupying Wall Street). This is interesting because it created the conditions for several psychological outcomes. In the next section, we describe how these lines of consensus and dissensus delineated both *affirmational* and *negational* identities (cf. Zhong, et al., 2008). An affirmational identity can be considered one with which discussants indicated agreement, whereas a negational identity is one with which discussants indicated disagreement.

Pronouns as markers of social identity formation. As we described in the Introduction, the use of first person plural pronouns in combination with the content of discussion regarding the injunctive norm can indicate the nature of the emergent social psychological group with which each discussant appears to be forming identification. However, due to the issues that discussants faced in this corpus, there was not a single emergent group. Instead, the formation of social identities became schismatic. The lines of disagreement and agreement that delineated the emergent opinion-based groups (Bliuc, et al., 2007) are represented by Figure 1. The axes represent continua of consensus with two key ideas: agreement with the pre-defined action (Occupy Wall Street), and the injunctive norm. Discussants' opinions in relation to these issues appeared to be located somewhere along these two dimensions of consensus. For ease of interpretation, we have delineated four groups, as per the quadrants in Figure 1. This figure should be viewed with the caveat that each discussant's opinion varied on the two dimensions and therefore may not straightforwardly exemplify one of the four groups. This was also not intended to be a

comprehensive psychological map of the emergent identities. As we analyzed real, situated, unrestricted interaction, there were in theory many more psychological groups that may have developed through the discussion. Furthermore, as with everyday interaction, the naturalistic data may contain ambiguities in pronoun use which meant that we could not be certain or exhaustive about interpreting the self-definition of discussants.

Quadrants 1 and 4 are explained by the INN-formation model. They include agreement with the injunctive norm (quadrant 1) and disagreement with the injunctive norm (quadrant 4). However, the discussants could also agree or disagree with the action. This created an additional level of complexity, and two further psychological outcomes (Figure 1). First, we turn to the top-right quadrant in which discussants agree on both the action and the injunctive norm (quadrant 1). This quadrant is conceptually interesting because it represents the result of successful INN-formation processes. It is this category that the INN model assumes, and indeed this was the most populated quadrant. If discussants appeared to fall into this quadrant, they had formed an INN. These discussants appeared to be comfortable with the lack of causal alignment of the action and injunctive norm. To demonstrate this, in the extracts below, we see discussants assenting and using the first person plural pronouns 'our', 'us' and 'we' (italics added by current authors) in reference to both the injunctive norm and the action:

> "Whether or not this ""accomplishes"" anything or ""get's the job done"" is besides the point. *We* do need action for the sake of action. Let this be YOUR peaceful protest Come not with ideas of pushing over massive corporate power. Come with the intent of letting your voice be heard. Know that if *we* come together *we* can build a healthy world. *We* are all responsible for the mess *we* are in. As *we* clean up, dissolution of the current corporate state will naturally occur. It is time to let go of fear and pessimism. If you have even the slightest notion that *our* country is in peril, act now.

> Go to where people are gathering. Listen. Speak," (Kendal, Week 9; emphases in
> original).

Among those discussion participants who agreed with both the action and the injunctive

norm, there appeared to be international support that functioned to validate the Wall Street

occupation, for example:

> "Can't make the event but will be watching and with you all in spirit from the island
> of Maui out in the middle of the pacific ocean," (Jess, Week 10).
> "Solidarity from the UK guys... good luck and stay safe!" (Fran, Week 10).

This provides support for S1b and suggests that a transnational INN formed around

the injunctive norm and action, as per the predictions of the INN-formation model. However,

the multinational element of the discussion did not simply function to indicate international

support for the new movement. Rather, some discussants aligned Occupy Wall Street with

successful past movements in other countries (e.g., Egypt, Spain) if they agreed with the

injunctive norm and action. For example, in the discussion there were references to both the

Arab Spring movement and the Spanish Indignados movement, which occurred between

April and June 2011, prior to Occupy Wall Street.

> "From Spain: Come on!!!!!!! Stand up North American people!!! United we can
> create a new and a better world!!! We are trying to make a pacific revolution here
> although the mass media don't speak about it! In June 1.000.000 of us took the
> squears and the street asking a sistem change right now and in 15 of October we we'll
> take again the streets to claim for juctice, peace and economic transparence!! We are
> all with you !!! WAKE UP!!!!!!!" (Santana, Week 4; emphasis in original).

This appeared to function to support the idea that past revolutions were used as exemplars to

aid the development of the Occupy movement's norms: If it worked in Spain and Egypt, it

could work on Wall Street. This is significant, as although the INN-formation model

acknowledged the role of context, it did not provide an explanation for how the past context could inform the development of new movements. It appeared here that discussants used past revolutions as models for the normative framework of Occupy.

Next, we turn to the top-left quadrant in which discussants disagree on the action but agree on the injunctive norm (quadrant 2). In contrast to the examples above, here we see discussants who disagreed with the action attempting to align the Occupy supporters with failed protests (e.g., Greece) to undermine the INN,

> "Don't *you* think that this will ultimately lead to more negative days on Wall St, thus hurting American's retirement accounts? *I* understand that a lot of bankers have overstepped serious boundaries and caused the financial panic, but *our* national debt is a bigger problem. Every day people protest, our GDP suffers and that debt number gets bigger. Do *you* honestly think that the people of Greece have accomplished anything by protesting? In *my* eyes, all *they* have done is hurt their national economy, forcing their government to make harsher cuts that hurt everyone, inside and outside of their country, in the long run," (Shannon, Week 9; emphasis added).

In this extract, concerns about the efficacy of the action appear to prevent the discussant from forming an INN. Those concerns and disagreement over the action led this discussant to create an outgroup identity, whereby s/he uses third person plural pronouns ('they') to express a personal sense of psychological distance from the Greek protesters, and thus by implication the potential occupiers of Wall Street ('you').

For discussants in this quadrant, efficacy concerns appeared to moderate INN-formation. Below, we see discussants using the first person singular pronoun 'I' (italics added by current authors) to indicate that they personally agree with the injunctive norm but using second person pronouns 'you' and 'your' when discussing the action:

> "its a start. I just hope its something that makes a difference. if *you* all clog up

downtown and stand *your* ground for a full month and effectively make change

happen, i will applaud you fervently, and wish i had quit my job and joined you. My

only point is i'm afraid that its could end up a little lack luster with only a date and a

meeting place, and only a month to fill in the rest of the blanks. I'm with *you* in spirit.

I'm hoping its a force unreckonable," (Hunter, Week 5).

The lack of first person plural pronouns indicates that no shared identity had formed for these

discussants. Although discussants agreed with the injunctive norm, the issues of a lack of

efficacy between the norm and action rendered INN-formation impossible for them. This

suggests that if an action is externally imposed or constrained, agreement on both the action

and the injunctive norm may be moderating conditions for INN-formation, rather than only

agreement on the injunctive norm as the INN-formation model predicted.

The third quadrant in Figure 1 represents discussants who agreed with the action, but

disagreed on the injunctive norm. The nature of this Facebook event almost precluded the

possibility of members falling into this quadrant. Stage 1 and 2 of the model had occurred

prior to discussants joining the discussion (Figure 2) and therefore most discussants joined

the discussion if they either agreed or disagreed with the general goal of the event (e.g.,

financial reform).

However, there were discussants who actively disagreed with both the action and the

injunctive norm (Figure 1, quadrant 4). In this example, we see use of second person

pronouns ('you') and third person plural pronouns ('their') in reference to both the injunctive

norm and action. The combination of these pronouns created psychological distance from the

emerging Occupy Wall Street INN and provided a sense of negational outgroup identity, e.g.,

'*I* am not like *them*'. For example, this discussant appeared to lack any sense of shared

identity with any aspect of the movement:

"There is not one reason listed in this description that would motivate anyone to go to

Wall Street on this date. The website behind this "movement" doesn't even offer to say what *their* "one demand will be". So *you*'re willing to travel all the way from where *you* live (no idea where that is by the way) to Wall Street, to support a movement that doesn't even reveal *their* paramount reason for going in the first place. And if *you* really plan to camp out at Wall Street for months in tents, be prepared to be arrested for loitering. […]. If you are really behind this movement, then I would suggest supporting the American Jobs Act, wish pushes to tax big corporations and the wealthy 1% at a higher rate. Call your Republican congressmen in the Capitol building and convince them to pass the bill. Or *you* could just go camping in Wall Street...that will get the job done," (Reese, Week 9).

In this extract, although the pronoun use is similar to that in quadrant 2, the content is more negative and less supportive of the overall cause of the movement. In contrast to discussants who fell into quadrant 2, 'you' appears to be used in reference to the occupiers as the outgroup. This creates a sense of intergroup conflict, and means that these discussants are even further away from forming a shared identity than those in quadrant 2: they are using a negational identity and outgroup derogation to position themselves as distant from the Occupy movement. This is evidenced by the use of second person and third person plural pronouns, as well as sarcasm, rhetorical questions and facetiousness, which are discourse markers of perceived superiority, contempt and disagreement (cf. Jucker & Ziv, 1998):

"Yeah, I can think of nothing I'd like to do more than be part of a mob that LITERALLY has no purpose. Even better if said mob likens itself to protesters that DO have purposes, and exploits *their* efforts in the process," (Madison, Week 5).

Above, we see a discussant who disagrees with the use of past revolutions as examples to validate Occupy because s/he disagrees with the Occupy movement. As another discussant put it, the "unrealistic fbook events that disgrace the memory of the historic Tahrir

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

sq protests," (Davy, Week 3). It seemed that discussants who disagreed with both the norm and action did not form an Occupy INN, but they did form a negational identity ('I am not an occupier'). While the former process is predicted by the INN-formation model, which assumes that agreement with the norm is necessary for an INN to form, the latter process was not described by the model.

Longitudinal Content Analysis

To test H1, we conducted a content analysis of the relevant posts and comments of all discussants who posted five times or more (*N*=206). We recorded whether or not discussants exhibited change in pronouns from first person singular (e.g., 'I') to first person plural (e.g., 'we') over time (or vice versa) while discussing key ideas about Occupy, and whether or not they received social validation on their ideas. Most discussants exhibited no change in pronouns (87%), most often because they appeared to identify with the movement in their first post and used 'we' from the outset. Only five discussants changed from using first person plural pronouns to using first person singular pronouns over time and hence this category was omitted from further tests. However, 13% percent of discussants changed from using first person singular pronouns to using first person plural pronouns over time. A 2 x 2 contingency chi-square test with Yates' correction for continuity showed that the proportion of discussants who changed their pronoun use from first person singular to first person plural pronouns differed according to whether or not they received social validation of their ideas, $\chi^2(1)$=7.517, *p*=.006 (Table 2).

Discussion

We have explored whether the formation of an identity-norm nexus was one of the ways in which #OccupyWallStreet (2011a) discussants developed a shared understanding of their multiple purposes, goals, and aims and psychologically connected to each other. In doing so, we have demonstrated the role of the Internet in the emergence of local collective

action that is situated in a global context, and have provided a methodology for identifying the rhetorical markers of both affirmational and negational social identity formation.

We found that those people who agreed with the injunctive norm and received social validation appeared to have formed identification with the Occupy movement. This supported the key novel propositions of the INN-formation model. Furthermore, the moderators that were specified by the model were supported by the findings: we found that efficacy concerns limited the ability of discussants to reach consensus. This is relatively unsurprising, as it supports the extant literature on collective action (SIMCA and EMSICA, for example). Importantly however, we provide a unique demonstration of this moderator as part of the identity formation process as it occurred in real discourse.

Moreover, we found support for the key moderator, social validation, which is uniquely proposed by the INN-formation model as a prerequisite of social identity formation. Discussants were more likely to express a change in their identity (indexed through pronoun use) if they received social validation of their ideas, compared to those who did not (supporting H1). Indeed, we found support for both the social validation moderation process (as per H1), and for the process of identity 'marking' through use of assent (as per S1b). Significantly, through demonstrating these processes in this naturalistic data we can proffer evidence for links between intra-individual processes (identity change) and inter-individual processes (interaction) with macro phenomena (social movement formation).

Discussants commonly used first person plural pronouns and assent when discussing the injunctive norm (S1). In line with the INN-formation model, we suggest that those participants shared a social identity premised upon the injunctive norm, 'revoke corporate personhood' and the action 'occupy Wall Street'. This is interesting because it demonstrates that despite the fact that the Occupy discussants originated from a wide variety of countries and from different political and ideological backgrounds, they were still able to generate a

shared collective identity. This supports Flesher Fominaya's (2010) view that collective

identity formation is a crucial process even for heterogeneous social movements. We suggest

that – at least to a certain extent – this was due to the fact that discussants could draw upon

well-known, international collective action examples (Tahrir Square, Los Indignados) to help

provide a 'model' for discussions about the new movement. This gave discussants from

different backgrounds a common 'language' with which to discuss, negotiate and coalesce.

In line with S2, other discussants used second person pronouns, third person plural

pronouns and negation in relation to the injunctive norm and actions. We suggest that this

demonstrated their lack of identification with the Occupy INN. At times, the use of second

and third person pronouns appeared to be used as linguistic devices to define 'who they are

not' – i.e., as a negational identity (Zhong, et al., 2008) and to create outgroups. Therefore,

the interaction tended to be schismatic, delineating both a new shared INN and negational

identities that were shaped by lines of consensus and dissensus around the key issues (see

Sani & Reicher, 1998, 1999; 2000).

Exhibiting intentions to participate in the occupation did not necessarily flow from

agreement on the injunctive norm alone. Rather, some discussants appeared to need to agree

on both the ideas for the injunctive norm and the pre-defined action for a new social change

identity to form. Conversely, dissensus on either the injunctive norm or the action (or both)

appeared to undermine affirmational INN formation and provide the potential for the

formation of negational outgroup identities (cf. Zhong, et al., 2008). Our results imply that

perceived collective efficacy to achieve the desire changes may be critical for some people to

feel able to form an INN (although we saw here that for other discussants, the action did not

need to be designed to achieve the changes specified by the injunctive norm).

Adbusters used an example of previous collective action (Tahrir square) as a model

for the action and for the development of the new movement. This use of the Egyptian

example appeared to shape the Occupy discussions by psychologically constraining participants' choices for collective actions. It seemed that only those discussants who agreed with the injunctive norm and the action from the Egyptian example (and the relationship between the two) identified with the INN. This is particularly interesting because the original INN-formation model did not anticipate a situation in which the collective action was defined by an external agency prior to the start of the psychological INN-formation process. This case study highlights that discussion about social change does not start in a social or historical vacuum. Possible actions are often constrained by logistics, the social and historical context, and past examples.

Therefore, it is necessary to include an explanation of these factors in any account of the processes that take place during the formation of new social movements. Future research could explore whether pre-existing collective action 'schemas' (cf. Bartlett, 1932) function to 'scaffold' (cf. Vygotsky, 1978) new movements. This would provide an explanation of how new movements emerge, as situated in this globally connected world, necessarily referencing pre-existing social structures, histories and past movements that provide a global context.

We should clarify that we are not claiming that agreeing on the injunctive norm and action means that discussants participated in the collective action. Our data do not enable us to determine which discussants took part in the occupation of Wall Street. We do know however, that an occupation of Wall Street took place, and therefore we assume that the contents of the discussions we analysed here are (to some extent) relevant to the INN(s) of the participants of that occupation.

Relatedly, a factor we must consider when using an Internet discussant sample is that because many of the participants may have restricted their engagement with others to the online forum ('keyboard warriors' engaging in 'clicktivism'). Thus, the online sample may not be the same as the offline collective action participants. In this research, the extent to

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

which there are differences, similarities and overlaps between the online and offline samples and emergent identities are empirical questions that can only be answered in future investigations. However, recent research into the Kony2012 online campaign suggests that online and offline action can share the same psychological underpinnings, with both engagement in social media action and traditional offline collective action being predicted by the same factors (Thomas, McGarty, Lala, Stuart, Hall, & Goddard, in press).

Conclusion. The current study sought to demonstrate how discussion and debate are cornerstones for the identities and norms of social movements. In doing so, we have emphasized the importance of considering how people understand their shared injunctive norms and appropriately efficacious actions. As people search for and negotiate the meaning of their social worlds, and aim to jointly assert a new world order, fissures of tension and dissensus can fracture the delicate social psychological bonds that brought them together in initial agreement. This fragile process underlying the development of shared social identity is likely to underpin not only emerging movements, such as Occupy, but established groups that are dependent on the shared views of their members. Overall, we have captured the processes by which people come to share – or not share – critical opinions around how the world should change, and how they can leverage these shared opinions and a shared understanding of the global social context to attempt to change the world.

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

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RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

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RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

Note

[1] Within Facebook's current privacy policy it states that data on publically accessible pages is available to view by anybody (Gavin & Rodham, in press). We adopted recommendations from Moreno, Goniu, Moreno and Diekema (2013) and Zimmer (2010): all individuals were anonymous. Whilst direct quotes are used, these are not searchable in Google or any other platform, no personal information was given and only essential data were collected. We also took the current British Psychological Society (BPS) guidelines into account: a Facebook account was not required to view this Facebook event and thus it may be considered within the "public domain" (BPS, 2013). We did not retrieve demographic information about the participants and therefore their identities remained anonymous throughout the study. For the purposes of this article, and to aid identification of multiple posts by one user, we replaced Facebook user ID numbers with forenames using a random unisex name generator.

RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

Table 1

Frequency of votes in response to Facebook poll, "What is our one demand?"

Demand		Vote count		Date added
		n	*%*	
1	Revoke Corporate Personhood	3086	24.77	17.7.2011
2	Raise taxes on the top 2%	1173	9.42	18.7.2011
3	Abolish capitalism	940	7.55	17.7.2011
4	Public Healthcare	693	5.56	18.7.2011
5	Tax Wall Street	655	5.26	17.7.2011
6	End the wars, withdraw from Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Pakistan, Yem, etc.,	646	5.19	18.7.2011
7	End Corporate Welfare	634	5.09	18.7.2011
8	Resource Based Economy	631	5.07	17.7.2011
9	Presidential Commission to Separate Money from Politics	618	4.96	17.7.2011
10	Close half of America's 1000 military bases	475	3.81	17.7.2011
11	DEMOCRACY NOT CORPORATOCRACY	313	2.51	23.7.2011
12	Four-hour work day	310	2.49	28.7.2011
13	Legalize Marijuana	275	2.21	18.7.2011
14	End The Federal Reserve Private Profit Empire",	262	2.10	17.7.2011
15	Eliminate corporate tax loopholes	232	1.86	01.8.2011
16	A shrubbery	183	1.47	17.7.2011
17	Put those Responsible for Crisis in Jail	182	1.46	17.7.2011
18	Demand separation of Church and State	180	1.44	17.7.2011
19	De-militarize the Police	175	1.40	17.7.2011

20	Dramatic CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM. Stop the wealthy from buying our campaigns	164	1.32	21.7.2011
21	End Tax loopholes for Oil Companies	143	1.15	28.7.2011
22	Free the Unicorns!",	136	1.09	17.7.2011
23	Jobs, Education, Healthcare, Dignity	120	0.96	26.7.2011
24	BAN FRACKING	119	0.96	27.7.2011
25	A Country for All, Not Just the Rich!	112	0.90	26.7.2011
	Total	**12,457**		

Note. Emphases in original. The poll was posted in the information tab for the Facebook event.

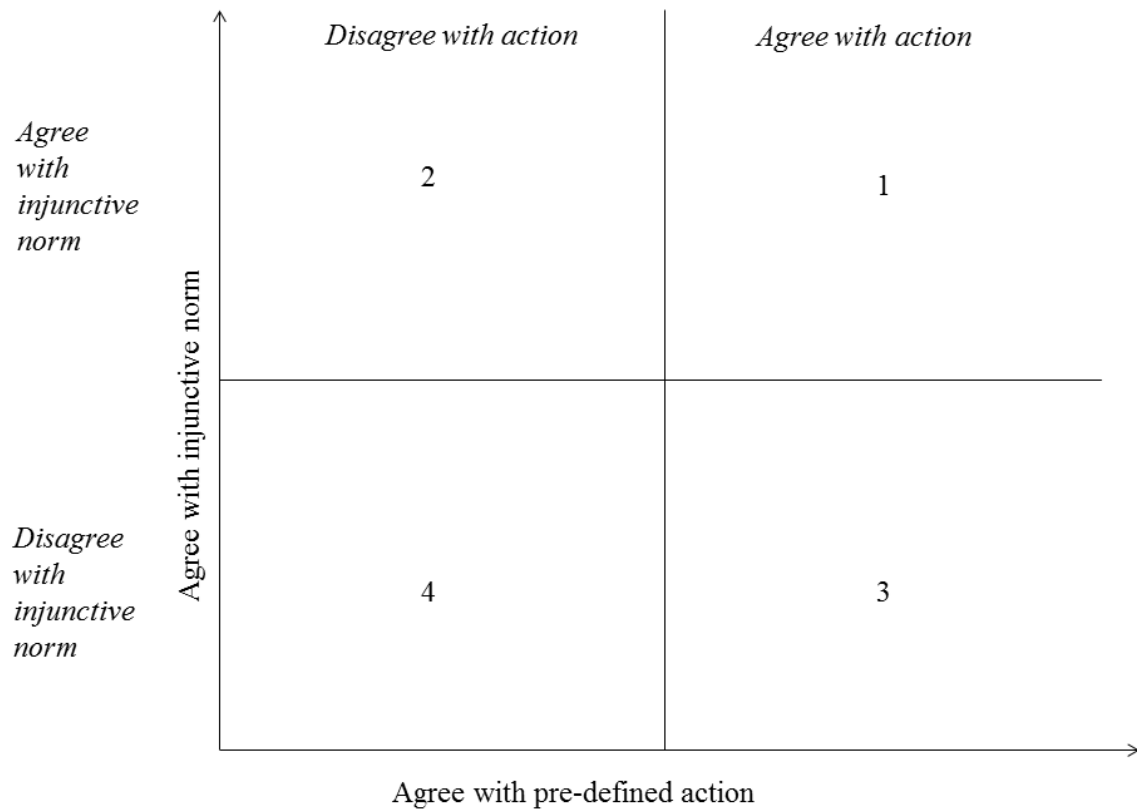RUNNING HEAD: Social identity formation during Occupy Wall St.

Table 2

Contingency table for frequency of multiple posters (n=173) who exhibited intra-individual change from using first person singular pronouns

('I') to using first person plural pronouns ('we') over time and received social validation from other discussants

	Did not receive validation from other discussants	Received validation from other discussants	Total
No change from first person singular pronouns ('I') to using first person plural pronouns ('we')	55 (48.90)	96 (102.12)	151
Changed from using first person singular pronouns ('I') to using first person plural pronouns ('we')	1 (7.12)	21 (14.88)	22
Total	56	117	173

Note. Observed frequency count values are followed by expected values in parentheses.

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Figure 1. INN-formation delineated by consensus on the pre-defined action (Occupy Wall

Street) and the injunctive norm (revoke corporate personhood)

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Figure 2. The stages of the INN-formation model as manifested in the #OccupyWallStreet

discussion

Model Stage	Manifestation
1. Individual experiences normative conflict	Economic and political injustices caused by the fact that a majority of the world's wealth is held by a very small minority of the world's population
2. Communication of perceptions and cognitions	Joined discussion on #OWS Facebook event page
3. Development of shared ideas about the change(s) they want to see in the world (injunctive norm) 4. Formation of INN(s)	
5. Socio-political action	Occupation of Wall Street on 17 July 2011

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Appendix A

Content Analysis: Definitions

Code	Definition
Social Validation	Used in relation to the posts and comments of other discussants. Evidenced by use of words and phrases that indicate assent on the normative conflict/injunctive norm/action, such as, "I agree", "absolutely", and "yes". Accompanied by an absence of words and phrases that indicate negation in relation to these themes.
Assent	Agreement with key ideas. Evidenced by use of words and phrases such as, "I agree", "absolutely", and "yes".
Negation	Disagreement with key ideas. Evidenced by use of words and phrases that indicate dissent for example, "no", "isn't", "won't".