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Why do some quit while others stay?

Disengagement from collective action: People's perspectives from the Sri Lankan Uprising of 2022

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Abstract

Sri Lanka as a post-war developing country within a post-colonial context has been the ground for numerous collective action initiatives such as social movements, protests, and civil disobediences while individuals taking part in different capacities including activism and volunteerism. The 2022 Uprising or 'Aragalaya' as known in the local language can be identified as a unique people-led collective action in the country's history as it brought together communities deeply divided due to war and ethno-religious tensions. However, since late 2022, individual interest in participating collective action has sharply declined. Against this background, this descriptive qualitative study aims to understand the dynamics of individual intentions to disengage from collective action from a people's perspective. The findings from four key-informant interviews and twelve semi-structured interviews conducted with a non-probability sample of 2022 Uprising participants selected through maximum variation sampling and snow-ball sampling were analysed using thematic analysis. The study identifies that intentions to disengage result from multiple factors on micro, mezzo and macro levels which are related to a crosscutting transcend level context. Through a multi-level analysis, the following themes for causes of intentions to disengage are identified: a) Biographical unavailability, and b) Identity Motives on the micro level, c) Declining relevance and attraction of the Collective Action on the mezzo level, d) Demobilization on the macro level. e) Violence, f) Something for Everyone, g) Social Class and Collective Action are identified as themes in the crosscutting context in which the above causes have emerged. In responding to 'intention to disengage', individuals practice different responses and adaptations. The identified themes of responses and adaptations are h) Changing the nature of involvement, i) Keep it Casual: Co-living with the community, and j) Reenergizing and Re-Engaging.

Keywords: Collective Action, Social Movements, Activism, Disengagement, Post-War, 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising, People's Perspectives

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

FLSP   Frontline Socialist Party

GGG   Gota-Go-Gama (Gota-Go-Village)

IGO   Inter-Governmental Organization

INGO Internation Non-Governmental Organization

JVP   Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (People's Liberation Front)

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

TA   Thematic Analysis

UN   United Nations

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the Study

The Study aims to understand the intention to disengage in collective action participation through a people's perspectives with a focus on 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising. 'Aragalaya' as known in the local language Sinhala or the 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising can be identified as one of the unique collective actions in the country's post-colonial and post-war history as it was able to bring together communities deeply divided due to war and ethno-religious tensions. As Gunawardena & Kadirgamar (2023) mentions it represented a stunning culmination of a wave of protests during the recent past. Fedricks et al (2022) cites that this attracted thousands from across Sri Lanka's many divisions of caste, class and religion. However, since late 2022 people's interest towards collective action has been weakened and individuals seems to be less engaged. Therefore, this study aims to understand this individual disengagement from collective action through a people's perspective. Though the study has a specific focus on the individual disengagement the study will employ a multi-level analysis to understand the overall psychological, social, cultural, economic, and political context in which it operate. Although the study has a specific focus on Sri Lanka, the findings, to a significant extend, likely to be applicable in explaining the realities in other parts of the world with a similar post-colonial, post-war and developing world context.

1.1 Problem Statement

The sociology of activism has been revitalized by the conception of activism as a long-lasting social activity articulated by phases of joining, commitment, and defection. This has given rise to the notion of 'activist career', drawing directly on Hughes' and Becker's concept of interactionism. The concept of career therefore enables us to combine questions of the predisposition to and operationalization of activism, of differentiated and variable forms of engagement over time, of the multiplicity of engagements across the life cycle, and of the withdrawal and extension of commitment (Fillieule, 2010). As van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) cites, the counterpart of the dynamics of sustained participation is the dynamics of disengagement. Positioning disengagement in a different note, Della Porta et all (2015) mentions, the logical counterpart of the initial recruitment and mobilization process of Social Movements is clearly collective demobilization and individual disengagement. The

notion of demobilization brings us back to a plurality of phenomena ranging from individual disengagement to the political demobilization of an entire society, the sum of individual behaviour producing macrosocial cycles of involvement or, conversely, withdrawal to the private sphere. The concept of demobilization brings us back to collective phenomena. At the micro sociological level, we will refer instead to disengagement. This may fall within the rubric of demobilization but also brings us back to singular trajectories which may include a wide diversity of forms and determinants. Indeed, it is very likely that the process of disengagement changes in nature according to what causes it, the cost of defection, the manner in which it takes place (Della Porta et al., 2015). Why some individuals decide to quit while others stay involved. Trying to understand why people who are seemingly in the same situation respond so different. People live in a perceived world. They respond to the world as they perceive and interpret it and if we want to understand their cognitions, motivations and emotions we need to know their perceptions and interpretations. Taking the individual as the unit of analysis has important methodological implications. If one wants to explain individual behaviour, one needs to collect data at the individual level: attitudes, beliefs, opinions, motives, affect and emotions, intended and actual behaviour, and so on (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

1.2 Research Objectives

The research aims to understand the individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation through people's perspectives from 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising participants. This overall objective will be achieved through three specific objectives mentioned below.

- To explore the people's perspectives on individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation as identified by 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising participants.
    - To explore the micro, mezzo and macro level factors influential in shaping individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation.
    - To describe how the transcend level context influence individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation.
    - To identify how individuals adapt with intention to disengage in collective action participation.

1.3 Research Questions

The study contains the below main research question and three specific research questions. The study aims to answer the main research question by directly answering the three specific questions.

- What are the people's perspectives on individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation as identified by 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising participants?
  - What micro, mezzo and macro factors influence individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation?
  - How the transcend level context influence individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation?
  - How do individuals adapt with individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation?

1.5 Relevance

Collective action is one of the core mechanisms of social change, and thus of major importance to social scientists, practitioners, and policymakers (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). What are the social and psychological factors that move people to collective action? Scholars have long been interested in this question because the societal consequences of collective action can be enormous (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). However, van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) cites that the Sustained participation is absent in the social movement literature. As van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) further mentions, compared to the abundant literature on why people join movements, literature on why they exit is almost non-existent. Following the same line of thoughts Della Porta et al., (2015) cites that while research has certainly made progress in understanding the mechanisms of individual demobilization, a certain number of avenues remain insufficiently explored. And apart from a few exceptions, research has mainly dealt with committed activists, without exploring not-so-committed participants; little has been done in order to disentangle the respective effects of political organizations' moulding and socialization due to the mere participation to protest events; and, in existing research, age seems not to be considered as playing a role in explaining individual outcomes (Della Porta et al., 2015). Adding a different perspective to these deficiencies, Van Zomeren & Iyer, (2009) cites that, collective action has been studied mainly among members of low-status groups, raising the question of whether the same social and psycho logical factors predict collective action among members of high-status groups, or groups undefined by status. On this context Della

Porta et al., (2015) proposes that research could more systematically study the way in which some macrosocial contexts discourage or encourage certain paths to demobilization. The existence or availability (most often via the state) of possibilities of reconversion is an example of this. As Van Zomeren & Iyer (2009) highlights, research on this topic can also yield important practical strategies for those who seek to move people into collective action (e.g., union leaders, politicians), as well as for those who wish to prevent them from doing so (e.g., authorities).

1.6   Outline of the Thesis

This thesis contains six chapters.

Chapter one orients this project with its aim, the problem statement, objectives of the study and research questions, as well as why this research is important and finally with this brief on thesis outline.

Chapter two will elicit with the extracts from the literature review. This will provide an orientation to the 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising and the scholarly work on Collective Action.

Chapter three provides the theoretical and conceptual framework explaining the choices for the concepts being operationalized in this research.

Chapter four contains an overview of the research strategy, design, methods chosen for data collection and analysis, and details of the process of these methods. Reflection on the part of the researcher, as well as ethical considerations and limitations are also shared.

Chapter five presents the analysis, findings, and discussion for the research question through themes identified by the data analysis. The chapter is subdivided into three sections in accordance with the three specific research questions.

Chapter six concludes the thesis by providing a summary of key findings and limitations of the study.

2.   Background

2.1   2022 Sri Lanka Uprising

This section summarizes literature on 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising through an overview of the Upri

2.1.1   An overview of 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising

The year in Sri Lanka was dominated by a severe economic crisis which led the central bank to declare financial default for the first time in the country's history. The crisis has generated a large popular movement against President Rajapaksa and the Prime Minister which, after months of massive street protests, led to the resignations of both (Abenante, 2023). The popular uprising in Sri Lanka on July 9th, 2022, led to President Gotabaya Rajapaksa fleeing the country. It represented a stunning culmination of a wave of protests during the recent past. The proximate cause of the uprising was the worst economic crisis that Sri Lanka had experienced since the Great Depression of the 1930s. The breakdown was long in the making since the island nation became the first country in South Asia to take the neoliberal turn in the late 1970s. The dramatic collapse was catalysed by a sovereign debt crisis with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine. Nevertheless, like all great revolts, it has led to a counter revolution by the ruling class, including the reconfiguration of the old regime. (Gunawardena & Kadirgamar, 2023)

In the opening months of 2022, Sri Lanka found itself plunged into a profound economic and political crisis. Spiralling inflation and drastic shortage of foreign currency made everyday life almost unendurable for all sections of Sri Lankan society. Three-wheeler drivers waited in line for hours for ever scarcer supplies of fuel. Households suffered long daily power cuts. The poor struggled to feed their families (Fedricks et al., 2022). The crisis can be traced to particular economic choices made by the country's leaders as well as the unequal determinants of global trade and financialization. The immediate causes of the crisis lie in the accumulation of unsustainable levels of sovereign debt — a problem soon to be felt more widely across the global south (Fedricks et al., 2022).

However, the personalistic focus of the protests fell on the Rajapaksa ruling family for good reason. Mahinda Rajapaksa served as president from 2005 to 2015. He combined strategic appeals to majoritarian Sinhala Buddhist nationalism, with high-visibility vanity projects. He

also inserted family members into positions of authority, accompanied by accusations of graft and corruption (Fedricks et al., 2022). His brother, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, defence secretary when the decades-long ethnic war was "won," was elected president in late 2019. this followed four years of internal squabbles among the opposition coalition that had replaced the Rajapaksas in 2015. Gotabaya presented himself as a non-politician, a good administrator with a technocratic team who would "get things done" — in contrast to the self-serving and incompetent politicians he would replace. In practice, the opposite happened. The new president combined political incompetence with spectacular errors of judgment, like the sudden banning of imported fertilizer in 2021, which crippled much of the country's agricultural sector. the regime's inability to manage the balance of payments crisis, which many had predicted, was the final indication of Rajapaksa perfidy and incompetence. (Fedricks et al., 2022)

As the economic situation worsened, people responded with a wave of ever more imaginative and confident protests, directed at the government but especially at the president, Gotabaya Rajapaksa, and his family, which has dominated the last two decades of Sri Lankan politics (Fedricks et al., 2022).

Table 1: Timeline of Key Milestones in 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising

Period	Incidents	Description
Early 2022	Neighbourhood protests	Small neighbourhood protests in suburbs.
31st March 2022	Protest in Mirihana	March towards President Gotabaya Rajapaksha's private residence in Mirihana
Early April 2022	Establishing Gota-Go-Gama	Establishment of the Key Demonstration Site close to Galleface Green in Colombo which later named as 'Gota Go Village'
9th May 2022	Attack on Gota-Go-Gama and	Rajapakshe supporters attacking the protest site 'Gota-Go-Gama'. Consequently, angry pro-

	subsequent civil unrest.	protestors attacking the Rajapakshe supporters and their properties island wide. Resignation of Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapakshe and appointment of Ranil Wickremesinghe as the new Prime Minister
09th July 2022	Occupation of key public buildings by the protestors	Protestors from around the country marched to Colombo and captured the Presidents Office, Presidential Secretariat and Prime Minister's Office.
14th July 2022	Resignation of the President and appointing a new President	President Gotabaya Rajapakshe fled the country and resigned as from the post of President. Appointment of Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe as the Interim President and later as the President by the Parliament.

In early 2022, public displays of opposition took the form of small neighbourhood protests in the suburbs. After an attack by the state security on a protest near the president's private residence in April, however, the main site of protest shifted to Colombo's pre-eminent public space — Galle Face Green on the seafront next to a number of luxury hotels and close to the offices of the president and the prime minister. Protestors brought tents to build a semi-permanent presence, and in the evenings the new settlement became the scene for chants and performances of all sorts, from street theatre to traditional exorcism rites. The protests attracted thousands from across Sri Lanka's many divisions of caste, class and religion (Fedricks et al., 2022). The overriding slogan of the protestors has been "Gota Go Home," and the site of what they refer to as the "struggle" (aragalaya) is known as Gotagogama (GGG or "Gota-go-village" in English). Car horns tooting the distinctive chant of 'kaputu kaak kaak kaak' reverberated across the country in acts of solidarity (Fedricks et al., 2022).

On May 9, a group of Rajapaksa supporters attending a rally at the Prime minister's office attacked the protest site, before being chased away by protestors. In the immediate aftermath,

Mahinda Rajapaksa resigned as prime minister and the houses of several government politicians were burned down in arson attacks. Ranil Wickremesinghe was made prime minister. after the events of May 9 there was a lull in protest activity. The economic situation continued to deteriorate. The new prime minister's legitimacy was in question and the president remained in power, until there was a further eruption on July 9 (Fedricks et al., 2022).

On 9 July 2022, angry citizens protesting economic mismanagement stormed the Sri Lanka President's Palace in Colombo. Four days later, Sri Lankan President Gotabaya Rajapaksa, amid a deepening crisis and widespread protests there, escaped to the neighbouring island nation of the Maldives and flew into Singapore from there the following evening. (Imtiyaz, 2023).

After much hesitation, the new government negotiated a program of financial aid with the International Monetary Fund. However, many unknowns remained about the new President's ability to introduce the reforms imposed by the international partners, and about the sacrifices that will be required of an already exhausted population. Although the military has avoided openly entering politics, the use of violence by the security forces and the new government's hard line towards the protesters placed great uncertainty over the future of Sri Lankan democracy. Colombo's need for urgent economic support has also led to a rapprochement with India, which has been the regional partner most willing to approve aid packages for the island-nation. (Abenante, 2023)

2.1.2 Reflections

The events of 2022, like all good revolutionary moments, combine the shock of the new and the unprecedented with a strong sense of iteration, of the past reappearing in quotation marks in the present. Again and again at GGG, we hear faint echoes of the 1970s and 1980s, when the country was convulsed by youth insurrections and then divided by contending ethnonationalism and a long civil war. Sinhala youth rose up against the government under the banner of the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna), and Tamil youth joined a constellation of militant groups before their struggle was taken over by the Liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the group that fought the government of India and the government of Sri Lanka before falling to defeat in 2009 (Fedricks et al., 2022).

The popular uprising (Aragalaya) combined a protest movement with a movement towards commons or a solidarity economy. The popular uprising from March to August 2022 was a reaction to the authoritarian heteropatriarchal Rajapaksa regime, which drained public revenues instigating an economic crisis. The Aragalaya was based on non-violence, independence from political parties, participatory democracy, collective leadership, politico-aesthetic strategies (art activism) and collective learning. While there were multiple contradictions, along with state repression, the Aragalaya expressed new forms of solidarity, strengthening struggles for democracy and citizenship (Biyanwila, 2023).

2.2   Collective Action

Understandings of social action such as social movements, revolutions, strikes, democratization, etc. have come a long way since the late 1800s. As Van Zomeren & Iyer (2009) mentions, Collective action is one of the core mechanisms of social change, and thus of major importance to social scientists, practitioners, and policymakers.

2.2.1   An overview of literature on Collective Action

The literature on collective action is large and heterogeneous (see van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008, for an overview and meta-analysis), as work on this topic is conducted in different disciplines, including sociology, political science, history, and psychology. Theory and research thus reflect different levels of analysis, including the macrolevel (tapping into the strategic and political forces that facilitate or impede collective action; e.g., McCarthy & Zald, 1977), the mesolevel (tapping into the general conditions that affect groups and their members within society; e.g., Opp, 1991), and the microlevel (tapping into group members' psychological responses to collective disadvantage; e.g., Wright et al., 1990). Empirical studies reflect different research methods, such as laboratory experiments with groups created by the researchers (e.g., Ellemers, 1993), surveys of participants in real-world social movement(e.g.,Klandermans,1984), face-to-face interviews with social movement participants (e.g., van Aelst & Walgrave, 2001), ethnographic studies of political movements and SMOs (e.g., Scott, 1985), and analyses of media coverage of protest events (e.g., Koopmans & Statham, 1999). Furthermore, researchers have operationalized collective action in many different ways (Klandermans, 1997). (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

A quick search in Google Scholar learns us that social movement studies over the last two decades has become flourishing area of scholarship across the social sciences. The increase in publications indicates that social movement studies is developing as a distinctive subfield in most of the social sciences (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). "…. decade ago, we noted the rapid growth of scholarly interest in social movements and collective action in particular since the 1990s and the proliferation of social movement studies across the social scientific disciplines" (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). "…the field of social movement studies was boosted by new important mobilizations across the globe that spurred research and led to an impressive number of recent publications. Google scholar gives 168,000 hits for publications on social movements between 2007 and 2017 "(Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

In classic studies of social movements the distinction was made between instrumental and expressive movements or protest (cf. Gusfield 1963; Searles and Allen Williams 1962). In those days, instrumental movements were seen as movements that aimed at some external goal, for example, the implementation of citizenship rights. Expressive movements, on the other hand, were seen as a goal in and of itself, for example, the expression of anger in response to experienced injustice. Movement scholars felt increasingly uncomfortable with the distinction because it was thought that most movements had both instrumental and expressive aspects and that the emphasis on the two could change over time. Therefore, the distinction lost its use (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

New developments in fields like communication sciences, organization studies or law lead to a further diversification of social movement studies, while the field also continues to expand within sociology and political science where it principally developed (Scalmers 2015). Sociology remains the theoretical "home front" of social movement studies, but spillover effects and trading with other disciplines are central to the development of the field. As a result, social movements studies in social psychology, anthropology, organization or communication studies are no longer mere auxiliary sciences to sociology, but have increasingly developed as distinctive subfields. (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

Social movement scholars working from these disciplines often combine social movement theory as developed within sociology and political science with a range of theories and concepts from their own disciplines. The recognition of sociology as founding discipline explains why

scholars from other disciplines are familiar with and often make use of sociological concepts and theories, but that the reverse is still less common. (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

While the expansion of the field potentially brings in new theoretical insights and methodological innovation, it may also have more troublesome implications. The establishment of social movement studies as field within different disciplines also leads to specific approaches and standards of explanations that complicate dialogue, cross-fertilization and learning. Disciplinary boundaries often limit knowledge transfer and therefor result in a segmentation that hinders cross-fertilization or synthesis. (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

2.2.2   Explanations and Approaches on Collective Action

Objective and Subjective Explanations of Social Action Participation

Early work on collective action highlighted objective status variables as predictors of collective action (e.g., Blumer, 1939; Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1968; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Olson, 1968). Such frameworks proposed that structural status differences between groups (as measured by various indicators such as wealth and health) explained low-status groups' participation in collective action to achieve social equality. In these approaches, less attention was paid to the role of individuals' subjective perceptions and emotions in motivating efforts to create social change.

However, as Marx and Engels(1848/2002) have suggested, the abstract conditions of historical and social structures do not automatically produce social change. Indeed, the classic studies reported in The American Soldier (Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Start, & Williams, 1949) demonstrated that structurally disadvantaged group members do not necessarily seek to improve their group's circumstances.

Why should some cases of social inequality be challenged and not others? To address this question, various frameworks have proposed subjective explanations of collective action participation, which focus on individuals' psychological motivations to help achieve social equality and social justice. That is, these explanations suggest that how individuals perceive their social world profoundly influences how they respond to it. (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). In sum, at least three subjective explanations of collective action can be distilled from the literature: perceptions and emotions of group-based injustice, (politicized) social identification,

and instrumental cost–benefit expectations of available resources (van Zomeren et al., 2008). (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

From Structural Approach to Cultural Approach

Early sociological understandings of collective action made structure the linchpin in explanations of social movement emergence (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017). Understandings about what moves individuals from their armchairs to the streets have changed dramatically since the 1890s. This is, in part, a response to sociologists' shifting assumptions regarding what causes social movement emergence (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Early scholarship assumed that movements developed when relatively stable social systems, such as the economy, were disrupted in ways that affected individuals' psychology and quality of life (Smelser 1962). Sociologists reasoned that disturbances to a social system made individuals feel frustrated, and, since individuals rarely can act independently against a source of frustration (such as the factors that lead to an economic decline), they got involved in social movements (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017). Early conceptualizations of social movement emergence, in short, assumed participation was a short-lived and irrational response to structural changes (see Cantril 1941; Kornhauser 1959; Lang and Lang 1961; Le Bon 1896) (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Observing that the strategies and tactics used by African-Americans to secure equal rights under the law in the 1960s were far from short-lived or irrational, sociologists looked for new ways to understand social movement emergence and participation (Buechler 1990; Morris 1999; Piven and Cloward 1977). They found inspiration in the work of Mancur Olson (1965), a political scientist who argued that individuals are rational decision-makers and participate because collective action is either more rewarding or less costly than inaction. Additionally, Olson reasoned those collective goods, which would benefit all members of a group irrespective of their participation in a movement, were not sufficient motivation for participation. Individuals would "free ride" on the efforts on others. Olson's arguments spurred a new line of inquiry; one that focused on the cost/benefit threshold, or the point where the perceived benefits to an individual exceed the costs (Granovetter 1978; Smelser 1962; Snow et al. 1998). More germane to this review, the implementation of Olson's ideas into the study of social movements meant that sociologists, particularly sociologists who examined social movements in the mid-

to late-20th century, adopted an economic logic to conceptualize movement emergence as a rational, strategic response to a larger political environment (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017). Two influential theories that explain movement emergence and participation as a rational response to changes in social systems. both theories are influenced by Olson's innovative approach to interpreting collective behaviour, which emphasized that individuals are rational decision-makers when it comes to political engagement, and demonstrate the value of cross-pollination between political science and sociology (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

More recent "cultural turn" that brought attention to issues like framing and frames, emotion, and collective identity. This cultural turn according to Rohlinger and Gentile brings important conceptual advancements like a more relational approach that allows for dynamic multi-level analyses of participation. Also, it draws attention to the mobilizing role of affects and emotions in collective action (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

The cultural turn in the study of social movements yielded several conceptual advancements. First, it assumes a relational approach, which allows for multiple levels of analysis and a more thorough explanation of the dynamics of participation. Second, cultural approaches recognize that movements must work hard to maintain citizen participation in collective action over time. Third, cultural approaches acknowledge that a movement must not only maintain a stable number of participants but must also adjust its tactics and goals to align with a larger environment (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

The "cultural turn" in the study of movements generated three avenues of inquiry that illustrate the importance of social interaction to movement emergence, continuity, and change: research on framing and frames, emotion, and collective identity (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017). Framing and frames, emotional expression, and collective identity are overlapping and mutually reinforcing processes, which can make it difficult for sociologists to determine causality when analysing the success and failure of movements (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Framing and Frames

Framing refers to the meaning-making processes associated with the construction and interpretation of grievances, the attribution of blame, the selection of movement targets and tactics, and the creation of a rationale for movement participation (Benford 1997). Frames, in

contrast, are the result of these meaning-making processes (Benford and Snow 2000). More specifically, frames are a central organizing idea that tells the public what is at issue and outlines the boundaries of a debate. Organizational leaders, for example, present frames as a way to define a situation as problematic, to identify the responsible party or structure, to articulate a reasonable solution, and to call individuals to action (Gamson 1992; Snow and Benford 1992) (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Emotion

The cultural turn in social movement research renewed interest in how emotion influences the course and content of social movements. Today, scholars recognize that emotions affect movement goals, interests, and actions. In fact, without the flames of passion, there might not be any movement activity at all (Flam and King 2005; Hercus 1999; Taylor 2000). While emotions involve physiological changes, sociologists often focus on the strategic dimensions of emotions, or how activists use emotion to mobilize individuals to action and keep them involved in a movement over time (Goodwin et al. 2004) (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Collective Identity

Collective identity is the feeling of "we-ness" or "one-ness" among a collectivity that provides a sense of shared agency, which can be an impetus for collective action. More specifically, collective identity can be defined as: An individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly … . Collective identities are expressed in cultural materials- names, narratives, symbols, verbal styles, rituals, clothing, and so on …" (Polletta and Jasper 2001: 285) (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Social Psychological Approaches

Social psychology focuses on the basic question of why some individuals participate in social movements while others do not, or why some individuals decide to quit while others stay involved (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans elaborate on four basic social psychological mechanisms—social identity, cognition, emotion and motivation—that mediate between collective identity and collective action (Roggeband &

Klandermans, 2017). They indicate that the emphasis in social psychology so far has been on the antecedents of protest participation, whereas the social psychological consequences of protest are still understudied. Sustained participation, despite its importance for the longer-term success for social movements, is absent in the literature (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). Disengagement, Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans argue, is related to the decline in gratification and commitment (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

2.2.3   Theories on Collective Action

Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation theory (RDT), for example, posits that only when individuals perceive their situation as relatively deprived will they experience anger and resentment, and seek to improve their lot (Crosby, 1976; Runciman, 1966; for a review see Walker & Smith, 2002).

RDT has developed at least two key in sights as to why individuals participate in collective action. First, the deprivation must be perceived as group based for this experience to predict collective action (e.g., Kawakami & Dion, 1995). Meta-analytic evidence (Smith & Ortiz, 2002) suggests that when disadvantage is perceived as individual based and unjust, the resulting sense of deprivation does not predict collective action. However, when the same disadvantage is perceived as group based and unjust, relative deprivation is a strong predictor of collective action. A second insight from RDT suggests that individuals do not simply perceive social injustice or inequality, but are often emotionally aroused by it too (see Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002). RD theorists argue that it is this emotional response that motivates participation in collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008). That is, the action-related experience seems most prototypically captured in the affective or emotional component of relative deprivation. This idea has paved the way for applications of group-based emotion (Leach et al., 2002; Smith, 1993) to the study of collective action. For instance, feelings of group-based anger and resentment motivate individuals' willingness to engage in collective action (e.g., Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Similarly, American and British citizens' feelings of shame and anger about their countries' occupation of Iraq has been shown to motivate a willingness to protest the occupation (Iyer, Schmader, &Lickel, 2007). (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

Feelings of relative deprivation result from comparisons of one's situation with some standard of comparison—be it one's own past, someone else's situation, or some cognitive standard (Folger 1986). If such comparisons result in the conclusion than one is not receiving the rewards or recognition one deserves the feelings that accompany this assessment are referred to as relative deprivation. If the comparison concerns someone's personal situation Runciman proposed to use the concept of egoistic deprivation. If the comparison concerns the situation of a group someone belongs to he proposed the concept of paternalistic deprivation. It was assumed that especially paternalistic relative deprivation is relevant in the context of movement participation (Major 1994; Martin 1986) (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Double Relative Deprivation

However, while paternalistic deprivation is regarded as the more valid explanation of collective action, the relationship between paternalistic deprivation and collective action is moderate at best (Guimond and Dubé-Simard 1983). Thus, the almost singular focus on paternalistic deprivation does not appear to provide an adequate psychological explanation for collective action (Foster and Matheson 1999). Foster and Matheson argue that in order to capture the connection between individual (personal) and group (political) oppression it may be informative to consider the much-ignored notion of double relative deprivation, the experience of both personal and group deprivation. It is suggested that people who experience both egoistic deprivation and paternalistic deprivation may report a qualitatively different experience that may be more strongly associated with action-taking than the experience of either egoistic or paternalistic deprivation alone. Foster and Matheson show that when the group experience becomes relevant for one's own experience, there is a greater motivation to take part in collective action (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Developing a more systematic grievance theory

In an attempt to develop a more systematic grievance theory Klandermans (1997) distinguished between illegitimate inequality, suddenly imposed grievances, and violated principles. Illegitimate inequality is what relative deprivation theory is about. The assessment of illegitimate inequality implies both comparison processes and legitimating processes. The first processes concern the assessment of a treatment as unequal, the second of that inequality as illegitimate. Suddenly imposed grievances refer to an unexpected threat or inroad upon people's

rights or circumstances (Walsh 1981). The third type of grievances refers to moral outrage because it is felt that important values or principles are violated. Klandermans takes the three types or grievances together as feelings of injustice, that he defines as "outrage about the way authorities are treating a social problem" (p. 38) (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) offers another framework of collective action, proposing that it is individuals' perceptions of socio structural characteristics that determine their identification with the group, which predicts the likelihood of their participation in social change strategies (Kawakami & Dion, 1995; Mummendey et al., 1999; Wright et al., 1990).

First, group members should perceive the boundary between their (low-status) group and the comparison (high-status) group to be impermeable, such that they cannot join the high-status group and improve their individual position (Ellemers, 1993). This hypothesis parallels RDT's distinction between group and individual deprivation. Second, the group's low-status position should be perceived as illegitimate or undeserved (e.g., Mummendeyetal.,1999). This means that people should be able to imagine alternatives to the status quo (Tajfel, 1978). And third, the inequality should be perceived as unstable, reflecting a sense of agency that the social structure can be changed (e.g., Wright et al., 1990). In this way, individuals' group-based perceptions of, and emotional responses to, inequality and injustice have been identified as important predictors of their willingness to engage in collective action. Others have argued, however, that perceptions of, and even emotions based in, relative deprivation and illegitimacy may not be enough to predict actual collective action behaviour (St¨urmer & Simon, 2004). Building on SIT, they propose that a strongly developed and politicized sense of identification with a social movement is the best predictor of such behaviour (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Research has indeed shown that people are unlikely to engage in collective action when their group means little to them (see Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). This is illustrated by the fact that demonstrations typically attract only a tiny fraction of all the individuals who are sympathetic to the cause (Oegema & Klandermans, 1994). Some authors have taken this argument even further to argue that people primarily identify with social groups for the purpose of mobilizing for collective action and social change (e.g., Reicher, 1996). Thus, a second

important factor motivating collective action is individuals' (politicized) identification with their group. (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource mobilization theory argues that social movements emerge as a result of changes in a group's organization, resources, and opportunities for collective action. Resource mobilization theory adopts an economic approach to understanding collective action, emphasizing how resource flows influence movement emergence and success (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Over time, scholars have developed key dimensions of the theory including (1) the kinds of resources relevant to social movements, (2) the (dis) advantages of different organizational forms, and (3) the effects of movement dynamics on the course and outcomes of organizations (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Sociologists identify three resources that are critical for movement emergence and success: material, human, and moral resources. Organizations are central to resource mobilization theory because they shepherd resources and harness dissent (McCarthy and Zald 1973, 1977; Oberschall 1973; Tilly 1978). By situating social movement organizations in a larger "multiorganizational field" that consists of opponents and allies (Curtis and Zurcher 1973; Klandermans 1992), resource mobilization theory draws attention to three important dynamics: those between opponents, competitors, and allies (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Injustice and identity explanations do not take into account individuals' more instrumental concerns about the perceived costs and benefits of collective action. For example, resource mobilization theory (McCarthy&Zald,1977) has been influential in proposing that relative deprivation elicits collective protest behaviour only when individuals believe they have the resources to mount an effective challenge to the inequality or injustice. That is, individuals often do not participate in collective action because they do not expect (material or social) rewards for their efforts (Olson, 1968; Sturmer & Simon, 2004). Similarly, people may perceive their group to be too weak to enforce social change (in terms of the group's efficacy to achieve change; Mummendey et al., 1999; van Zomeren et al., 2004). Lastly, individuals may not have sufficient opportunities or networks to join social movements or collective actions, or they may face practical obstacles to actual participation (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987). Thus, a third

important factor motivating collective action is individuals' instrumental expectations of costs and benefits. (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

Moreover, the resource mobilization approach took as its point of departure that grievances abound and that the question to be answered was not so much why people are aggrieved but why aggrieved people mobilize. As a consequence the social movement field lost its interest in grievance theory and because of the association of grievance theory with social psychology it lost its interest in social psychology as well (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

A social-psychological expansion of resource mobilization theory

Klandermans (1984) was among the first to observe that in doing so it had thrown the baby out with the bathwater. He began to systematically explore and disseminate what social psychology has to offer to students of social movements. He demonstrated that grievances are necessary but certainly not sufficient conditions for participation in social movements and proposed social psychological mechanisms that do add sufficient explanation. He argued and demonstrated that there is much more available in social psychology than grievances and relative deprivation. In 1984 he presented a social-psychological expansion of resource mobilization theory as explanation of why some aggrieved people participate in protest, while others don't. The model is a fusion of expectancy value theory and collective action theory (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Klandermans (1984) argued that information about the behaviour of others can help to overcome the dilemma. However, when the decision to participate must be taken it is usually not known what the others will do (but see Zhao 1998 for an interesting example of a mobilization campaign where people did have information about the behaviour of others). In the absence of factual information people must rely on expectations about the behaviour of others. Organizers will, therefore, try to make people belief that their participation does make a difference. Klandermans' model, therefore, contained expectations about the behaviour of others. Collective action participation is explained by the following parameters: collective benefits and social and non-social selective incentives. Collective benefits are a composite of the value of the action goal and the expectation that the goal will be reached. This expectation is broken down into expectations about the behaviours of others, expectations that the action

goal will be reached if many others participate and the expectation that one's own participation will increase the likelihood of success (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Expectancy Value Theory

Expectancy Value Theory explains the motivation for specific behaviour by the value of the expected outcomes of that behaviour. The core of the social-psychological expansion of resource mobilization theory is the individual's expectation that specific outcomes will materialize, multiplied by the value of those outcomes for the individual. In line with expectancy-value approaches (Feather and Newton 1982) expectations and values stand in a multiplicative relationship. A goal might be valuable, but if it cannot be reached, it is unlikely to motivate behaviour. If, on the other hand, a goal is within someone's reach, but it is of no value, it will not motivate behaviour either (Klandermans 1984). Expectancy-value Theory, thus assumes a rational decision maker (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Political Process Theory

Like resource mobilization theory, political process theory draws attention to the role of power in the course and content of movements (Jenkins and Perrow 1977). However, instead of emphasizing the resources needed for mobilization and success, political process theory examines (1) how the configurations of power relations shape the opportunities available to activists to affect change and (2) the importance of cognitive liberation, or the combination of citizens' perceived injustice and collective efficacy, to movement emergence (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017).

Frustration-Aggression Theory

The idea is that when the achievement of some goal is blocked by some external agency, this results in feelings of frustration. Among the possible reactions to such feelings of frustration are acts aiming at the external agency in order to lift the blockade or simply punish the agency for blocking goal achievement (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Collective Action Theory

Collective Action Theory (Olson 1965) maintains that rational decision makers if they must decide to take part in collective action are faced with the collective action dilemma. Collective

actions, if they succeed, tend to produce collective goods that are supplied to everybody irrespective of whether people have participated in the production of the collective good. Thus, if the collective good is produced people will reap the benefits anyway. Collective action theory predicts that under those circumstances rational actors will choose to take a free ride, unless selective incentives (i.e., those incentives that depend upon participation) motivate them to participate. However, if too many people conclude from that assessment that they can afford to take a free ride, the collective good will not be produced (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

2.2.4 Trends and gaps in literature on Collective Action

Current trends in Collective Actions Research

As Van Zomeren & Iyer (2009) highlights, collective action has been studied mainly among members of low-status groups, raising the question of whether the same social and psychological factors predict collective action among members of high-status groups, or groups undefined by status. The past 10 years have seen a resurgence of interest in the study of social justice efforts within social psychology and sociology. This work has primarily examined collective action by disadvantaged or low-status groups but has recently begun to investigate collective action by advantaged or high-status groups, as well as groups not strictly defined by a status position (e.g., opinion-based groups). (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

Also, current research provides fresh perspectives on older or enduring features of collective action such as networking, the role of art and performance in protest, or the use of rights and legal action by social movement activists (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

Lack of literature in individual disengagement

Why do individuals leave the collective action allies that they have worked so hard? However, as the literature on collective action highlights little attention has given to that question. This deficit can be identified on its own as well as comparatively. As van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) cites, compared to the abundant literature on why people join movements, literature on why they exit is almost non-existent. van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) further cites that Sustained participation is absent in the social movement literature.

While research has certainly made progress in understanding the mechanisms of individual demobilization, a certain number of avenues remain insufficiently explored (Della Porta et al., 2014). And apart from a few exceptions, research has mainly dealt with committed activists, without exploring not-so-committed participants; little has been done in order to disentangle the respective effects of political organizations' moulding and socialization due to the mere participation to protest events; and, in existing research, age seems not to be considered as playing a role in explaining individual outcomes (Della Porta et al., 2014). In addition, research could more systematically study the way in which some macrosocial contexts discourage or encourage certain paths to demobilization. The existence or availability (most often via the state) of possibilities of reconversion is an example of this (Della Porta et al., 2014). lastly, analysis of post-movement paths of individual development is less interested in the very process of subsequent life course than in understanding the socio-historical structuring of activists' careers (Della Porta et al., 2014).

Why there's less literature on disengagement?

There are at least four explanations for the failure of the literature to address this. First, activism has been less studied for itself than through the analysis of organizations which frame it. This leads naturally to reasoning in terms of stock rather than ow. Secondly, micro sociological approaches to behaviour, except for their economists version of rational choice theory, have long been discarded in the name of the struggle against the paradigm of collective behaviour. Thirdly, there is a scarcity of sources that can prove useful in understanding the activist. By definition, ex-activists are no longer present at the time of the investigation and, very often, organizations do not retain records of members which would allow researchers to track those no longer active or, if they do, they do not make them readily available to researchers. Fourthly, there is the difficulty of moving from static approaches to a true processual perspective which, in this particular case, is based on setting up longitudinal studies, whether prospective or retrospective (Fillieule 2001) (Della Porta et al., 2014).

3   Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Collective action is often operationalized in different ways in studies employing a diverse range of methods, which may potentially produce conceptual confusion. (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

3.1   Individual in Collective Action

A first important shared interest is opening the black box of social movements to look at the individuals that make up the movements. This is of course the longstanding interest of social psychologists, but it is increasingly also emphasized as an important issue in sociology and anthropology (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). Within sociology, attention to individual protesters emerged as an important critique to the earlier more structural theories of collective action that importantly identified the facilitative conditions for participation, but failed to explain the differences in individual responses to such conditions. More attention to the individual level is necessary not only to explain the dynamics of sustained participation and disengagement, but also to better understand the role of framing and emotions in mobilization processes and within social movement organizations (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). While social psychologists try to explain individual decisions and choices to participate in collective action, sociology looks into the structural conditions that may steer these decisions, but also examine how such individual choices accumulate and result in a more or less successful movement. Anthropologists also favour an actor-oriented analysis to study the complexities of people's reasons and motivations to be part of a movement. They seek to understand the specific considerations, doubts, meaning giving and aspirations of both participants and non-participants (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). However, with refereeing to their publication, Roggeband & Klandermans (2017) further highlights that, authors of the chapters on social psychology, sociology and anthropology all argue that individual processes of interpreting, analysing and using information in the context of movement participation are still understudied.

Attention to individual protesters also brings in the ensuing issues of identity and emotions. The increased attention to identity and emotions also involves methodological challenges and innovations. While more traditional methods like surveys, interviews, oral history, and ethnography are particularly valuable instruments to study emotions, social movement scholars also started to explore the use of experiments and physiological methods, as well as visual and auditory methods (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). While sociological approaches are

mainly concerned with the construction and negotiation of collective identity, social psychologists carefully distinguish between collective identity as group characteristic and the identity and identification processes of individual protesters. In anthropology the emphasis is on meaning-making processes in which attention both goes to how social identities foster movement participation and to the role of culture and 'habitus' in the formation of collective identities (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). Emotions and affects have become central issues in social psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Social movement scholars have started to explore the role of emotions in motivating people to participate in collective action, in finding resonance for social movement claims and frames and the emotional significance of mottos, metaphors, and rituals, that are invoked by protesters. Sociologists often focus on the strategic dimensions of emotions, or how activists use emotion to mobilize individuals to action and keep them involved in a movement over time. Emotions are treated as an important constitutive element of identity construction and negotiations. From a social psychological point of view, identity precedes emotions. The strength of group identifications influences how and to what extent people experience group-based emotions. Social psychologists have a long tradition of studying emotions and developed instrument and measures to explain how emotions influence cognition and behaviour. Anthropologists investigate the culturally specific aspects of emotional behaviour. Their focus is on the multiple cultural expressions of emotions, emotional rules, and semantics. While the role of emotions has become a subject of growing interest across the social sciences and so entered the interdisciplinary field of social movement studies (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

3.2   Activism as a long-lasting social activity

Over the last dozen years, the sociology of activism has been revitalized by the conception of activism as a long-lasting social activity articulated by phases of joining, commitment, and defection. This has given rise to the notion of 'activist career', drawing directly on Hughes' and Becker's concept of interactionism. Applied to political commitment, the notion of career allows us to understand how, at each biographical stage, the attitudes and behaviours of activists are determined by past attitudes and behaviours, which in turn condition the range of future possibilities, thus resituating commitment across the entire life cycle. The concept of career therefore enables us to combine questions of the predisposition to and operationalization of activism, of differentiated and variable forms of engagement over time, of the multiplicity of

engagements across the life cycle, and of the withdrawal and extension of commitment (Fillieule, 2010).

Engagement

Participation in social movements is a multifaceted phenomenon (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Indeed, although the emphasis in on the individual level, the dynamics of collective action participation do take place in a social, cultural and political context. Movement organizations, multiorganizational fields, political opportunities, and social and cultural cleavages affect the route that individual participants take towards or away from the movement (Klandermans 1997) (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Participation in social movements is a multifaceted phenomenon. Indeed, there are many different forms of movement participation. Two important dimensions to distinguish forms of participation are time and effort (Klandermans 1997) (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Participation can also be indefinite but little demanding paying a membership fee to an organization or being on call for two nights a month. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Finally, there are forms of participation that are both enduring and taxing like being a member on a committee or a volunteer in a movement organization. Examples are the members of neighbourhood committees (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Different forms of participation imply different motivational dynamics. In one of the rare comparative studies of types of movement participation Passy (2001) found indeed that the motivational dynamics of various forms of participation were different (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). What are the social and psychological factors that move people to collective action? Scholars have long been interested in this question because the societal consequences of collective action can be enormous: (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). One may expect different forms of participation to involve different motivational dynamics (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Disengagement

As Della Porta et all (2014) mention, the logical counterpart of the initial recruitment and mobilization process of Social Movements is clearly collective demobilization and individual disengagement.

Individual Disengagement and Collective Demobilization

Furthermore, Della Porta et al. (2014) cites, the notion of demobilization brings us back to a plurality of phenomena ranging from individual disengagement (Fillieule 2005) to the political demobilization of an entire society, the sum of individual behaviour producing macrosocial cycles of involvement or, conversely, withdrawal to the private sphere (Hirschman 2002). The concept of demobilization brings us back to collective phenomena. At the micro sociological level, we will refer instead to disengagement. This may fall within the rubric of demobilization but also brings us back to singular trajectories which may include a wide diversity of forms and determinants. Indeed, it is very likely that the process of disengagement changes in nature according to what causes it, the cost of defection, the manner in which it takes place and, therefore, what becomes of those who leave, which raises the question of the biographical consequences of activism (Della Porta et al., 2014).

Nature and different forms of disengagement

Individual demobilization is not always voluntary. It may also result from a collective decision to dissolve an organization; from the decline of an ideology, as Taylor illustrates (1989) with regards to American postwar feminism; from exclusion; from deprogramming; or from being sidelined due to forced exile or a prison sentence. The modalities of individual defection vary. It may be isolated or collective, on the occasion, for example, of an organizational split, or when groups with a certainty leave together. Intruding distinguishes defectors, who leave in a negotiated manner, apostates, who become professional enemies of their organization, and ordinary leavers, who disappear without their withdrawal representing a significant cost, for either themselves or the organization. This is a typology which needs to be completed by adding all forms of passive defection, but also all the cases in which withdrawal is followed, and sometimes provoked, by joining another organization. Nonetheless, in every case, the vast majority of the ordinary people who leave remain invisible (Della Porta et al., 2014).

3.3   Dynamics of sustained participation and dynamics of disengagement

Why some individuals decide to quit while others stay involved?

People live in a perceived world. They respond to the world as they perceive and interpret it and if we want to understand their cognitions, motivations and emotions we need to know their

perceptions and interpretations. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Taking the individual as the unit of analysis has important methodological implications. If one wants to explain individual behaviour, one needs to collect data at the individual level: attitudes, beliefs, opinions, motives, affect and emotions, intended and actual behaviour, and so on. Face-to-face interviews, survey questionnaires (paper and pencil or online), experiments, registration and observation of individual behaviour are the typical devices (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

The counterpart of the dynamics of sustained participation is the dynamics of disengagement. The prototypical social psychological question related to collective action is that of why some individuals participate in social movements while others do not, or for that matter, why some individuals decide to quit while others stay involved (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Trying to understand why people who are seemingly in the same situation respond so different (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

The Dynamics of Disengagement Model by Klandermans

The model proposed by Klandermans (1997) can be identified as a simple but a comprehensive model on dynamics of disengagement. As per the model dynamics of disengagement is explained as a process of different contributing factors and stages namely insufficient gratification, declining commitment, growing intention to leave, precipitating event, and finally leaving.
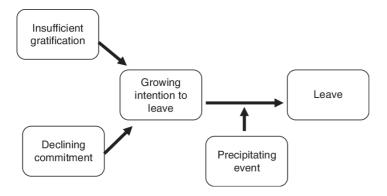

Figure 1: The Dynamics of Disengagement Model by Klandermans

As the model suggests, Insufficient gratification in combination with declining commitment produces a growing intention to leave. Eventually, some critical event tips the balance and

makes the person quit. Obviously, the event itself only triggers the final step. Against that background its impact may be overestimated. After all, it was the decline in gratification and commitment that causes defection, the critical event only precipitated matters. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017)

Insufficient Gratification

van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) distinguishes three fundamental motives to participate: instrumental, identification and expressive motives. Social movements may provide the opportunity to fulfil these motives and the better they do, the more movement participation turns into a satisfying experience. However, movements may also fall short on each of these motives.

Most likely it is for movements to fall short in terms of instrumentality. Although it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of social movements, it is obvious that for many a movement goal is never reached. Opp (1988) has argued that indeed people are very well aware of the fact that movement goals are not always easy to achieve, but that they reason that nothing happens in any event if nobody participates. Yet sooner or later some success must be achieved for the instrumental motivation to continue to fuel participation. Movements offer the opportunity to act on behalf of one's group. This is the most attractive if people identify strongly with their group. Social movements provide the opportunity to express one's views. This is not to say that they are always equally successful in that regard. Obviously, there is not always full synchrony between a movement's ideology and a person's beliefs. Indeed, many a movement organization ends in flights between ideological factions and schisms and defection as a consequence (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Declining commitment

Movement commitment does not last by itself. It must be maintained via interaction with the movement and any measure that makes that interaction less gratifying helps to undermine commitment. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017)

Downton and Wehr (1997) discuss mechanisms of social bonding which movements apply to maintain commitment. Leadership, ideology, organization, rituals, and social relations, which make up a social network each contribute to sustaining commitment and the most effective is,

of course, a combination of all five. Although not all of them are equally well researched, each of these five mechanisms is known from movement literature as factors which foster people's attachment to movements. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017)

Growing intention to leave

When gratification falls short, and commitment declines an intention to leave develops. Yet, this intention to leave does not necessarily turn into leaving. Many participants maintain a marginal level of participation for extended periods until some event makes them quit (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Goslinga (2002) calculated that a stable 25% of the membership of Dutch labour unions considered leaving. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017)

The role of precipitating event

As the event is the immediate cause of disengagement it draws disproportionate attention as explanation of exit behaviour but note that the event only has this impact in the context of an already present readiness to leave. Such critical events can have many different appearances, sometimes even appear trivial (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

When some decades ago Dutch labour unions changed to a different system of dues collection and members had to sign to agree with the new system quite a few members choose not to sign. Changing address may be seized as an opportunity to leave the movement simply by not renewing contacts in the new place of residence (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). More substantial reasons might be a conflict with others in the organization, disappointing experiences in the movement, a failed protest, and so on. Such events function as the last drop that makes the cup run over. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017)

Mechanisms of social bonding

As van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) explains movements apply mechanisms of social bonding to maintain commitment. Leadership, ideology, organization, rituals, and social relations, which make up a social network each contribute to sustaining commitment and the most effective is, of course, a combination of all five. Although not all of them are equally well

researched, each of these five mechanisms is known from movement literature as factors which foster people's attachment to movements.

For example, it is known from research on union participation that involving members in decision-making processes increases commitment to a union (Klandermans 1992). Rituals in movement groups strengthen the membership's bond to the movement. Movement organizations have developed all kind of services for their members to make membership more attractive. Selective incentives may seldom be sufficient reasons to participate in a movement, but they do increase commitment (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Three interdependent variables of withdrawal

This evolution of investigative techniques is related to the renewal of the sociology of activism inspired by interactionist approaches and, more broadly, life course sociology. In such an approach, the focus is on the processes leading to rather than on its determinants or what happens to those who withdraw. From this perspective, withdrawal is seen as resulting from the three interdependent levels: exhaustion of the rewards of involvement, the loss of ideological meaning, and the transformation of relations of sociability (Della Porta et al., 2014).

3.4   The importance of a multi-layer analysis

Sociological research clearly shows that a relational approach, which allows for multiple levels of analysis and a more thorough explanation of the dynamics of participation, is necessary for understanding social change (Rohlinger & Gentile, 2017). The different approaches to similar issues are in part complementary and offer the potential for contributing to a more multi-layered analysis of social movements that combines micro, meso and macro level factors. (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

4.   Methodology

4.1   Research Strategy and Research Design

Research Strategy

This study's research strategy takes a qualitative approach. Research strategy provides a general orientation to the conduct of social research. Qualitative research is a research strategy that usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data. It is common to describe qualitative research as concerned with the generation rather than the testing of theories. As a research strategy it is broadly inductivist, constructionist, and interpretivist, but do not always subscribe to all three of these features. As a research strategy it is predominantly emphasizes an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, in which the emphasis is placed on the generation of theories; has rejected the practices and norms of the natural scientific model and of positivism in particular in preference for an emphasis on the ways in which individuals interpret their social world; and embodies a view of social reality as a constantly shifting emergent property of individuals' creation. (Bryman, 2012). In this context, as a study aims at framing people's perspectives, the selection of qualitative strategy provides this study with the opportunity to develop a knowledgebase by grasping lived experiences of people.

Research Design

A research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data. A choice of research design reflects decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process. These include the importance attached to expressing causal connections between variables; generalizing to larger groups of individuals than those forming part of the investigation; understanding behaviour and the meaning of that behaviour in its specific social context; having a temporal appreciation of social phenomena and their interconnections. (Bryman, 2012). The study has selected the case of 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising and it's participants lived experiences around the case specially in the aftermath of the popular uprising events.

4.2   Data Collection

4.2.1 Study Population

As Bryman (2012) cites, population refers to the universe of units from which a sample is to be selected. The study aims to understand the perspectives of the participants of the 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising. Therefore, the study consider individuals who has taken part events organized as part of the 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising in all parts of country are considered part of the study population.

4.2.2 Sampling

Sample refers to the segment of the population that is selected for research. It is a subset of the population. The method of selection may be based on probability sampling or non-probability sampling principles (Bryman, 2012). The Study has utilised different sampling in two different levels.

1. Sampling of context.
2. Sampling of participants.

In the first level the study has selected the case and then in the second level the sample units within the case. Four sampling approaches have been employed in this study in sampling of context and participants within the case.

All the sampling approaches used in this study belongs to non-probability sampling. As Bryman (2012) mentions, non-probability sampling is sampling that has not been selected using a random sampling method and essentially, this implies that some units in the population are more likely to be selected than others.

Purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling where the researcher does not seek to sample research participants on a random basis. Although a purposive sample is not a random sample, it is not a convenience sample either. Purposive sampling places the investigator's research questions at the heart of the sampling considerations. In purposive sampling, the unit of analysis are selected because of their relevance to the research questions. The researcher needs to be clear in his or her mind what the criteria are that will be relevant to the inclusion or exclusion of units of analysis. The goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being

posed. The selection of the purposive sampling is to ensure that they gain access to as wide a range of individuals relevant to their research questions as possible so that many different perspectives and ranges of activity are the focus of attention. Because it is a non-probability sampling approach, purposive sampling does not allow the researcher to generalize to a population (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative researchers tend to emphasize the importance of purposive sampling for their work (Bryman, 2012). In the context of this study, technical constraints such as difficulties in fieldwork and mapping 'the population' from which a random sample might be taken— that is, to create a sampling frame are also the reasons behind selecting purposive sampling as the most appropriate approach for the study.

Sampling of context

Convenience Sampling

Convenience Sampling has been employed as the sampling approach in selecting the context for the study. As Bryman (2012) cites, convenience sample is a sample that is selected because of its availability to the researcher. It is a form of non-probability sample. Different to purposive sampling where the researcher samples with his or her research goals in mind, convenience sampling is a sample simply available by chance to the researcher. In the case of this study, as the researcher has already established networks, the sound understanding of the context, and a personal interest to the research topic the case of Sri Lanka has been selected.

Sampling of participants

After the selection of context, two non-probability sampling approaches have been employed for the sampling of participants. The selected sampling are maximum variation sampling and snow-ball sampling.

Maximum variation sampling

Maximum variation sampling is primary, the most frequently used and most effective sampling in the study. Maximum variation sampling is sampling to ensure as wide a variation as possible in terms of the dimension of interest (Bryman, 2012). The researcher has identified and reached out to a varied range of potential respondents in order to ensure a wide variation as expected by the maximum variation sampling. In this regard the study has been able to reach out to a wide

range of respondents from varying background including the nature of involvement with collective action, place of residence and occupation.

Snow-ball Sampling

The second sampling used in this study is Snow-ball Sampling. As Bryman (2012) describes, Snow-ball Sampling is a non-probability sample in which the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others.

The below table illustrates how each sampling approach has been utilized in selecting the participants.

Table 2: An analysis of number of Interviews conducted under each sampling.

Interview Category and Criteria	Sampling Approach		Total
	Maximum Variation Sampling	**Snow-ball Sampling**	
Key-Informant Interviews			
Reached out requesting an interview	4	0	4
Interview conducted	4	0	4
Interview not conducted	0	0	0
Semi Structured Interviews			
Reached out requesting an interview	13	3	16
Interview conducted	11	1	12
Interview not conducted	2	2	4

However, As the table illustrates the dominant and most successful sampling approach has been the Maximum Variation Sampling. Based on the recommendations given by the respondents of the maximum variation sampling, snow-ball sampling method has been employed. However, only a single respondent was successfully reached through snow-ball sampling.

4.2.3　Data Collection Tools

The Study employed two data collection tools to gather primary data namely Key-Informant Interviews and Semi Structured Interviews.

Key-Informant Interviews

As Bryman (2012) identifies a Key Informant is someone who offers the researcher, usually in the context of conducting an ethnography, perceptive information about the social setting, important events, and individuals. By employing Key-Informant Interviews the Study aimed to gain an introductory and overview understanding of 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising. Six Key-Informant Interviews have been conducted covering diverse range of stakeholders. The interviews were conducted as unstructured interviews with the support of an interview prompt with the aim of discovering different dimensions of the research topic. The interviews were not voice or video recorded, and important inputs were recorded through note taking. While two of the interviews were conducted in-person the remaining two were conducted as online audio conversations.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-Structured Interviews served as the main tool of the primary data collection. Semi-structured interview typically refers to a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the general form of an interview guide but is able to vary the sequence of questions. The questions are frequently somewhat more general in their frame of reference from that typically found in a structured interview schedule. Also, the interviewer usually has some latitude to ask further questions in response to what are seen as significant replies. (Bryman, 2012). Taking the use of the above-mentioned advantages a total of twelve Semi-Structured Interviews have been conducted. All the interviews were conducted online, most as video conversations and few as audio conversations. All the interviews were voice recorded and later transcribed.

4.2.4 Participants Recruitment

The recruitment of respondents to the study was conducted in two steps. First all the potential respondents were contacted through informal lines introducing the study briefly and asking their interest to take part in the study. Secondly, the agreed informants were informed in detail using the content of the Information Letter and requesting their consent.

The researcher aimed not only to include core activists in the sample but participants with different levels and forms and engagement as that's what correctly frame a true composition of a collective action moment. As Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) mentions, a movement only have a limited number of core activists and these long-term participants keep the movement running., only 5-10% of the membership of the Dutch labour Unions are core activists and more according to empirical data these core members willing to and aware that they are giving more than 90% of the movement participants free rides. Therefore, in deciding the research sample it was decided it is vital to integrate this reality in the research sample by having a participant with different levels of participation if order to capture the vivid dynamics. Also the employment of purposive sampling is also to ensure the diversity of the research sample.

Inclusion criteria

The below inclusion criteria have been used to select participants.

- A Sri Lankan citizen.
- Have participated in some form of collective action at least once.
- Have taken part in a collective action relevant to 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising in any part of Sri Lanka.

The below figure on sample demography illustrates how the study has been able to capture the different dimensions of diversity.

Table 3: Participants demography: Key-Informant Interviews

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Place of Residence	Ethnic and	Current Occupation	Nature of engagement in

				religious background		2022 Sri Lanka Uprising
Chathura	40	Male	Western Province, Sri Lanka	Sinhala Buddhist	INGO Employee and Civil Society Activist	One of the founding organizers of the movement
Mahesha	40	Female	Australia	Sinhala Buddhist	Academician	Participant of protests in Australia
Namila	32	Male	Southern Province, Sri Lanka	Sinhala Buddhist	Businessman	Anti-Supporter of protests
Sasika	70	Male	Western Province, Sri Lanka	Sinhala Buddhist	Retired Academician	Anti-Supporter of protests

Table 4: Participants demography: Semi-Structured Interviews

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Place of Residence (province)	Ethnic and religious background	Mother Tongue	Current Occupation	Nature of engagement in 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising

Larissa	27	Female	Western Province	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	NGO Employee	Participant of protests in Colombo
Clarenz	32	Male	Western	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	Entrepreneur	Participant of protests in Colombo
Hikka	34	Male	Southern	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	University Administrative Staff	Participant of regional protests
Emil	32	Male	Western	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	Professional Musician	Contributor of Protest in Colombo
Raghavan	29	Male	Northwestern	Sinhala Buddhist and Christian	Sinhala	NGO Employee	Contributor of Protest in Colombo
Nirmani	31	Female	Northwestern Province, Sri Lanka	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	NGO Employee	Participant of protests in Colombo
Baba	31	Male	Western	Mixed (Sinhala and Malay) Buddhist	Sinhala	IGO Employee	Participant of protests in Colombo

Ashraf	30	Male	Eastern	Sri Lankan Moor Muslim	Tamil	NGO Employee	Organizer of regional protests
Darshatha	28	Male	Central	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	NGO Employee	Organizer of regional protests
Sakuna	34	Male	Northwestern	Multifaith	Sinhala	Freelancer	Participant of protests in Colombo
Alto	31	Male	Western	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	Private Sector Employee	Participant of protests in Colombo
Podi	36	Male	Northwestern	Sinhala Buddhist	Sinhala	Government Employee and a Tutor	Organizer of regional protests

4.3   Data Analysis

4.3.1   Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis has been chosen and employed for data analysis. Thematic Analysis is an accessible, flexible, and increasingly popular method of qualitative data analysis. Thematic Analysis is a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set. Numerous patterns could be identified across any data set—the purpose of analysis is to identify those relevant to answering a particular research question. Thematic Analysis allows to legitimately focus on analysing meaning across the entire data set, or examine one particular aspect of a phenomenon in depth. Reporting could be obvious or semantic meanings in the data, or can interrogate the latent meanings, the assumptions and ideas that lie behind what is explicitly stated (Braun & Clarke, 2012). The

entire process of the thematic analysis including coding, theme generation refining has been completed manually. The study has identified ten themes in total with relevant to three specific research questions. While four of the themes stands on its own six of the themes have been further subdivided into eighteen subthemes.

4.3.2 Data Triangulation

As Bryman (2012) describes, data triangulation refers to the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon so that findings may be cross-checked (Bryman, 2012). Even though the study's both data collection methods belong to sub categories of interviews, a dual procedure has been used for data triangulation. First, data, especially data relevant to specific explanations, gathered through semi- structured interviews have been cross checked with data sets from other semi-structured interviews. Secondly, data, especially the data with regard to the larger socio-political context have been cross checked with the data from the Key-Informant Interviews.

4.4 Reflexivity, Ethical Considerations, Challenges and Limitations

Reflexivity

Reflexivity has several meanings in the social sciences. As Bryman (2012) cites reflexivity refers to the connotation that social researchers should be reflective about the implications of their methods, values, biases, decisions and mere presence in the very situations they investigate for the knowledge of the social world they generate. Relatedly, reflexivity entails a sensitivity to the researcher's cultural, political, and social context. As such, 'knowledge' from a reflexive position is always a reflection of a researcher's location in time and social space.

The researcher has been acted in support with the collective action during 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising. The acts of support included opinion sharing in social media platforms and organizing and mobilizing a solidarity silent protest in support of the demonstration movements. Researcher's own values and biases in support of the 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising is highly likely to be influential throughout the study.

Thematic Analysis, as the data analysis method employed in this Study open a great space for the researcher to be interpretive in the journey of interrogating the latent meanings of the

obvious meanings in the data set. The researcher has experiences with taking part and organizing collective action and therefore it is unavoidable that researcher has own meaning making for these experiences. This may have an impact on the data analysis process and can be identified as a challenge.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues arise at a variety of stages in social research. What is crucial is to be aware of the ethical principles involved and of the nature of the concerns about ethics in social research. It is only if researchers are aware of the issues involved that they could make informed decisions about the implications of certain choices. (Bryman, 2012).

Informed consent

Informed consent is a key principle in social research ethics. It implies that prospective research participants should be given as much information as might be needed to make an informed decision about whether or not they wish to participate in a study (Bryman, 2012). The study has ensured at different levels to gain the informed consent from the research participants. At the very first engagement, potential research respondents have been given either verbal or written brief introduction about the study. Secondly, the interested participants were informed about the study in detail through the information letter and their written consent has been taken. Thirdly, at the start of the interview they were informed about their right to withdraw, and consent has been requested to proceed. Fourthly at the end of the interview, interviewees been asked whether they want to omit any of the information that they have provided. Lastly the transcribed script has been shared with the interview participants to validate and get their consent to proceed with the shared information.

Do no harm to participants

Research that is likely to harm participants is regarded by most people as unacceptable. But what is harm? Harm can entail a number of facets: physical harm; harm to participants' development; loss of self-esteem; stress; and 'inducing subjects to perform reprehensible acts', (Bryman, 2012). As the study focuses on disengagement in collective action, this includes recalling respondent's histories which contains a certain degree of risk in psychological well-being. Therefore the researcher has been mindful about this and has been careful in the

interview questions formation, framing and presenting. This has been further followed by having a small debrief after most of the interviews to have a discussion with the interviewee about the interview process itself so that the modifications could be made in the forthcoming interviews.

Respondent validation

Sometimes called member validation, this is a process whereby a researcher provides the people on whom he or she has conducted research with an account of his or her findings and requests feedback on that account. The researcher provides each research participant with an account of what he or she has said to the researcher in an interview. In each case, the goal is to seek confirmation that the researcher's findings and impressions are congruent with the views of those on whom the research was conducted and to seek out areas in which there is a lack of correspondence and the reasons for it. (Bryman, 2012). In this study all the interviews have been audio recorded and the recording were later transcribed. The transcription have been share with the research respondent to get respondent validation. Even though the findings of the research have not been shared with the informants at the time of report submission, the study expects to share the study findings at a later stage.

Challenges and methodological limitations

Even though the study has been able to capture a wide range of diversity in its sample with corresponds to the research population there are still limitations with regard to specially gender, language, and ethnicity. The study respondents are primarily male participants. Except one respondent who is a native Tamil Speaker rest of the participants of the study are native Sinhala Speakers.

All the sampling techniques used in the study belongs non-probability sampling method. While acknowledging the benefits non-probability sampling method brings, it limits sample's ability to be representative of the research population. Another challenges about the research sample is that not been able to reach out to some of the potential respondents. A total of sixteen potential respondents have been contacted while only a twelve of them have been ended with successful interviews. The four potential respondents have agreed to take part in the interviews but haven't

been able to convert into a successful interview due to broken communication and scheduling difficulties.

5. Findings and Discussion

This chapter is divided into five sections. First three sections correspondence to the first specific research question, the fourth section to the second specific research question and finally the fifth section to the third specific research question. Findings for each specific research question are presented under identified themes and in some cases with further sub-themes.

5.1 Influential Factors: Micro Level

5.1.1 Biographical Unavailability

Becoming a long-term activist is to a large extent a matter of biographical availability. After all sustained participation requires discretionary time for an extended period. In the context of social activism, biographical availability refers to the "absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities". Individuals who have spouses, children, or less time-flexible occupations are expected to be less willing and likely to participate in collective action because familial and occupational commitments can reduce the amount of time and energy available for activism and increase the risks associated with it. (Beyerlein & Bergstrand, 2013)

As van Stekelenburg & Klandermans (2017) mentions, the concept of biographical availability was proposed by McAdam in his study of participation in the Mississippi Freedom Summer. This project was a campaign launched in June 1964 to attempt to register as many African American voters as possible in Mississippi which had historically excluded most blacks from voting. Well over 1000 students mostly from universities as Yale and Stanford participated in this project. McAdam shows that college students are uniquely free of life-course impediments to activism, the Freedom Summer applicants were freer still. And the actual volunteers were the freest of all. Indeed, participants in the Mississippi Freedom Summer Campaign were students who were biographically available.

Theoretically, biographical availability should be more significant in cases of costly or risky social activism, with costs referring to the time, money, and energy requirements of participation and risk referring to the anticipated dangers of participation, such as physical harm or social, financial, and legal repercussions. For example, while signing petitions does not involve significant time away from work or children, participating in protest events does, and

because this activity could result in arrest, there is potentially an additional risk for those who are employed or who are primary caregivers of children. (Beyerlein & Bergstrand, 2013)

Employment

Alto (31), who is an employee of one of the leading companies in the country and who holds a managerial position shared his involvement with 'Aragalaya'. Alto who was born and raised in the capital city Colombo does not have many experiences with collective action. "I have never been involved in such protests or movements like 'Aragalaya' before. Back in the days when I was a university student, we (junior students) were forced to take part in some students protests (by senior students). I avoided takin part in these protests as much as possible, and even during the few times I couldn't avoid I escaped the student protests as soon as I could. And I never participated in those protests willingly". Despite this background, explaining why he wanted to engage with 'Aragalaya' Alto shares "I was newly married and was living with my wife and this is when fuel shortage hit and when there was long ques. There were many times I had to spend days and days in the ques. And there was this one time where I had to wait the que for a week. Those days I was working, so I could not stay the whole day in the que. I joined the que with my car in the evening, and spent the night inside the car, and in the morning my father-in-law comes and stays inside the car. I go home, have a shower, and go to work. And then in the evening after work I come back from work and go and stay in the car. And then my father-in-law leave for home for the night and then come back again in the morning. And this happened for a week. After all these experiences I really wanted to take part in 'Aragalaya'. There were only a couple of times where I was able to take part. I cannot clearly remember the first time I took part, but the second time I went to 'Gota-Go-Gama' in evening with my wife and we spend the night there with fellow protestors. But with my work commitment I could not take part physically again in the movement.". For Alto even though he wants to be involved with collective action, it was the constrains set by the occupation which has caused his disenagagement.

Occupational Restrictions

The instructions and recommendations given by employer organizations to those who have been employed at the time of 'Aragalaya' has acted as an influential factor in deciding their commitment, the level of commitment and visibility of commitment with activism. While for

some this has been acted as guidelines in the spectrum of Industry Ethics some have perceived this as a fear of losing their employment due to their involvement with collective action.

In a different note Baba (31) shares how his work environment conditions influenced shaping the nature of his engagement and disengagement with 'Aragalaya'. "The place I work is an Inter-Governmental Organization (IGO) and we have given strong guidelines about taking part in 'Aragalaya'. They didn't tell us not to take part but as an IGO the organization had to maintain neutrality, so in a way I understand the fairness of those guidelines. The guidelines were more about how not to represent the organization such as not to wear organizational uniforms and merchants, not to talk media. But almost everyone in my work circle took part in the protests, so do I. Those instructions in a way limited my participation but I tried my best to take part."

Marriage and Family Responsibilities

Panda (32) who runs his father's business in a suburb of Colombo and make a living through that for himself, his own nuclear family and contributes to his parents and siblings. Explaining what distanced him from actively engaging with collective action "If you look into those who have involved in the 'Aragalaya' fully they are either social and political activists, civil society members, people who were there to gain some other benefits and youth, university students, people from 'Anthare' (Inter University Student Federation) and 'Peretto'(Slang for members of the far left political party 'Frontline Socialist Party'). For activists they have committed their lives for that so them that's their life; for civil society members they had a paid job which so they don't have to be worried about money and the job itself was flexible and encouraged them to be there because this is their job and this is where they can get publicity and say that they are doing something; and there was this third category like youtubers and social media celebrities, for them this was another opportunity increase their popularity and fanbase; with youth and university students it's obvious that they has good enough free time. But with me I had to run my business and If I don't run my business daily there aren't anyone who will generously give money to feed my family. If I was on own maybe I would have involved more and more like when I was young, but not now".

5.1.2 Identity motives

Movements offer the opportunity to act on behalf of one's group. This is the most attractive if people identify strongly with their group (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

The salient identity and less salient identities

People occupy a variety of positions in society, and consequently identify with a variety of collectives. A change in context may make the one collective identity more and the others less salient and, therefore identification with a movement may wither. Referring to their study of farmers' protest in the Netherlands and Spain, Klander mans et al. (2002) cites they observed that, in Spain during a campaign for local and provincial elections the identification with other farmers declined. In the rural areas of Basque country, the farmers identity is a highly salient identity, however, in times of elections, the most important politicized identities in Spain—Partido Popular and PSOE—sup presses the farmers identity.

Podi (36) who lives is a rural village in northwestern province is an government employee and a private tutor for high school students. Sharing his involvement with activism within and beyond 'Aragalaya' Podi (36) shares, "I have been engaged with work for socio-cultural change for years. When Rajapakshe's used extreme nationalist and anti-muslim narratives in the last elections I was complete against it and criticized it publicly. But people bought it including my family members. On the election day morning when I reminded the my family members on how Rajapakshe's are using these narratives for power politics my siter replied saying 'We need to have a safe country first, and everything comes seconds'; and my father slapped me in my face and told me that I'm not allowed to talk politics inside the house and told my to leave the house if I'm not willing to obey his rules. But these never stopped my involvement with my individual commitment with change work. When Aragalaya started people from my village were not really involved with it. I was one of the very few from my village to take the lead and publicly act on. I couldn't take part in the protests in Colombo but we took the initiative and did small protests and shoutouts in my town. Then people started to call and label me as a 'Jeppek' (Slang for a supporter and or a member of the centre left political party JVP – People's Liberation Front). And these days (When the interview was conducted) JVP is popular and there's a massive wave of people around JVP, but I keep my critique and highlights the role JVP played during the 'Aragalaya' and how this should have been different. So now the 'Jeppo' (Plural of Jeppek) blame me for criticizing JVP, JVP's role during 'Aragalaya' and for not

being part of them. For me I don't care the identity label I get, what's important to me is I stand for the change I want to see. I'm happy that I was identified as a 'Jeppek' during those days but not now because that allows me to be myself and share oy own opinion and I don't have to save some one or pretend to be someone else."

5.2   Influential Factors: Mezzo Level

5.2.1   Declining relevance and attraction of the Collective Action

Although it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of social movements, it is obvious that for many a movement goal is never reached. Indeed people are very aware of the fact that movement goals are not always easy to achieve, but that they reason that nothing happens in any event if nobody participates. Yet sooner or later some success must be achieved for the instrumental motivation to continue to fuel participation. In addition to not being achieved, movement goals may lose their attraction to people. They may lose their urgency and end lower at the societal agenda (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Larissa (27) who has disengaged herself from collective action shares "I don't think that Aragalaya will happen again. It was a unique experience that hasn't happened before. May be something else mighty happened again at some point but with a different format but not same as Aragalaya. And whatever the movement to come people will not be gathered as it happened with Aragalaya because people has lost the faith due to what has happened after 'Aragalaya'? What happened because of 'Aragalaya'? Nothing happened, yes now there are no ques for fuel and gas but what's else has happened? Only thing happened was Ranil (Wickremeisgnhe) becoming the president, but who is still in the government? Its Rajapakse regime, only change is now they are not in the front but in the backstage, they (Rajapakshe) are there, but they are only not visible." As its clearly visible for Larissa, 'Aragalaya' as a collective action has lost its relavnace, imporatnce and attarction to her. She no longer believes in the urgency of its goals and its ability to achieve those goals. With this background we have identified following sub themes applicable for the case in focus.

Ideological Fractions and mismatches

Social movements provide the opportunity to express one's views. This is not to say that they are always equally successful in that regard. Obviously, there is not always full synchrony

between a movement's ideology and a person's beliefs. Indeed, many a movement organization ends in fights between ideological factions and schisms and defection as a consequence (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Schisms are another reason why movements fail to satisfy identity motives. Sani and Reicher (1998) demonstrate that schisms result from fights over the core identity of a movement and that exiters no longer feel that they can identify with the movement. (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Although 'Aragalaya' has been highly interpreted in the scholarly writings and also recognized by the research respondents as a social movement which is not aligned to or led by any political party, all the respondents agreed that a multiple number of political parties and their different political wings such as youth wing and university student wing were present and contributed to the movement. It should be highlighted that these political parties spreads over all the extremes of political ideologies from far left to far right. However, as respondents shares this extremely unique combination of accommodating extreme 'schisms' affected fragmentations in the 'Aragalaya' movement and it's leadership specially in the later stages.

Changes in the composition of a movement

The composition of a movement may change—for instance from self-help groups around battered women to radical feminist ideology groups—and as a consequence people may feel less akin to the others in the movement (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Podi (36) shares, "when 'Aragalaya' started it was more of a social cultural movement. With time it became more of a political movement. I'm not saying it wasn't a political movement from the beginning but it was the cultural and the social aspect which made it unique. But with the time when it became more political and party politics started to play a key role. This was not that visible in the surface but was the reality. People from different parts of life and different corners of the country started to join the protest an if you want to have them and if you want to keep them in the protest you need to have something for them and this is when the Argus started to dilute and to cater everyone 'Aragalaya' diversified and it lost its momentum and many people who were there from the beginning started to question this and how this is going to end up. This has led some of my friends to reconsider their involvement".

Changes in the Leadership

As with Aragalaya, with its evolvement, those who were in in the forefront in leading the movement, at least in the public domain has been changed. These changes were not welcomed by almost every respondent of the study and have been acted as a factor in declining their involvement with activism.

Emil (32) shares, "People think 'Aragalaya' was independent, but it wasn't. Different groups had different tents in the protest site. JVP had their separate tent, 'Anthare'(IUSF: Inter University Students Federation) had their separate tent. Everyone live together, but they were not together, they didn't work together, but also there was this mutual understanding and consciousness that we are working together. This was there and it was this mutual understanding which brought 'Aragalaya' to a success. But with the time when it started to expand, in a way there was a requirement to have some sort of coordinating leadership. But then again having this coordination with this vast diversity is not easy. At some point people started to form a central leadership committee and have place where everything gets coordinated. As I said it's required but then again it transforms a 'Aragalaya' into a different format. When this committee was formed not everyone was happy with that and that led to many fractions. The intentions of forming this leadership committee could be pure or maybe not. Because some people really want to have things coordinated and some mere want to own the movement and say I'm the leader and wanted to be in the press for their personal brand building. Having this leadership central leadership committee resulted in too many fractions and many people to rethink their involvement. I'm not saying it's wrong or it was a right".

Third Party Agendas

Even though the scholarly literature highly highlights 'Aragalaya' as a bottom-up, independent people's movement, the respondent of the study shares different views on this. While some clearly identifies 'Aragalaya' as a pure bottom-up, independent people's movement most of the respondents see 'Aragalaya' as mix of such with other third parties who had their own agendas. For some of the respondents this has been an influential factor in deciding their further involvement with activism work. For them, once they had made conclusions that such third party agendas exists, that has acted as the juncture in which they had decided to question their commitment to activism.

Podi (36) shares, "Now look what has happened to everyone who has been involved with Aragalaya? Where are they now? Some even can't see. And Dimithra (Pseudonym for a female actress who was actively involved with Aragalaya) now she is doing politics with the opposition party. What happened to Lochi? (A pseudonym for a Social Media Figure who was in the forefront of Aragalaya) He is not even visible. I'm not saying Aragalaya was a result of someone's agenda, mostly specially in the beginning it was a people's movement but many used Aragalaya for their personal agendas. And I think this demotivated many people to trust such movements in the future".

Decline in the collective action movement

When a movement is in decline many activists quit (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). Hikka (34) is an administrative staff in a government university grown up and lived in a suburban town in the southern province. As a university student he has taken part in students protests and other collective action and therefore has somewhat experience in taking part but not in organizing. Between then and 'Aragalaya' he hasn't taken part in collective action and 'Aragalaya' marks his first involvement with collective action beyond his involvement as a university student. He has not been able to join the protests in Colombo but has actively taken part in protests in his hometown few times though not as an organizer but as a participant. He sees that 'Aragalaya' as a movement has declined due to various reasons and that as one of the reasons why he couldn't keep his sustained participation with it but hope to reengage whenever the movement bounce back".

5.3   Influential Factors: Macro Level

5.31   Demobilization

Suppression and/leading-to high cost and risk of participation

With the appointment of Ranil Wickremesinghe as the President of Sri Lanka in July 2022, the government took serious measures including the use of security forces to control activism specially in 'Aragalaya'. These efforts were sometimes visible and direct and sometimes more subtle and systematic. Sakuna (34) shares, "What the very first thing the new president did after becoming the president? Ranil (Wickremesinghe) violently dissolved the protestors overnight. The individual costs or risks of participation may be too high compared to the attraction of the

movement's goals. Repression adds to the costs and might make participation too costly for people (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017). As expressed by some of the respondent the new increased risk involved around participation in social activism has influenced declining interest in collective action participation. Podi shares "I'm afraid, I mean I'm not afraid to anyone, but its there and I can see that its there. And I feel that I'm afraid. I'm afraid about my economy, I'm afraid about kids, I'm afraid about my job security. This fear has affected me and everything I do. I'm on my own journey and this fear hasn't been able to stop me, but I operate in this fear, so I feel that everything I do I do with having that fear."

Pet the urban/ the middle class

Darshatha (28) shares, "Many thinks that Aragalaya started at Galle Face in Colombo, but it started a long ago, as far as I know it started at least in August 2021. Like when people and farmers started to protest in rural areas against Gotabaya's (Rajapakshe) stupid overnight fertilizer ban and when farmers could not get fertilizers. But public attention was only received when everything started in Colombo. Complimenting what Darshatha shared, Emil (32) takes the conversation to a different corner by analysis this development through his own lenses, "when all those farmers were protesting against organic fertilizer regulations no one cared, when different unions and working class were doing protests no one cared, when there were protests in rural areas not one even noticed, not even a single person empathized with them. Everything changed when the crisis started to hit the urban middle class. When there was no electricity, the urban middle couldn't switch on their fans or air conditioner and they had to live in their urban apartments while sweating, when they didn't have fuel to run their cars, they had to take tuk-tuk, bus or train. And this is when the middle class started to feel the crisis and a part of the burden of the poor and this is when they decided to come to streets. But still the upper class wasn't affected, they had generator at their homes… hi hi (laugh). And Ranil (Wickremasinghe) knew this too. As soon as the ques for fuel and cooking gas was shortened the problem's of the urban middle class was solved, and the urban middle class went back to their airconditioned apartments, and never came back to the streets again".

This raises the important question whether is it the urban middle class who work as the triggering point in social movement? Do the grassroots have any significant role in change processes? Whether actually the actors in the periphery have any take in been influential in

collective action? Whether the role of the rural or grassroots in the periphery is only momentum building?

Addressing the urgent concerns

One of the most obvious a commonly shared factor is that addressing the immediate urgent concerns has resulted in participants increased desire to disengage in collective action. As mentioned, this is an obvious fact but yet worthwhile mentioning and highlighting as this reflects the everyday reality. This has also been the reality for Alto (32), who is a urban middle class married working man with a white collar managerial cooperate job, and he shares "Alto shares "Ranil (Wickremesinghe) became the president, and he addressed the immediate concerns like fuel ques, electricity blackouts, cooking gas deficiency and people could start their daily lives again and engaging in collective action became a non-priority to them.".

Silencing civil society

Undoubtedly civil society plays an important role in bringing collective action alive. What shape this role has taken in the context of shrinking collective action activity. Sharing his observations Emil (32) mentions "… and then he (Wickremesinghe) strategically and slowly controlled all the protests and civil society activity. And the civil society who wanted to remove the Rajapakshe regime has become silent. Some were made silent by the President (Ranil Wickremesinghe) and some willingly became silent because what they wanted was to replace Rajapakshe's with Ranil (Wickrameshighe), not really a people's revolution. And there's this third category of civil society specially NGOs who got funding from embassies. And for them, it was a project, a specific project, and they got funding to do that, good enough funding, and once the project has been done. they have been silenced or they have not have been silenced, but they have no reasons to raise their voice. And eventually 'Aragalaya' became just another regime change.". Even though there were no adequate literature to support this in the referred literature it reiterated the same concern raised by Emil in the format of a question; is this due to the fact that civil society has been silenced? And also whether we could expect such elaborations from a civil society which simply wanted to replace Rajapakshes and bring an urban elite English speaking western educated right wing leader whom they share many things in common"

5.4 The crosscutting Context: Transcend Level

With correspondence with the second specific research question this section contains themes identified under the transcend level context in which micro, mezzo and macro factors operates.

5.41 Violence

Violence in activism has been considered a key determinant in deciding respondents' decisions related their commitment, engagement and disengagement with collective action. In the case of 'Aragalaya', in most cases and specially in the early stages of the movement it has been identified as a non-violent movement by the study respondents. But as some respondent explains after a certain time and in different time intervals there have been changes in the opposite direction. It is popular that the events of Navinna Incident, 9th of May and 9th of July 2022 have been key junctures in the 'Aragalaya' Movement. However, all these incidents have been marked with violent behaviours either from the protestors side or from the anti-protestors and security forces. This, especially the violence within and by protestors, has changed the public perceptions of 'Aragalaya' as a non-violent socio-cultural-political movement. This has led influencing many individuals' involvement with collective action.

Violence as a demotivator

Calrenz (32) shares, "Aragalaya in the beginning was a completely a non-violent movement. But with the time it started to become violent specially after the incidents of 9th May. I'm saying it became violent from both the ends. Rajapakshe supporters started the violence by attacking the 'Gota-Go-Gama' and then the supporters of the protestors also reacted with violence. And from this I see that even the Aragalaya activists became violent. And what happened on the 9th of July is an ideal example. In a way I don't accept what happened and how it happened but if not for that nothing would have happened, so I do accept it too. But anyways this changing nature from non-violence to violence affected my motivation, and started to question my own participation in 'Aragalaya'".

Violence as a motivator

Meanwhile, violence in 'Aragalaya', especially the violence incidents happened on the 9th of May 2022 has also acted in strengthening involvement with activism.

Raghavan says "I think my most highlighting involvement with Argalaya happened when I witnessed the violence on the 9th of May. I think I was at work in Colombo when I got the news that Rajapakshe supporters started to attack the 'Gota-Go-Gama' on the 9th of May. I think I got the updates from social media or maybe perhaps on Sirasa Tv live coverage. I was affected by this, and immediately I went to the Gota-Go-Gama (Protest site). I saw that Rajapakshe supporters have attacked and destroyed the protest site, almost completely, and there was nothing remaining. The citizen's library and everything was destroyed. And I saw that protestors gathering and wanting to attack back Rajapakshe supporters, and I strongly felt that I should do something. So, I borrowed a protest loudspeaker with a mike from one of the tents and started to walk towards where people were and started to shout in the mick aloud that we should not be violent and this is a non-violent movement, it has been violent so far and it should be the same in the future. People were angry and frustrated, so I wanted to calm them down. And I'm happy that I did this and I feel like I contributed to something".

Following on the same direction of experience as Raghavan but will a different path, Podi shares (36) shared "I think we as people like to see violence. When the Rajapakshe Supporters attacked 'Gota-Go-Gama' on 9th of May I watched all the updates, photos and videos of violence and I liked to see those. When the pro-protestors started to attack back Rajapakshe supporters people also watched that, and I did watch too and I liked to see all those violence, burning and all. I think people like and get motivation from violence and I got motivated by seeing all these violence and my commitment to activism and social changed further strengthened".

5.4.2 Something for everyone: Collective Action - the ultimate Carnival

While literature repeatedly highlights and praise 'Aragalaya' for been a unique form of collective action some of the study respondents also endorse and analyse this nature in an interesting way. Alto shares (32), "How does the politics work in Sri Lanka. It's like a Carnival, in a Carnival there's something for everyone. There's roller coaster for brave, Ice cream for kids, 'Apaya' (An exhibit of an imaginary hell showing consequences of bad conduct) for those who interest in horror, young guys are there to flirt with girls, there's drugs on black market. And Aragalaya was the same, there was something for everyone. I'm not saying it's wrong because that's how things work here (Sri Lanka) and that's how 'Aragalaya' became a success.

There were some who were there to truly seek a change and some were there just with their personal agendas and most went there as they go to a Carnival or 'to see Vesak' (A common practice of people getting into streets to see different decoration and exhibits etc. during the Buddhist public celebration Vesak). There were street drama and music concerts for those who want to enjoy, small scale street protests and rallies for those who want to get rid of their anger, citizen libraries and citizen discussions for those who want to have an intellectual discussion."

Meanwhile the transformation of a collective action from a traditional street protest to this unique nature has been able to bring together citizens from different corners of the country and life to the protest site in 'Gota-Go-Gama' in the contrary the devolution of this unique nature of collective action to traditional forms of collective action has followed with individual disengagement with collective action. Though the causality and the strength of the argument required to be tested, the researcher find this as an highly interesting worth highlighting and deserve further attention.

5.4.3 Social Class and Collective Action: Engaged but still disengaged

Raghavan (29) shares, "Even though the main protest site was in gall face my cousin didn't feel like joining it because most of the people who were staying there were youth or university students from JVP or Peratugami (FSP: Frontline Socialist Party) and my cousin couldn't get along with them well due to many differences. However my cousin really wanted to take part in the political change, so he joined the protests and activities at Independence Square. At Independence Square the people who were present were almost everyone was from urban upper middle class and those who want went to international schools and who speak English at their school and at home. So, my cousin felt connected well there. However, they didn't want to be totally separate from the Aragalaya because the public attention and the moment was there at Gota-Go-Gama, so they did the protests in Independence Square then marched towards or simply visitthe Gota-Go-Gama Protest site and ended there, so they could be independent and have their own identity while not been totally isolated". In a social movement where its known to be a common flatform for everyone and uniting everyone, these small nuances emphasize how complicate and diverse it is and how the strutured and latent divisions in societies is presence in a deeper level.

5.5 Individual Responses and Adaptations

This third and the last section respond to the third specific research question. The themes identified under individual adaptations to 'intention to disengage' are elaborated here.

5.5.1 Changing the nature of involvement

Protest participation strengthens empowerment and politicization, paving the path to sustained participation. Sustained participation need not necessarily take the form of the same activity all the time. People often go from one activity to another sometimes from one movement to another and in so doing build activist careers (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017).

Collective Action through own career

Emil (32) shares, "Am I an activist? The answer is yes and no. Have I taken part in social movements in life? Yes. But how I did it was not through direct activism but through my own work, throgh music I contributed to a social change, and I do my work with this in mind. I used to active in collective action such as voluntery work, but I think the tranaformation within me happened during the Corona Lockdown period. Thats gave me a lot of to focus on myslef and reorient my self about why I do what I do ". Sharing his involeement with 2022 Sri Lanka uprising Email (32) shares " My contribution to Aragalaya was through music. I went there and played n the Public Concerts at Aragalaya. Actually, I performed in the very first concert at Aragalaya. I don't involve with work for change directly, but everything I do, I do that with a purpose in mind and to contribute for change. This includes in the collaboration I do, the music research I do, the music experiments I do. In that sense I'm an activist". Even though Emil's change to conduct collective action through his own career happened during the time of 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising, it is an exciting example of such change.

Unfolding one aspect of this changing nature of involvement Darshatha shares "Some of the people who were in the forefront of 'Aragalaya' got jobs un different NGOs and now they have build a career with it. In a way it's a bit of an unfortunate because most of them haven't been engaged with social change work before and once they got these offers assignments and job offers from NGOs that opened a whole new world to them."

Continuing in the same line of thoughts Sakuna (34) shares, "Recently I started to work part-time as a Walking Culture Guide in Colombo. This is of course to earn money, but not necessarily because of money, I earn something more than that. Through the culture walks I

can inform the public about the vivid beautify and ugliness of our society and transform how people see the world around them.

Changing the level: From National to Community

Shifting the level and location of activism engagement from national to local community level has been a response among some of the respondents. Being able to connect to the people at grassroots level, familiarity with the local context, been able to shape the power dynamics has been the driving forces of such decisions. Nirmani (31) shares, "Now my work with the local volunteer groups. This has enabled me to be a part of my neighbourhood. I feel that I contribute to the locality I live in. It's not easy as people in the neighbourhood are not all like-minded but still I like working with them. Recently we organized a cultural event which was really nice"

From active to passive participation

Those who have been unable to continue their commitment with activism have continued their engagement through supporting activism work through other indirect methods either financial or non-financial.

Alto (32) shares, "With work and other life struggles, I was not able to actively take part in 'Aragalaya' continuously. So I contributed financially to a friend circle who donated money for the movement. And I like personally bought some stuff like water bottles, went to the protest site and distributed among the protestors once or twice." Darshatha (28), who is involeved in collective action in different levels and in different nature has also discovered a new form of involevemnt with 'Aragalaya'. Darshatha (28) shares, "One of the key observation I have witnessed in the aftermath of 'Aragalaya' is that many of those who were highly active in Aragalaya started to face psychological challenges once the movement became inactive. As I see it, in 'Aragalaya' everything happened within a short period of time and it was really intense. And when things got silence there was a huge vacuum. Suddenly handling an intense period and a huge vacuum brought huge challenge for them and they started to face a lot of challenges. And some organizations started support programmes for those, and I contributed to some of those."

5.5.2 Keep it Casual: Co-living with the community

While acknowledging that formal, systemstic, scientific and complex forms of adapatations are importanat it is importanat to highlight imporatnce of use of simlple practice. Asharf (31) who is highly connected to the community he live, shares a practice he used to use a lot. "I really believe in sports; I mean as a method which could bring people together. In our area it is cricket which popular. When I play cricket with the community I get have small conversations with the local community and this reminds me of the importance of the work I do in bringing broader social change. This motivates me to continue the activism work he has been doing while enabling me reach out to larger community."

5.5.3 Reenergizing and Re-Engaging: Meeting the like-minded

Anotehr simple practice of Ashraf (31) to encounter with thoughts of disengagement with activism is spending time with the likeminded. 'The Tea Shop Technique' is a simple practice employ by Ashraf (32). Every time the respondent encounter with thoughts of discouragement to continue engagement he used to visit local Tea Shops in which he invites some of his close friends to join him. He tends to spend long hours at this Tea Shop with friends. Ashraf (30) shares, "Whenever I get discouraged with the activism work, I'm doing one thing I used to do and have been successful is the Tea Shop Technique. You know that tea is a big part of our culture and so as these local street tea shops. So whenever I'm about to disengage myself from activism, I called close friends in my inner circle and who are like minded and asked them to join me in a nearby Tea Shop. We simply go there, have tea and spend long hours talking, nothing specific, but everything, but definitely a bit of politics too. And this eventually take away all my pain and give me back all the energy I want to, and I reengage."

6.   Conclusion

6.1   Summary of Key Findings

The study findings propose that individual's intention to disengage in collective action is influenced by different factors. The study categorizes the factors into different themes under three levels of micro, mezzo, and macro. The findings also claims that these factors are also influenced by a transcend context which spreads across all the different levels. As the findings elicits, in response to the intention to leave, the individuals employ a varying degree of adaptations.

In micro level, which refer to the individual level, two themes have been identified. The first theme of 'Biographical unavailability' suggests that unavailability of certain factors cause individual's disengagement in collective action. The subthemes of Employment, Occupational Restrictions, Marriage and Family Responsibilities are identified as such contributing biographical unavailibility factors in the case of this study. 'Identity Motives', which is the second theme identified under micro level suggests that identity act as a factor in shaping individual's intention to disengagement. This is explained through its subtheme 'The Salient Identity and Less Salient Identities'. This suggests how the changes in the importance of different identities an individual poses could impact in shaping individual's intention to disengagement.

Mezzo level which positioned between micro and macro levels concerns the impact of organizational factor in shaping individual's intention to disengage. The identified theme of 'Declining relevance and attraction of the Collective Action' proposes that changes in the organization level impact the individual's intention to disengage. Ideological Fractions and mismatches, Changes in the composition of a movement, Changes in the Leadership, Third Party Agenda, and Decline in the collective action movement are identified as contributors in shaping 'Declining relevance and attraction of the collective action'.

In the macro level which corresponds to the larger societal level, the findings suggest that 'Violence' act as a determinant in shaping individual's intention to disengage. The findings suggest that violence can be operationalized through the identified subthemes of Suppression

and/leading-to high cost and risk of participation, Pet the urban/ the middle class, Addressing the urgent concerns, and Silencing civil society.

With response to the second specific research question, the findings highlights that factors in the micro, mezzo and macro levels do not operate in isolation and is exist and operate in a crosscutting context which is a transcend level. The study proposes that identified themes of violence, Something for Everyone, Class and Social Action: Engaged but disengaged as the content of this context which contributes in shaping the 'individual's intention to disengage'.

In response to the third and final research question the study identifies and explains different adaptations and responses by individuals in response to 'individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation'. The findings show that these adaptations spread in a wide spectrum. The first identified adaptation theme of 'Changing the nature of involvement' takes the form of Collective Action through individual's own career, Changing the level of participation: From National to Community, and From active to passive participation. The remaining identified themes of Keep it Casual: Co-living with the community, and Reenergizing and Re-Engaging: Meeting the like-minded further elicits a different mode of individual responses and adaptations to 'intention to disenage'.

6.2   Limitations of the Study

Weak Conceptual Framework and lack of theoretical analysis

Most of the study's theoretical and conceptual base has been built on few scholars' work. Even though this has been resulted because of lack of related literature to the specific research questions in focus, this may have weakened the study's conceptual framework. Furthermore, the study has taken the form of a descriptive design emphasizing heavily on describing participants lived experiences. Even though these extended elaborations enables a rich understanding of people's perspectives, this limits the space for extended theoretical discussions.

A male dominant Generation Y Explanation

The findings of the study are derived from a sample size of 16 interviews and therefore the generalizability of the findings to a larger population is arguable. Even though the study sample

has been able to capture respondents from a representative diverse background such as place of residence, religious affiliation, occupation, nature of involvement with collective action there are limitations regarding gender, native language, ethnicity and age. Most importantly, the study sample is predominately consistent of male respondents. There is only one non male respondent within the four Key-Informant Interviewees and two non-male respondents within the Semi-Structured Interviewees. Secondly, majority of the study sample are from late twenties or early thirties belonging to Generation Y, making the age diversity of the sample limited. These limitations limit the study's ability to provide a comprehensive explanation of the research population.

Lack of insights from field work

Even though data collection of the study has utilized data collection tools of Key-Informant Interviews and Semi-Structured Interviews, most of those have been done online. Only two Key-Informant Interviews have been conducted in the field. Although the researcher has visited the protest sites during the field visit, any form of other field-based data collection methods are not formally incorporated in the research. Given the study aims to capture people's perspectives, this lack of use of other field-based data collection methods might have an impact on the study findings.

6.3 Avenues for further research

Even though the study has been positioned as a study in a post-colonial and post-war context, the study hasn't been able to identify specific conditions specifics to such contexts. However, the study has been able to identify certain subtle elements on the relationship between social class and collective action participation. This suggests that exploring nuances related to post-colonial and post-war context is feasible. Therefore, further studies, specifically aimed at identifying relationships in post-colonial and post-war context are recommended.

As the literature highlights the scholarly work on collective action participation tends to develop within different disciplines independently and lacks the cooperation between different disciplines. To understand the dynamics of collective action in its wholesome the future studies are required to address this deficiency. Therefore, more research work with multidisciplinary nature are highly recommended.

As a research with a descriptive design this study contains rich insights from a people's perspective. Even though some attempts have been made to explore the latent meanings of the peoples' perspectives mostly the study has dealt with its expressed meaning. Therefore, this study provides the ground for further studies with a focus on advanced theoretical explanations.

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Appendix A: Information Letter and Consent Form

INFORMATION LETTER

Are you interested in taking part in the Research Project "**Disengagement from collective action: People's perspectives from the Sri Lankan Uprising of 2022**"

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main objective to understand the dynamics of individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation through the perspectives from youth participants of 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising. In this letter, we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the Project

The project is a student project for a master's thesis. The Main Research Objectives of the Study is,

- To explore the people's perspectives on individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation as identified by 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising participants.

This main objective is further detailed and specified in the below two specific objectives.

- To explore the micro, mezzo and macro level factors influential in shaping individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation.
- To describe how the transcend level context influence individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation.
- To identify how individuals adapt with intention to disengage in collective action participation.

Who is responsible for the Research Project?

UiT The Arctic University of Norway is the institutional responsible for the Project. The Researcher, a student pursuing the Master of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Transformation at the University's Centre for Peace Studies is the personnel responsible for the Study.

What does participation involve for you?

If you chose to take part in the Study, this will involve that you schedule time with me for an online video or audio interview of approximately 45 minutes. The Interview will be semi-structured, meaning some questions are planned, but depending on your answers, I will ask follow-up questions to gain deeper understanding. The interview will be recorded, so I can transcribe accurately what was shared.

Participation in the Study is voluntary.

Participation in this Study is voluntary. Even though you have chosen to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. There will be no negative consequences for you if you choose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your Personal Privacy – How we will store and use your data.

If you consent to participate in this project, to ensure the diversity of the study respondents, I will ask you to share details related to you including your identity, socio-economic details etc. All information about you will be confidential and the answers to the interview's questions will be anonymous.

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personnel data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

The Researcher and the Researcher's Supervisor will be the only people that will have access to the personal data. Measure will be taken to ensure that no unauthorised persons are able to access the personnel data of the research include:

- Replacing your name and contact details with a code.
- Storing information with a password protected external hard drive.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The Project will end on the 01st of July 2024. The Researcher will store your data until the 01st of July 2024 and then it will be destroyed. You will receive notification in case of any changes related to this date. The Researcher collects your personal data only for the purpose of this research and cannot use it in any future research without your consent.

Your Rights

- Access the personal data that is being processed about you.
- Request that your personal data is deleted.
- Request that incorrect personnel data about you is corrected/ rectified.
- To receive a copy of your personal data (Data portability).
- Send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data.

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

The researcher will process your personal data based on your consent. Based on an agreement with UiT The Arctic University of Norway, NSD – The Norwegian Centre for Research Data AS has assessed that the processing of personal in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact UiT The Arctic University of Norway via

- Anuradha Gayanath (Student/ Researcher)
  - Email: [apa079@uit.no;](mailto:apa079@uit.no) Phone: +4746577451
- Mohammed Salehin (Supervisor)
  - Email: [mohammad.salehin@uit.no;](mailto:mohammad.salehin@uit.no) Phone: +4777646812

Yours sincerely,

- Anuradha Gayanath (Student/ Researcher)
- Mohammad Salehin (Supervisor)

CONSENT FORM

I have received and understood information about the Project "Disengagement from collective action: People's perspectives from the Sri Lankan Uprising of 2022."

 and have given the opportunity to ask questions.

- I give consent to participate in an online interview.
- I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end of the project, approx. 01st of the July 2024.

…………………………………………………………………………………………

(Participant's Signature, Name, Date and Place)

Appendix B: Key-Informant Interview Guideline

" Disengagement from collective action: People's perspectives from the Sri Lankan Uprising of 2022."

Key Informant Interview Guide

Personal details

- Identification: Name
- Diversity: Age, Gender, Place of Residence, Mother Tongue, Ethnicity, Religious faith, Occupation, Highest Level of Education

Understanding the Key-Informant

- Involvement with collective action.
- Involvement with '2022 Sri Lanka Uprising'.

Understanding perceptions

- The recent developments in collective action during and in the aftermath of '2022 Sri Lanka Uprising'.
- Nature of connections between recent people's movements and external actors' presence in the post war Sri Lanka such as China.

Appendix C: Semi-Structured Interview Guideline

"Disengagement from collective action: People's perspectives from the Sri Lankan Uprising of 2022."

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Personal details

- Identification: Name
- Diversity: Age, Gender, Place of Residence, Mother Tongue, Ethnicity, Religious faith, Occupation, Highest Level of Education

Background Questions

- How was your engagement with collective action like prior to the 2022 Uprising?
- How was your engagement with collective action during 2022 Uprising?
    - When did you decide to engage with 2022 Uprising?
    - What caused you to join 202 Uprising?
    - What was the nature your engagement with 2022 Uprising?
- What is the current nature of your engagement with collective action?

Intention to disengage in collective action participation.

- Have you ever had the thoughts of disengaging your involvement with collective action?
    - What caused such thoughts?
    - If not, what has kept you in activism?
- How did you respond to those thoughts?
    - What happened in the aftermath of such thoughts?
    - Were there any specific practice/ routines/ actions that you employ?

Appendix D: Disengagement from collective action: People's perspectives from the Sri Lankan Uprising of 2022: Identified Themes

Main Research Question: What are the people's perspectives on individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation as identified by 2022 Sri Lanka Uprising participants?

Corresponding Specific Research Question	Category	Theme	Subthemes
Specific Research Question 1: What micro, mezzo and macro factors influence individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation?	Micro level factors	Biographical unavailability	Employment Occupational Restrictions Marriage and Family Responsibilities
		Identity motives	The salient identity and less salient identities
	Mezzo level factors	Declining relevance and attraction of the Collective Action	Ideological Fractions and mismatches Changes in the composition of a movement Changes in the Leadership Third Party Agendas Decline in the collective action movement
	Macro level factors	Demobilization	Suppression and/leading-to high cost and risk of participation Pet the urban/ the middle class Addressing the urgent concerns Silencing civil society
Specific Research Question 2:	Transcend context	Violence	Violence as a demotivator Violence as a motivator

How the transcend level context influence individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation?		Something for everyone: Collective Action - the ultimate Carnival	
		Social Class and Collective Action: Engaged but still disengaged	
Specific Research Question 3: How do individuals adapt with individual's intention to disengage in collective action participation?	Response/ Adaptation	Changing the nature of involvement	Collective Action through individual's own career
			Changing the level of participation: From National to Community
			From active to passive participation
		Keep it Casual: Co-living with the community	
		Reenergizing and Re-Engaging: Meeting the like-minded	