

Social Identity Perspective on Resistance and Leadership:

A Qualitative Study of Mass Protest against

16/12 Gang Rape, New Delhi

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ABSTRACT

In inter disciplinary researches of social sciences, resistance as phenomena has not been explored much and conformity was considered something very natural and normal while resistance could not come to the fore. The study is a modest attempt to explore resistance following Delhi gang rape protest which is still fresh in our collective memory following social identity approach as well as sociological perspective. Semi structured interviews were conducted with 10 subjects (5 males and 5 females). Interpretive phenomenological approach was used to draw meaning out of the interview transcripts. Social identity approach outlines the following themes in understanding resistance: formation of oppositional identity, illegitimacy of the out group, affective involvement, cognitive alternatives, the role of third party etc. However, the protestors could not identify single out group to rally against which is so important in social identity, for some patriarchy as a system was out group, for some it was state machinery, political class etc. The notion of leadership was not in sync with social identity approach as the leaders were “faceless” and it was “shifting.” However, it was not pure resistance (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004) as there were many references to those structures by protestors against which protest was initially meant for.

Keywords: *Social Identity, faceless leadership, resistance, protests, Nirbhaya Ganga Rape*

Understanding Resistance:

Resistance has been referred to various fancy terms which can be quoted from literature: as “extreme metaphor”, rising from power in equalities, “dirty protests” (Prison Studies, Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973; Reicher & Haslam, 2006), “fashionable term” (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004), etc. However, since 1960’s increasing evidence on the broad spectrum of resistance started highlighting in the texts (Krakowski, 1984; Langbein, 1994; Suhl, 1975; Yad--

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--Vashem, 1971). On the other hand, is evident in the literature on resistance and collective action in psychology that leadership process has been ignored to a large extent (Aminzade, Goldstone & Perry, 2001; Einwohner, 2007). An attempt is made to understand and fill in the gaps between these two concepts by reviewing the recent resistance act witnessed and upheld by the country citizens of India, majorly the protests held in New Delhi. The concept of resistance has recently been studied in psychological sciences. Otherwise, it has received its major conceptual understanding from in disciplines such as sociology, women studies, political studies etc. (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). The term has been used in lot different ways, broadly as actions and behaviors of human social life at individual, collective and institutional levels (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). It is that essential and crucial aspect of everyday life that can be seen, yet seen nowhere (Weitz, 2001). Various definitions have been mentioned in its' cross disciplinary literature, highlighting the few major ones'

1. "acting autonomously in [one's] own interests": (Gregs, 1993: 172)
2. "questioning and objecting" : (Modigliani and Rochat, 1995: 112)
3. "engaging in behaviors despite opposition": (Carr, 1998:543)
4. "active efforts to oppose, fight and refuse to cooperate with or submit to...abusive behaviours and...control" (Profitt, 1996: 25)
5. Quoting from examples in literature: A broad definition of prisoner resistance as "characterized by purpose, either implicit or explicit, manifesting itself in opposition, or taunting, undermining and attacking the exercise of power" (McEvoy, McConnachie, & Jamieson, 2007: 307; Crewe, 2007; Foucault, 1986; Pile, 1997). This kind of resistance can take forms depending on circumstances, opportunity, and motivation (McEvoy et al., 2007) and can be manifested as creating alternative communities and cultures, attempts to escape, prolonged legal challenge, hunger strike and other forms of self-harm, and violence and rioting.
6. The concept of resistance and its constituents has underwent reassessment (Mais, 2007, 2008a ; Hollander & Einwohner, 2004) concluding resistance is not just major acts of rebellion but also smaller acts of self-assertion and insubordination, and has always been pervasive.

There has been no generic definition of resistance, seems to be studied in parts based on themes as per the researcher's interest and strategy. From a comprehensive theoretical understanding from various disciplines identified action and opposition as cardinal elements of resistance, and defined it formally "as the process and action of challenging one's subordinated position in a given social system" (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004)., on the other hand resistance can be seen as manifested in behaviours and actions of those been parts of camps and protests etc. in the form of destruction, defiance, anything for survival acts etc. involving going against the norms etc. (Langbein, 1994). However, two recurring themes have been found namely:

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1. **Recognition in resistance**, that is the visibility of the act in which it raises two issues: in act a) confrontation of the resistant act openly and directly, and b) resistant acts which are more common, but do not make the headlines (Scott, 1985), it might go unnoticed by the powerful and the targets but has the similar agendas, example: farmer protests, woman ignoring sexual inclination at workplace in a subtle way by using different vocabulary (similar examples have also been quoted by Nurius, Macy, Bhuyan, Holt, Kemic, & Rivara, 2003). Both these discussion carries powerful debate over what qualifies for resistant act, however reviews suggest that both qualifies for resistance at varied intensity (Rubin, 1996; McCann & March, 1996).
2. **Intent in resistance**, it carries the latent purpose of the resister which qualifies whether to label the act as a act of resistance or not, answer to this becomes more related in small-scale, everyday acts. Theorists and researchers opines that issue of intent can be answered in three ways: a) to resist irrespective of the outcome in a desired way, the intent to resist shall qualify for resistance act, (Scott, 1985), b) to analyse the intent either by assessing internal states of the resistor (Leblanc, 1999), by directly questioning about the intent interviewing and other research probe, but lacks reliability (Weitz, 2001), and by evaluating the nature of the act (Scott, 1985), c) and the last group of the researchers ignore the idea of conscious intention, justifying that intent may be at the subconscious or unconscious level, and the intent and recognition of resistant act may be interpreted differently in different cultures (St. Martin & Gavely, 1996; Hoffman, 1999). These understanding form the issue of intent, is complex and it most of the times is researcher's call for choosing and matching with the needs (Healey, 1999; Hoffman, 1999).

There are complexities in understanding the underlying parameters to achieve consensus over what is not resistance and what is resistance, arising from these debates is categories of resistance, which contributes a little in understanding the blurred boundaries of the concept. Based on its' nature and social prominence, resistance have been categorized into seven types (overt resistance, covert resistance, unwitting resistance, target defined resistance, externally-defined resistance, missed resistance, attempted resistance), where in the role of groups: actors, target and observer in recognizing the resistant act are considered the crucial parameters in the determination of the significant type of resistance.

Hence, there might not be one consensual definition but research paradigm has to be focused. Also, to note there is a debate over the issues of resistance with reference to conformity as well, saying resistance is unquestionable and unthinkable, whereas conformity is natural and inevitable (Haslam & Reicher, 2012). The notion of resistance also accords with large research bodies into categories of protest behavior (Kelly & Kelly, 1991, 1994; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Reicher, 1984; 2004; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Reynolds, Oakes, Haslam, Nolan, & Dolnik, 2000; Veenstra & Haslam, 2000). Based on these explanations, which are broadly taken from evidences and explorations from sociological models, an attempt has also been done in the past

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from psychological point of view (Haslam & Reicher, 2012), through experiments from prisoner studies (Stanford Prison Experiment; Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973; Zimbardo, 1971, 2004, 2007; BBC Prison Study; Reicher & Haslam, 2006a).

The broad definition of resistance accounts for challenging the system, hence it becomes extremely important to choose the case and focus on aspects of processes involved such as: social significance, diversity and availability of source information (Haslam & Reicher, 2012). Resistance is more generally witnessed where there is intergroup inequality due to within factors of ongoing intergroup process. Based on an original social identity (Tajfel, 1978) theory, generating the evidence for generic resistance can be assimilated into three parts (Haslam & Reicher, 2012), and the two groups can be easily noticed in any society, namely, subordinate groups (who promote resistance) and dominant groups (who seek to hinder or suppress it). Example: males and females (discrimination based on gender), rich and poor (discrimination based on socio-economic class), black and white (discrimination based on race) etc.

1. **The development of oppositional Identities:** It lays emphasis on development of shared identities, based on time, mutual interests, belief in common fate and sense of us; and permeability, that its' relation with present and future. Anything based on interests, serving singular purpose as well, ignites resistance.
2. **Choose strategies of overt resistance by the groups; that is stabilising and destabilizing intergroup inequalities:** It emphasises that shared identity is not the only thing that accumulates strong group identity whereas it is evident that illegitimacy, brutality empowers the resistant acts (Useem & Goldstone, 2002). Inequality shall be recognized in order to resist, the need expressed so that is of providing a structure to system which is more, transparent and accountable and enhances interaction (Jackson, Tyler, Bradford, Taylor and Shiner, 2010). To organize and sustain resistance, cognitive alternatives are often used (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) where the focus is to fore view that a situation different from present. Review emphasise that resistance will occur and sustain more recognizable where people desire an outcome positively (Drury & Reicher, 2009).
3. **Role of organizational factors in generating effective resistance such as leadership and third force parties:** Leadership and third party support recognizes the intent of the resisters. In order to sustain a change and an absolute win, these two essential groups support becomes extremely important. Leadership may coordinate the resistance act (Turner, 2005) or disrupt the event, or even hijack (Applebaum, 2003; Mahone, 2006). The nature of leadership is influential in leading such action, social identity approach on leadership explored that an effective leader is the one who is an a) In group prototypes, b) In group champions, c) Entrepreneurs of identity and d) Embedders of reality (Haslam, Reicher, & Platow, 2011). On the other hand the third party support is a kind of social context where the act is taking place (Saroyan, 2009; Subasic, Reynolds & Turner, 2008). A positive support from leaders and third parties glorifies the purpose and adds to the action element in the act of over resistance.

UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL IDENTITY:

According to social identity theory, people have a tendency to classify themselves and others into social categories, which can be based on the affirmation of membership to the groups such as gender, age, religion, class or any other social categorization. (Tajfel & Turner, 1985). These Categories can be understood as prototypes or the characteristics of the members of that group (Turner, 1985). Very interestingly, Ashforth & Mael, 1979, have argued on the perspectival understanding of social identity where the authors were of the viewpoint that: “social identification is a perception of oneness with a group of persons; social identification stems from the categorization of individuals, the distinctiveness and prestige of the group, the salience of outgroups, and the factors that traditionally are associated with group formation; and social identification leads to activities that are congruent with the identity, support for institutions that embody the identity, stereotypical perceptions of self and others, and outcomes that traditionally are associated with group formation, and it reinforces the antecedents of identification. Self and identity is often interchangeably used, and there can be considered a reciprocity among the two as it is in the social context that the self operates/functions, and a dictum that states “self reflects society” (Stryker, 1980). If one identifies with the organization, or the responsibilities that he/she fulfils, is pertaining to a role: a father, a daughter, as sister, an employee etc. these meanings as referred are the content of the identities (Leary & Tangney, 2003).

Stryker (2000) presents multiple views of identity within sociology: a) having a cultural or collective view of identity in which there are shared values beliefs etc, more identifiable with ethnic identity, (Nagel, 1995; Scheff, 1994). b) the second is of Tajfel’s (1981), identification with the social group or category, where one is fitted either normatively or comparatively and identifies with that aspect, which also helps in intergroup interaction (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) . c) the third viewpoint explains the within group behavior, that is the role relation with the group members, is an outgrowth of symbolic interactionist tradition (Stryker, 1980). An important point to note is one might have multiple identities: multiple role identities (Thoits, 2001), multiple group identities (Deaux, 1992) and multiple social identities. Self is governed by interplay of these multiple identities in any social context. Hence understanding how one identifies with a situation, or implication of identity is basically when these identities operates in a combination or two (Leary & Tangney, 2002; Stets & Burke, 2002). Along with this understanding, there comes several understandings to the concept, which overlap in contouring with the identification process: identification hence have to be attained psychologically where as maintained as an identity, intrigued by conflicting societal process/context (Grauman, 1983). Also of an opinion, the generalization is understood as that identification is a process, whereas identity can be a condition (Lalli, 1992). Whereas the meaning of identity majorly depends on the theory.

A social identity approach has been undertaken, focusing on resistance in the form of protest witnessed in the country premises held largely in New Delhi seeking justice for victim (and was named Nirbhaya/ Amanat/ Damini etc. by the media sources) who was brutally gang raped and

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later died. Combining the two frameworks (Resistance and Social Identity approach), an effort has been made in a present paper to explore resistance in the wake of 16/12 gang rape and murder in New Delhi.

RATIONALE OF RESEARCH:

Sadly Delhi is known as the rape capital of India. On the evening of 16th December, 2012 a girl in her 20s was travelling in a bus with her male friend. Nobody has any clue what happened inside the bus but one thing which was sadly narrated millions of times that she was brutally raped, tortured and then thrown out of the bus in a badly bruised condition on the road to die. This incident ignited the consciousness of a large section of society and they all culminated at India Gate and remained there for days and nights. India Gate then became the symbol of struggle, slogan shouting, candle march etc.. The protestors were even lathi charged which did not even a tad bit shake the will of people. The “gathering” was important as people from various parts of India physically participated, stayed together day and night in the “bitter” and infamous cold of Delhi. It was peaceful even though it was without a “face” (Leader), which was very unusual. Different stake holders of the society gave them different names, some would call them as “protestors”, “rioters” etc. Whatever names they may be and called by they were not “mob”, the way it is conceived in mainstream psychology. Rape and assault against women are nothing very unusual in this part but what evoked people in such a large number to come together and struggle against this “injustice” was like a magnetic pull because of which this research was carried out. As already mentioned that in psychology resistance is one of the neglected areas, it added one more reason to explore the present “resistance”.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The following research questions have been formulated based on the review that the study undertaken seeks to explore:

1. Who were the leaders? Who does the group want as a leader? (To explore the role of leadership and third parties in sustaining a resistance act and other cognitive alternatives)
2. What was the meaning conveyed by the protest? (To understand the type and nature of resistant act)
3. Who were the target of this protest? (To understand the underlying factors such as recognition and intent)

METHOD:

Sample: Purposive sampling was used in order to identify the primary participants based on a specific criterion and snowball sampling was also used. Total ten participants were selected 5 males and 5 females who participated in the national protest held in New Delhi, were largely

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comprising youth studying in Jawahar Lal Nehru University and Jamia Millia Islamia. The mean age of participants was 24.5 years.

Table- 1 : Participant details:

See Table-1

Data Collection and Analyses: Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the 10 participants, where in the consent was taken and participation was duly signed. Total, 8 interviews have been analysed using interpretive phenomenological approach; on the basis of which interview content was first transcribed, a reflective diary was maintained: further, sub-themes, themes and clusters were extracted based on the transcripts.

Interpretative Phenomenology Analysis (IPA): It is an approach to data analysis which captures and evaluates the quality and texture of an individual experience. Interpretative Phenomenology analysis accounts for interpretative engagement with texts and transcripts. It comprises of a step by step procedure of analysis, in which the researcher first identifies the theme and then integrate them into meaningful cluster, both within and across the cases. The three theoretical underpinning of IPA are : phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2003). The guidelines IPA recommended by the experts in scheming the data analysis consists of six steps which may/not necessarily be strictly followed which involves multiple reading of the transcripts; maintaining exploratory notes; tracing emergent themes; connecting themes; move from case-by-case to multiple cases; and search for patterns across cases.

RESULTS:

Each interview transcript thoroughly analyzed referring to IPA. The themes and sub themes were identified and repetitive themes were then dropped. These were then fed into a table with the column wise description (themes in one column and interview excerpts in another column). The follow up and cross analysis was done case by case; the cases were compared and clusters of themes were identified and fed into an excel sheet. No data analysis software was used at any stage; the entire process was carried out manually using Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel for collation and presentation.

Table – 2: Social Identity perspective on resistance: Exploring mass protest against 16/12 Gang rape, New Delhi: Clusters, Themes and Sub-Themes

See Table-2

MAJOR FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION:

Conformity is considered a commonly experienced phenomenon, however based on the explorations; resistance is also as common as conformity. The paper was aimed at uncovering the role of leadership and other cognitive alternatives which the theme of faceless leadership clearly explains; the theme of variable number of out groups unfolded the understanding for the underlying factors such as recognition and intent; the category of unclear classification and mixed resistant acts exemplifies from the literature how there is need to not restrict or fit into a single category of resisting behaviours. The findings are elaborated below by citing relevant literature and theories.

The study although corresponds with lot of aspects covered by Haslam's, psychological explanation on resistance, new elements, and differentiating from aspect of Haslam have also come up, like:

1. **Faceless and shifting Leadership:** Leadership in the past was considered as the product of both contingent and personal factors. In the social identity approach to leadership, there are self-categorization models without the evaluation or impact of social influence (Haslam, 2001, Turner, 2004). There is a tendency of leader's exerting influence with certain pre-existing identities. In a seminal research by Scharmer (2010), there is an existence of blind spot in leadership where there is disassociation with the source of the action, however there is a conform inner state and optimum state of awareness vis-à-vis operations of social systems. Hence, it is possible that there might not be a unanimous leader in conflicting situation as in the current case of Nirbhaya gang rape protests.
2. **Re-establishment of the cause:** The findings majorly signify that the trigger to the problems was different in nature as there was no conformity on single issue. The need and demand were in need of more attitudinal freedom. Worchel & Brehm (1971) contended, "Social-influence threats to freedom ... create a combination of positive and negative forces, and the resultant behavior is a function of these opposing forces" (p. 303). There often accompanies strong persuasion in resistance, Knowles & Linn (2004) viewed reactance and compliance as outcomes of underlying conflicting issues. Laurin, Kay & Fitzsimons (2012) evaluated on how people react to social structures and when personal freedom is attacked. It was observed among the non-control group that the responses were more rationalized and restricted freedom was not much emphasized. Hence, in the case of Nirbhaya Gang rape protest, there was not a single cause of rape that brought people on the site but there were volley of things which were triggered which was evident from the captions and banners stating the demands, needs and frustration of/from society and state machinery and not just those four rapists.
3. **Various/ Varying outgroups:** Resistance is more generally witnessed where there is intergroup inequality, emerging from within factors of ongoing intergroup process. With

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respect to the positioning of the group; outgroups at times are not identified with your own self and also becomes the source of comparison (Turner & Haslam, 2001). The formulations of these groups is considered to be a communicative phenomenon where on the basis of contextual parameters and distinctive properties of group such as normative influence, perceptions of similarities and differences in group behavior, the number of groups may vary (Hogg & Reid, 2006). The group categorization is largely a facet of norms, where the social identity analysis of norms laid importance on descriptive and prescriptive/injunctive norms which (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). The behavior function of groups is transcendental and has the probability of inaccuracy in expressed attitude and overtness is low (Fazio & Olzon, 2003). The process in simple terms can be understood as cluster of people of identifying with single cause (In-groups) and not identifying with the counterpart (Outgroups). So, the concept of identifying with more than one out group when resisting for the same goal is an essential aspect of identity. There is no threshold for upper/lower limit of outgroups that a protestor may identify with. In the current case as well, there were not one but many outgroups.

4. **No pure form of resistance:** The central elements in resistance behavior are action and opposition (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004), and there is still lot to be explored among these typologies. The broad definition of resistance accounts for challenging the system, hence it becomes extremely important to choose the case and focus on aspects of processes involved such as: social significance, diversity and availability of source information (Haslam & Reicher, 2012). Evolved from the Hollander & Einwohner, (2004) model, exemplified below, it was clearly evident that mixed form of resistance (not yet explained/studied category) came up as an unexplored type.

5.

Type	Meaning	Intended as resistance by Actor	Recognized as resistance by Target	Recognized as resistance by Observer	Example
Overt Resistance	It includes collective acts such as social movements, revolutions, protests etc. (Healy, 1999)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Fighting back against sexual assault (Nurius et al., 2000)
Covert Resistance	These are intentional resistance acts but may or may not be recognized	Yes	No	Yes	Gossip, subversion in workplace (Prasad & Prasad, 1998; Wickham, 1998)

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Unwitting Resistance	It is an unintentional resistance by the resistor (actor) which might be recognized by other groups	No	Yes	Yes	Tomboy behavior of girls (Carr, 1998)
Target Defined Resistance	These are the acts of resistance which are based onto get recognition from the targets or target specific acts.	No	Yes	No	An abusive husband's wife's behaviour would be considered resistant.
Externally-defined Resistance	These acts are not ruled by recognition or intent or carries weight age of the same by the actors or observers but shall be considered and recognized by the third parties.	No	No	Yes	Women watching television soaps, resist to gender expectations (Brown, 1994)
Missed Resistance	In this, intent is central element; the act might not be recognized by third parties	Yes	Yes	No	Secret societies, to which access to third parties is not available
Attempted Resistance	It is an intentional resistance act, in which the recognition by any groups might not take place.	Yes	No	No	-

Since, resistant behaviors have remained in the core of several disciplines such as political science, sociology, women studies, social work etc., it is essential to study in resistance types in parts than whole as there is an evidence of having interrelated impact on the same. In the current case as well, there was no clear resistance type being reflected. There was an overlap of the nature of protests, however the goal was similar.

In sum, resistance is a denominator to factors arising of conflicting situation triggered by context. There is a natural tendency to fall prey to group schisms and identify with certain groups. The self is inseparable part of ones' identity. Leadership takes its own turn and form as a result of social categorization where there is still lot of scope in exploring the mechanisms of social identity approach to leadership from the framework of protestors' identity in the resistance process

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS:

Following the interpretive phenomenological approach, this set of semi-structured interviews helped in relating the social identity approach to leadership as significant in resistance acts, especially during the protest. Resistance is seen as a process of disengagement or non-conformity to unacceptable stimuli in the social structure. The type, act and intent are important factors in the process of resistance. At the same time, unanimous agreement exists among all interviewees in saying outgroups are must to be identified as a pillar of framing identity while resisting.

Even though this study has been conducted in the environs of New Delhi, with a small sample of ten participants only, there is clear indication that resistance can help “in clearly opposing” to something which is non-acceptable beyond the cognitive prisms. This brings out possibilities of application of resistance related form in various interpersonal situations including organizations.

This study has only attempted to open the doors and start discovering the concept of resistance in the current cultural context, as perceived by the ten participants, to begin with. Great scope lies in this area for much more in-depth work and redefining/developing the theoretical framework

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Table-1: Participants Details

Participant Code	Gender	Age in years	Institute Affiliation	Education
M1	Male	24	Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi	Post-graduation, pursuing
M2	Male	25	Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi	Ph. D., pursuing
M3	Male	24	Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi	Post-graduation, pursuing
M4	Male	25	Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi	Post-graduation, pursuing
M5	Male	24	Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi	Graduate
F1	Female	25	Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi	Ph. D., pursuing
F2	Female	20	Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi	Under Graduation, pursuing
F3	Female	20	Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi	Under Graduation, pursuing
F4	Female	25	Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi	Ph. D., pursuing
F5	Female	26	Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi	Ph. D., pursuing

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Table – 2: Social Identity perspective on resistance: Exploring mass protest against 16/12 Gang rape, New Delhi: Clusters, Themes and Sub-Themes

Clusters	Themes	Sub-themes	Interviewee	Interview Excerpts	
1. Reasons to participate in the protest	Citizens	Responsibility	M1	you have to show shoulder, that people are with you,	
			M2	but largely i felt and ideally fit who is the young protestor	
		M3	aur iske khilaaf awaaz nahi uthaye toh aainda fir ho sakta hai ,		
		F2	abko jaana chahaiye wahan pe, kyunki humare khud ki security ke liye bhi ek hay,		
			Respect for humanity	M1	people are not dormant, and they have the sense and they have the some , you know, humanity left in them
				M3	har aadmi waha par present tha. wahi aisa ek insaan karta hai jiske pass bilkul aqal hi nahi ho, bilkul jaanwar ho, wo kar lete hai aise kaam, ek insaan agar civilized ho (politely), agar usko samajh ho toh aise, harkat nahi karte,
				M4	logo ne bhi wahan par help nahi kari thi, kyunki kam se kam ek human being nature ke, taur pe insaan help toh kar sakta haina

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			F1	, ek human being hai , aur ek human beng ki tarah samaaj mein unko ek barabaari ka adhikar, barabaari ka haq milna chahiye,barabari ka samaan milna chahiye aur uske liye humko jo bhi andolan khada karne padega,
			F3	agar mei wahan hoti toh definitely kuch na kuch help toh zaroor hi karti , whether chahe mujhe aage kitna kuch hi kyun nah face karna pade
	Context	Shared Suffering/Anticipated Shared Experience	M1	if this could happen in me, for with me, with my family, or with my friend
			M3	kis ke saath bhi ho sakta hai, , kissi ladki ke saath bhi ho sakta hai, humare bhi maa behan hai, kis ki, , dossro ki bhi maa behan hai, kisi ke ghar mein ladki hai, kaise , friend bhi hai, toh unke saath bhi ho sakta hai, in future ho sakta hai,
			M4	aisa incident kis aur ladki ke saath nah ho sake

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			F1	dkiyo ki azaadi se apne aap ko jod kar ke dekh rahe hain aur iss tarah k alag alag slogans the lekin unn saare slogans ka spirit kahin na kahin ek tha ki iss tarah ki ghatnaye nahi honi chahiye aur jo ye ghatna hui hai uss ko justice milna chahiye
			F2	identify kar pa rahi thi hi cheez ke liye the sab, toh sabka agenda ek hi tha ,
			F4	...aaj unke saath hua hai, kal ko meri beti ke saath bhi hoga, meri ghar ke ksis ke saath bhi hoga, mane in general log aise ho baat karte hain, leking mujhe lagta haina,
2. Protest	Nature	Overt	M1	always feel that, but they didn't acted that much
			M3	ye soch kar aye the jo ek bada sa protest ban gaya.
			M4	isliye protest karne gae the. khali media aur police thi
			F1	ek incident hua, uske toh condemn karte hue hi, hmm, jismein unn logo ne kaha ki hum bhi Hindustan ki mahiloyon iss paksh mein support karenge , mane apne apne desh mien,

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			F2	wo uss ladki ke liye tha, upar se government ne bhi uspe kuch matlab action nahi liya,
			F3	Uss ladki ke liye protest karne ke liye media ka jo....performance
		Protestor Identity	M1	but i identify myself, with those college students who were there for real,
			M3	hum bhi saath the, koi aisa nahi tha, koi group represent nahi kar rahe the, koi alag alag group nahi the, har log, har koi, har kisiko, jaise har, jagah se har place se aaye hue
			M4	hum log wahan par violence nahi karna chhahte the, humein protest karna tha
			F1	wahan par common masses the, wahan pe mane waha pe ladke, ladakiyan, youth mane ek youth wo tha jo alag alag usse the,
			F2	sabka agenda ek hi tha , toh isliye sab ek hi saath the,
			F3	insabka ek group tha toh identification kuch aisa hi tha ki humne sabke saath equally interact kiya,
			F4	this was one thing which made “us”

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	Leadership	Faceless	M1	politicians should, actually feel genuinely about this and they should just not fake, and they should come out
			M2	they are representing the bunch of patriarchal people, they representating big corporate, big bushes and land bugs
			M3	hum khudkar rahe the, hum log waha, gaye, participate kiya aur ek toh, wo log, sirf ek fitrati cheez, ek sirf dilaaza de rahe the,
			F1	humare saath chahe woh Rahul Gandhi ho, chahe wo koi aur ho koi bhi sadak pe utar karke iss movement ke saath nahi aaya,
			F2	government kya kar raha hai, agar unhone ne sirf speech dene se thodi na kuch hota hai, action toh lena chahiye
			F4	lip service ke alawa aur kuch nahi hai,
		Shifting	M4	Poora teamwork tha wahan par ki thode der meine shout kiya, thode der usne shout kiya , agar usne protest kara,
			F3	jitna group ban gaya jiski himmat zada hui usne aap ko leader samjh ke thoda aage kiya, and we were following them,

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		We vs. Them (We were peaceful , restraint and they were indifferent, manipulative, instigating etc	M1	not even the opposition party came in the full forth, they should have asked government to do something very strongly, they are the opposition party of the India
			M2	Because they are also saying we are fighting for people and we are also saying that we are fighting for people but this will show when come to the protest and see it!
			M4	hum alag hai poltics se
			F1	in saare statements ke dwara kahiin na kahin, basharte iss andolan ko aur condemn kiya jaye balki iss andolna ko aur , iss andolan ke mehtav ko nakara jaaye
			F2	is case ke baad toh mein leaders ke bilkul hi against hun,
			F4	jiske saamene aap apna baat rakh sakein, jo genuinely aapke baato se concerned ho, jo aapke saath bole ki, hum aapke saath hai, na ki door se reh ke bole
	Goal	Change (patriarchal values)	M1	There is a stigma in a society
			M2	Gender
			F1	aaj ki date mien patriarchy jo challenge hua hai chahe wo iss desh ka vyavstha ho chahe wo samaj mei pitrasatta ho

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			F2) agar ladke jab ja sakte hain, toh ladkiyan kyun nahi jaa sakti hai, unhe aisi buri nazaro se kyun dekha jata hai, aap kapdo pe kar rahe ho,
			F4	hum log ye naara lagata the ki, mahilaye maange azaadi, sadak pe chalne ki zaadi, toh mass level pe ek bekhaunf azaadi ki maang karte hue hum log waha gaye the aur...
		Structural change (Government agencies)	M2	It is the systematic change, that we have to fight for: it is the beginning to change the system!
			M4	meri ladai thi, system ke khilaaf
			F3	against the system , sabse bada, and for that girl , uske liye fight karna must tha, tabhi matlab system mein koi change aa sakta hai
			F4	ki hum logo se baat karein, aur maximum logo ko appraise karein, lekin wahan kaisa attitude
		Public	M1	and the public will come into action if you don't take action, they have to
			F3	public aa rahi hai, ruk rahi hai, car park kar rahi hai, tamasha dekh rahi hai, uske alawa aur kuch nahi, usmein hum jaise youth hi honge, senior citizen hi hong
		Justice (Immediate as well as long term)	M1	that would make the law stronger so that nothing could happen anymore, at least women would feel 50% more safer,

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			M3	jahan bhi, injustice ho rahi hai, wahan par mein ready ho jaunga
			M4	ladki ke justice ke loye pukar lagayi
			F1	police se lekar ke army tak ka gender sensitization hona chahiye , saath mein jis.., primary education se hi logo ko gender sensation karna chahiye, media ke gender sensitization hona chahiye , saath mein, mane, humko sirf suraksha nahi, hum.. humari sharer ke suraksha mat dijiye humari azzadi ki suraksha dijiye
			F2	unhe saza milein jinhone kiya hai ye
			F3	kahin na kahin ek hona chahiye tha, jo iss cheez ko lekar kafi haad tak, ek ache sa acha solution nikal sake..
			F4	jab hum bolte hain ki reclaim the nights and reclaim the days, mujeh lagta hai kahin nah kahin humara wo jo rights kho gaya hai, uske liye hum aaj fir awaaz utha rahe hain, aur hum usko waapas lekar hi rahenge,

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	Outcome	Successful (sustained) or not	F1	Verma Committe bhi jo bana hai uske mein job hi mane, two finger test ke bare mei baat horaha hai, Marital rape ke bare mein, custodial rape ke baarei mei, pehli baar AFSPA ke baarein mei baat ho raha hai, wo kahain nah kahin, iss movement ka hi den hai.
			F2	mujhe nahi lagta ki koi itna change aaya bhi tak , ye jo bolte hain, itna kuch ye implement nahi hota hai
			M1	and its nothing happening, and i have not seen anything happening, and i think, i see girls getting teased everyday, even in the campus!
3. Affective States	Positive	Empathy	M1	we are not passive , we feel for it!,
			M3	toh kal ko kisi ke saath bhi ho sakti hai
			M4	ladki ke saath bahaut hi galat hua hai, aur ek yahi emotion tha jo ladki ka , jo mujhe wahan par lekar gaya tha,
			F3	agar mei wahan hoti toh definitely
			F4	lekin wahi jo 12 minute ka speech hai, it touched me a lot, mein usko apnse identify kar parahi thi,
		Hope	M2	it is the beginning to change the system!

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			F2	umeed thi ki acha hoga...aur umeed abhi bhi hai
	Negative	Disgust/ Regret	M3	wahi aisa ek insaan karta hai jiske pass bilkul aqal hi nahi ho,
			M4	, itna sab kuch hone ke baad bhi insaan ke dil mein zara si bhi nahi hai ki haan bhai,
			F1	dilli jaise shehar mein aur desh ke tamam hisso mein , ladkiyo ke saath jiss terh se ho raha hai aur mane
			F2	delhi mein aise cases hona, kahan tak safe hain, toh emotionally connect ho hi nahi sakte agar wo
			F3	unke saath hua wo toh tha hi itna horrible tha ki, you know koi bhi blank hojarga sunke,
		Anger	M1	between me and the politicians or anyone at that moment, was a bit of anger!
			M2	I felt angry, anguish, its ugly
			M3	ki aur gussa bad rahe the
			M4	sytem bad ganda hai, kharab hai, !
			F1	logo ke andar jo ek natural gussa tha, ek anxiety tha
			F2	unhe, public ke hawale kardo, khud maar lenge,
			F3	youth ke liye gussa tha, wahan par sabka
			F4	humein laga ki logo ke beech gussa toh hai

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4. Out Group	Political Leaders	Corporate style functioning/ Organization/diplomats	M2	<p>apathy of the government and aguish among youngsters who were facing the harassment everyday</p> <p>they representating big corporate, big bushes and land bugs</p>
			M3	unke paas, power hai, but unhone kuch kiya nahi!
			M4	Agar wo kaam dhang se karte toh ye itna nobat hi nahi hi nahi aati, agar ,aur wo bahar nikal ke hi nahi aaye
			F2	uhone ne sirf speech di hai,
			F3	abhi toh sirf wo hi hai, ki humein khed hain, humein bahaut zada dukh hai, hum kuch na kuch action lenege
			F4	khat se ek FDI ka bill pass kar sakte hain, lekin aapko ek sesnitive gender law pass karne mein aapko bahaut dikkat hoti hai,
	State Machinery		M1	Bankrputcy!
			M3	police ne response kar diya, unhone fire bhi kari aur lathi charge bhi ar diya, kafi log zakhmi bhi hogaye
			M4	hote hain, rashtrapati bhawan ke upar jo seediyan thi, wahan par kahde hue the saare log, , police ke kaafi bade bade officers bhi khade hue the, toh wo log bas wahin se ideally dekh rahe the khade hoke

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			F1	poore movement mei kisike khilaaf naare lage hain toh wo dilli police ke khilaaf lagein hain, hmm, toh logo ka gussa state ke khilaaf tha bhale hi hum keh sakte hi ki arey ye toh political naare nahi the,
			F2	apni aankhon se dekha, lathi charge kara ...paani daala gaya, bahaut ganda response tha, upar se government ne bhi uspe kuch matlab action nahi liya, bethe hue the
			F3	humare saath police kaise kaise kar rahi hai, you know, aansu gas chodhna
			F4	unn logo ko lejake police thane mein bina wajah ke daalne ka kya wajah hai, to scare people away, tum log protest mat karo
	Protestors	Unable to relate/ poor identification with the group	M1	there were some of the you know, bad elements also, i have seen them, ok, but they don't have to do that but i identify myself, with those college students who were there for real
			M4	dekhiye, kuch groups aise bhi the jo ki galat harqatei bhi kar rahe the wahan par jaise plastic ki bottlein feqna aur
			F3	wahan par youth tha, they are showing notes and coins to the police, ki rishwat leni hai, rishwat lo lekin apna kaam karo , uss waqt mein bheed zada bad gayi thi

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5. Third Party	Media	Pro active (staged)	M4	kaafi jaise media mei bhi aaya tha,
			F1	mein media ko role ko, aa, is pore mei ek important role maanti hun
			F3	wahan pe koi nahi tha, wahan pe sirf media the, jinhone wo sab organize kar raha tha protest karne ke liye,
		Lack of sensitivity	M4	hungama ho raha hai, aur media wale bhi bas, wo cover kar rahe the footage wagera, ...!
			F1	lekin ek critic ke saath maanti hun
			F3	lekin wahan par media ke upar bhi bahaut sawal uthe , wahan par jo protestors the, unhone media ke upar bhi kissa banaya tha,
			F4	ek ye hai media hai, theek hai iss movement mein, unka positive role tha, lekin otherwise, rape cases ke prati media bhi itna zaada sensitive nahi hai, dalit rape cases, bahaut kam hi cover hote hai
		Implied Pressure	F1	chahati hun ki aisa nahi hai ki,UPA sarakar ka hridya badal, hridya parivartan ho gaya hai, hmm, ye ek poora andolna ka pressure tha
			F2	mujhe toh nahi lagta ki abhi tak ki kuch itna khaas hua hai, uske baad bhi abhi tak cases ho rahe hain,

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	Social networking	Proactive	F3	facebook pe aaya, ki aisa sia hu ahai, fir meine, articles ke through gayi toh fir,
			F4	tweet karte rahe ki abhi humein peeta jar aha hai, abhi humein we were being banged on the wall, on our heads, toh ye sab hota raha tweeter mein
		Updated	M4	aajkal jo youth age hai, usme jagrakta hai kaafi , samajhdaari hai ki haan