Motivational dynamics of the 2020 Belarusian protests

The modulating effect of state violence on individual motivations to protest

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Abstract

The women's marches were one of the hallmarks of the 2020 protest events in Belarus. The largest march took place in September and counted thousands of women. It was not clear why women were motivated to join the women's marches given the mass scale of the general protests. The 2020 events in Belarus offered a timely opportunity to study women's political participation in the context of the Belarusian women's attendance at the women's marches and general protests. Studying which motivations the Belarusian women protestors had to participate in both the general protests and women's marches not only shed new light on the dynamics of protests but also has helped understand motivation from the gender perspective. Guided by the integrative model of individual motivation authored by Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011) and the feminist analysis of violence and nonviolence with relation to female identity, I designed a qualitative study and conducted online interviews with the women participants of both types of the 2020 protest in Belarus. The results of the analysis demonstrated that different motives drove different protests: while the general protests were driven by the instrumental motive, the women's marches were driven by the identity motive. This identity, central to which are the notions of nonviolence and care, was activated by state violence, i.e. the women's rejection of violence. The findings concerning violence have transcended to theorize that state violence served as a *modulator* of motivational dynamics, similar in its mechanics to the amplifying effect that the group-based emotions have on the motives. In contrast to the group-based emotions' *intensification* of the motives, state violence exerted the effect of modulation and modification of the motives in different protests.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

On August 10, 2020, the Belarusian Central Electoral Commission announced the results of the presidential election: Alyaksandr Lukashenka, the incumbent, was elected for his 6th term with 80.1% of the votes (Central Commission of the Republic of Belarus for Elections and National Referenda, 2020). Following claims of many observers and poll workers, the elections are considered fraudulent and rigged among many of the Belarusian people as well as widely in the Western-democracy community. This event shifted gears of the preceding protests for the support of the opposition's candidates and resulted in hundreds of thousands of people taking to the streets in August. The large, medium, and small-scale protests went on till winter across the country with the largest protests taking place on Sundays. In the first days after the elections, the state responded to the protestors with violence deploying the OMON[1] forces to break up the protests with tear gas, flash grenades, rubber bullets, etc. Later, violence continued during detainments and arrests (Abdurasulov, 2020; Human Rights Watch, 2021; Kazharski, 2021; Krawatzek & Sasse, 2021).

The focus of this study is the women's marches, one of the hallmarks of the 2020 events in Belarus. The largest march happened in September in Minsk and counted thousands of women[2]. The women's marches took place on Saturdays and went on till late fall across the country. The marches were generously spotlighted by the media, both independent Belarusian and international. While channeling very similar demands, the women's marches and the general protests differed in expression. The media also created the 'woman's face of the Belarusian protests'-style headlines which virally spread.

Interestingly, these two types of protests happened along with each other. It is not clear why women were motivated to join the women's marches while the general protests were in full swing, as the two collective actions did not show contrastingly different grievances nor were the women's marches uniformly driven by the feminist agenda (Schmidt & Solomatina, 2020). The 2020 events in Belarus offer a timely opportunity to study women's political participation in the context of the Belarusian women's attendance of the women's marches and the general protests. Studying the motivations of the Belarusian

[1] OMON – Russian for *Otryad Mobilnyy Osobogo Naznacheniya*, special police forces in Belarus and Russia. In the 2020 protests they served as riot police in Belarus.

[2] Numbers differ depending on the source. For example, the Belarusian media estimated the number of women protestors to be over ten thousand ("Протесты в Беларуси: жесткие задержания женщин на марше в Минске [Protests in Belarus: Violent detainmnets of women at a women's march in Minsk]," 2020).

women protestors may not only shed new light on the dynamics of protests but also help understand motivation from the gender perspective.

Protest and social movements literature offers various approaches to explaining why people protest. As Van Laer (2011) noted, protest participation can be explicated with structural factors and with motivational factors. The former is concentrated on the macro- and meso-levels of collective action organizers and network embeddedness. The latter is concentrated on the micro-level of individual participation and is selectively summarized below.

On the individual level of participation, social interaction plays an important role in protest participation (Schussman & Soule, 2005). Van Laer (2011) supported this argument in his research claiming that personal relations, which reinforce the prospective protest participant's collective identity, can be decisive for the actual participation. However, several elements permeate literature on protest participation. Those are identity, collective or group-based emotions, grievances and efficacy. The rational self-interest approach used to be prevalent in explaining personal motivation to take part in collective action (Klandermans, 1984; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). The main argument was built on the costs and benefits analysis of participation. However, emotions became salient in the studies of collective action on the verge of the 21st century, and a strong interconnectedness between emotions and identity was found. Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, and Leach (2004), however, focused on both concepts and developed instrumental and emotional pathways to participation. Emotions were found to have strengthening and weakening effects on identifying with a collectivity (Goldenberg, Saguy, & Halperin, 2014; Kessler & Hollbach, 2005; Stürmer & Simon, 2009).

Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk (2011) also studied individual motivation to protest. They revisited the previously explored concepts of instrumentality and identity as motives of participation in a protest together with group-based anger. Adding the motive of ideology, which had received little scholarly attention concerning protest participation, to their framework, Van Stekelenburg and collaborators (2011) integrated the three motives and group-based anger and offered a single model (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2017 for a more detailed discussion of the motives).

As women's contentious political participation is concerned, research is mostly focused on the role of women in protest. Baldez (2002) offered a theoretical framework that serves to explain *why* women protest. She provided a three-component theory consisting of tipping, timing, and framing. While explaining the gendered framing as a bridge for women's possibly contradicting interests, the researcher

countered the argument that women's movements are organized around their interests (for example, pro and against abortion). Instead, she argued they are organized around their shared identity as women. Without being able to voice their concerns in the political arena, women cannot pursue their interests whatever they may be. Moreover, when women mobilize based on the shared cultural and social norms, i.e. as mothers, wives, etc., they tap knowledge and power inaccessible to men which allows them to pursue their political goals. Nikolayenko and DeCasper's (2018) discussion on the participation of women in the Ukrainian protests in 2013-2014 and their common self-identification as mothers supports Baldez's argument of a politicized identity. However, Baldez's framework covers the meso-level focusing on political entrepreneurs and collective action organizers.

The theory of tipping, timing, and framing (Baldez, 2002) does not explain why *individual* women are motivated to protest while the integrative framework for personal motivation to participate in protest (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2011) does not explain why *women* protest. Importantly, the research discussed above is not the only one exploring motivation to protest. Rather, it serves to represent different approaches to studying why people protest: at the individual level and therefore tapping into the concepts of various motives, or from the broader conceptual perspective of political participation, democratization, and political opportunities. I conducted a study to explore whether the theory which was developed in a democratic Western-European setting could be applied in an autocratic repressive setting *and* a gender setting.

The scholars highlighted the need to do and encouraged further research on people's motivations in various protests. Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011) concluded that "little is known about how motivations and emotions vary from demonstration to demonstration and the factors that bring this variation about, [...] how the mobilizing context shapes the motivational dynamics of individual protesters rather than why people participate in protest or not" (p. 103). Nikolayenko & DeCasper (2018) invited to study how different identities intersect and therefore impact women's participation in contentious politics in the non-democratic states. Therefore, this research contributes to gaining insight on specific protests: participants' grievances, emotions and their objects, the particular identities activated, values offended. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis is the first study to explore personal motivations to participate in protests from the perspective of individual motivation and the established literature on it from the gender perspective. Considering the recentness of the Belarusian protests, this is also the first study to explore the protestors' individual participation in those events.

To fill the knowledge gap and to uncover why women in Belarus joined the women's marches in the presence of the ongoing mass-scale general protests, the research question for this study was posed as follows:

How did women's motivations to participate in the women's marches differ from their motivations to participate in the general protests in Belarus between August and December 2020?

The next chapter describes the theoretical framework that guided this research. Building on the integrative model of individual motivation by Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011), I specified the model by suggesting to focus on the identity motive, which is expected to be central for the protests under study, from the perspective of gender and the feminist analysis of violence and nonviolence. To answer the research question, I designed a qualitative study and interviewed 14 women who took part in the women's marches as well as the general protests between August and December 2020 in Belarus. Chapter 3 describes this methodology in detail, as well as the data analysis approach. Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis which are discussed in Chapter 5 at length. The results demonstrated that different motives drove different protests: while the general protests were fueled more with the instrumental motive, the women's marches – with the identity motive which was activated by the state violence. An important finding that was not initially expected presents state violence as a modulator of the motivational dynamics.

Chapter 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter aims to formulate provisional answers to the research question in the form of empirical expectations and to conceptually situate my study in scholarly knowledge. The proposed theoretical approach is two-fold. Firstly, I have chosen to use the model brought forward by Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and Van Dijk (2011) because they integrated the concepts related to the individual motivation to participate in protest accumulating the previous rich knowledge for the first time. Using this model as the guiding tool allows producing comprehensive results as the paths to protest participation discussed in the earlier volumes of research are considered in the framework. In principle, as Klandermans explained (2013, 2015), individuals may be motivated to participate in the collective action because they want to express their solidarity with a social group with which they identify, stand up to their values, or change the situation with which they are aggrieved. These three reasons represent the three motives for protest participation. The model by Van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, & Van Dijk (2011) combined the three motives – identity, ideology, instrumentality – together with group-based anger. These four concepts are the main concepts of my study. To specify each concept, other knowledge is used, some of which particularly pertains to repressive regimes, gender identity, emotions, etc. Secondly, to address the gender perspective and to fill in the gaps outlined in Chapter 1, I include the take of the feminist analysis of violence and nonviolence on female identity. This approach aims to tackle the identity-related characteristics of the Belarusian women's protests: nonviolence and peacefulness, and particularly the symbolism of the women's marches.

Components of the integrative model

Instrumentality can be explained in terms of costs and benefits wherein the two components of the concept – grievances and perceived efficacy – are interdependent. That is, a person aggrieved about unfair election results participates in a protest expecting that this protest would lead to the state reviewing the electoral outcomes. As for the motive of identity, the stronger someone identifies or expresses solidarity with a group or a social category, the more they are motivated to protest. Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011) explained the motive of ideology in terms of values: when people feel that their values are offended by the state, and they perceive these actions of the state as illegitimate, they become ideologically motivated and want to express their offenses.

Finally, group-based anger was rediscovered as the role of emotions had been revived in the research of social movements. Adding the motive of ideology to identity and instrumentality, Van Stekelenburg and collaborators integrated the concepts and offered a single model. According to their research, the

stronger one's identity-related motivation is, the stronger their instrumental and ideological motivations will be, which in turn also feeds anger. This in sum results in a stronger motivation to participate in a protest. The authors concluded that the identity motive plays an integrative role in the motivational dynamics and that "protest participation is contingent on defining oneself as part of a collective" (van Stekelenburg et al., 2011, p. 101).

From the literature, it is clear that group-based emotions, identity, and ideology are interconnected. Van Zomeren et al. (2008) concluded that the identity motive is central to collective action and Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011) supported this argument in their research. A strong sense of identity leads to a "stronger perception and experience of injustice [...] through group-based emotional experience", while the sense of injustice, in its turn, feeds the group-based emotions (van Zomeren et al., 2008, p. 524). These ideas can be traced in other studies, too. Goldenberg, Saguy & Halperin explained the term of group-based emotions as a "response to events that have perceived relevance for the group as a whole", thus linking emotions and identity (2014, p. 581). Mackie, Devos & Smith (2000) demonstrated that participants of collective action expressed specific negative emotions - anger and fear - toward their outgroup. Anger was stronger when participants felt stronger about their ingroup conditions.

Identity

Meyer argued that "[p]rotest serves as a vehicle not only for expressing political claims, but also for building communities, forging connections among people, and constructing a sense of self" (2004, p. 166). The outside of a protest includes politics and institutions while the inside of a protest produces identity and meaning. In her study of Chilean women's protests, Baldez (2002) explained that in the majority of contemporary societies women are socialized within the domestic sphere. This perception of the private and public divide (more on this divide in the second subchapter) places women outside of politics creating an apolitical identity or even an identity of a political outsider. Women, she argues, protest as women based on "widely held norms about female identity" (Baldez, 2002, p. 4). "Mobilizing as women [...] politicizes a source of identity that by definition has no place in the political arena" (Baldez, 2002, p. 12). At the same time, these roles may be flexible and change in time as the term gender itself – as opposed to sex – stipulates socially constructed differences. Similarly, Van Zomeren and Spears (2009) pointed at the importance of identity to a movement when that identity is politicized. People with such an identity are more aware of the power struggles in their society and therefore for their identity collective action becomes the purpose.

Instrumentality

Klandermans (2015) explained two types of collective action: instrumental and expressive. While the expressive action refers us to the ideological motive, i.e. expression of views and values, the instrumental motive relates to rationality. Until recently, the resource mobilization scholarship dichotomized between rationality and emotions (Hercus, 1999). Nowadays, instrumentality does not have a monopoly on explaining protest participation, instead, the social movement researchers have been focusing on questions of meaning, narrative, culture, and symbols (Hercus, 1999; Klandermans, 2015). An instrumental action, in the context of this study, implies participating in a protest believing that this protest can help change the situation with which the protestors disagree and which consequently drove them to the streets.

Ideology

Ideology is tightly bound with identity and emotions, too. Klandermans (2015) explains that both identity and ideology stem from inner obligations whereas the former is a felt social obligation and the latter – a moral obligation. Nikolayenko and DeCasper (2018) studied the motivations of individual women in Ukraine to participate in the Euromaidan protests. The researchers concluded that women had the following motivations: "dissatisfaction with the government, solidarity with protesters, motherhood, civic duty, and professional service" (Nikolayenko & DeCasper, 2018, p. 727). These are an excellent illustration of how the described motivations can be attributed to identity, ideology, and emotions at the same time: the feeling of solidarity can be attributed to self-identifying with the ingroup, but also shared values with the ingroup (ideological motive). Furthermore, it may signal that women experienced the same group-based emotions.

Emotion

Emotions are an unalienable part of an expressive collective action (Klandermans, 2015). In their framework, van Stekelenburg and collaborators (2011) considered group-based anger as an amplifier rather than a motive on its own. According to Mackie et al. (2000), the feeling of efficacy is associated with anger and the feeling of inefficacy – with fear. Interestingly, Flam (2004) observed that protestors in Eastern Europe rarely demonstrated their anger under repressive regimes for the fear of facing violence and oppression exercised by the authorities. Rather, protestors showed anxiety, caution, and fear.

Hercus (1999) highlighted the importance of emotions as a whole in feminist identity and particularly underlined the centrality of anger in collective action. Until the 2000s, the leading theory of resource mobilization strictly divided emotion from rationality matching it with irrationality instead (Hercus, 1999;

Jasper, 1998). The *Feeling Rules* introduced by Hochschild (1979, as cited Flam, 2015) suggest there are societal norms about displaying emotions which, in turn, suggests emotional deviance. Such deviance is gendered as societies have different expectations of the emotional display of men and women (Hercus, 1999). While anger can be energizing and mobilizing (Hercus, 1999), it is thought to be deviant for women. Hercus's (1999) and Taylor's (1996) research showed that women transform their deviant emotions into energy boosts by purposefully joining social movements to let their anger out.

While many researchers (e.g., Van Stekelenburg et al., 2011; Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) studied group-based anger as a driver for protest participation and anger holds an important place in the study of collective action, other group-based emotions may be worth being investigated. For instance, Van Zomeren et al. (2008) invited to study how politicized identity can develop such positive group-based emotions as pride. The present study also aims to explore whether anger is the key emotion driving women's motivation or other group-based emotion or emotions are pronounced stronger than anger among the interviewed women, therefore, influencing their motivation.

Specification of the model

Klandermans (2015) noted that different motives could be more important for participants of different movements: the identity motive could play a bigger role in driving an LGBTQI movement while the ideology motive could drive an anti-war or an anti-nuclear movement. This leads me to the first expectation from the empirical results:

The individual motivations of the women who took part in general protests differ from their motivations for participation in women's marches.

Media coverage of the 2020 protests in Belarus showed that participants of both general protests and women's marches had the same demands: reelection, Lukashenka's resignation, and release of all the political prisoners and persons detained in connection with the elections and during the unrest. However, the divide between the two types of collective actions is apparent from the clear standoff between the violence of the (riot) police and the pointedly peaceful signature of the women's marches rich in symbolism of nonviolence and femininity. Furthermore, it is notable that the women's protests as a movement lacked an evident feminist agenda as well as did the women-led opposition. In other words, the difference in the motives of the two protests participants might belong neither in ideology nor in instrumentality. Wulf, Bernstein, and Taylor (2015) reported that collective identity is the main driver of mobilization wherein it is an identity of a group rooted in its members' shared experiences, interests, and

solidarity (Taylor and Whittier, 1992, as cited in Wulff et al., 2015). My main thesis is based on the feminist analysis of violence and female identity. I expect that the key distinction of the two types of protests appears in the differences in the relationship of men and women with violence and nonviolence. This dissimilarity motivates women to take on a different collective action that reflects *their* collective identity. Thus, this brings forward the next expectation:

The identity motive plays a key role in women's motivation to participate in the women's marches.

Violence and nonviolence in female identity

"It's not because they are women that they were nonviolent and innovated tactics better, it's that their particular position, the gendered roles that they had in society, gave them access to knowledge about social power."
Erica Chenoweth in her interview with The Atlantic (Serhan, 2020)

In feminist analysis, violence is often discussed as violence against women, at the same time many feminist scholars discuss this issue within broader terms. Importantly, feminism does not equal pacifism and nonviolence, however, while there are many disagreements among feminist scholars on violence, the rejection of exploitation, oppression, and violence in relation to gender and sex is native to all narratives. The distinction of violence in personal relations and violence in public life is not dichotomizing but rather defining a continuum of violence, a common term in feminist analysis (Weber, 2006).

I do not claim that this section provides a comprehensive review of the various analyses of violence and nonviolence in feminist theories, nor are any of the mentioned approaches or angles at violence or nonviolence predominant or 'better' than others. The discussion below is meant to demonstrate the different views on why the Belarusian women may have chosen the non-confrontational resistance, and both violence and nonviolence can help explain how these concepts shape women's identities.

A large share of literature invokes the critique of the longstanding public-private ideological divide associated with the state-and-family and male-and-female divides as a starting point of analysis. While gender is a strong social construct but at the same time systemic, enforcing institutionalized norms and not offering personal choices, this public-private distinction forces gendered privileges. Thus, the qualities prescribed to masculinity are preferred over the 'feminine qualities': strength over weakness, leadership over care, rationality over emotion, protection over vulnerability, aggression over passivity, public over private (Sjoberg & Via, 2010). The theory of moral development assumed that reason and rationality are

more valued than care and interdependence and are associated with autonomy which, in turn, leads to making morally sound judgments (McLaughlin, 2003). This separation denies the "possibility that the public can benefit from responses generated from empathy, intimacy and care" (McLaughlin, 2003, p. 76). The criticism (Gilligan, 1985) of the theory which focused on boys and men as a standard for a human being offers the other, missing, perspective. While care for others permeates women's moral development, it is often an entrapment as sacrifice, obligation, and duty define judgment. However, once women realize their rights and self-worth and prioritize self-care, care becomes the self-chosen principle “universal in its condemnation of exploitation and hurt" (Gilligan, 1985, p. 11). Gilligan argued that women's perception of self is embedded in relationships with others and their moral judgment is rooted in the "principled understanding of nonviolence as the most adequate guide to the just resolution of moral conflicts" (1985, p. 34). Gilligan's take on the moral development theories is not ultimate and was criticized by feminist scholars for its empirical concept of gender, among others things.

Closely woven into the concept of violence and inherently central to the feminist theory are the issues of power and the relationships between power and gender. The literature identifies two mainstream approaches to power in feminist thought. The first approach centers on domination, oppression, and injustice in relationships. For example, Namy et al. (2017) suggested a conceptual model for intersecting violence in family. According to the researchers, the patriarchal structure of a family normalizes violence, reinforces the subordination of women and infantilizes them. The 'power as oppression' approach is criticized for its inherent masculinity and excessive victimization of women. The second approach suggests focusing on power as capability/ability to empower instead of diminishing. This approach often finds its focus on maternalism and caregiving (Allen, 1998). Both approaches can be traced in the following discussion.

While Lukashenko's regime cannot be characterized as militaristic, he largely relies on the law enforcement institutions in maintaining his power (Frear, 2018). Also, his regime can often be characterized as misogynistic. Unsurprisingly, these two concepts can be linked. Feminist critique of militarism posits that the military and associated institutions are a product of the masculinized culture and ideologies of male dominance (Lokaneeta, 2018). Lokaneeta extends her argument stating that women have often been reduced to serve as symbols of vulnerability. Such symbolism speculates on essentializing and stereotyping femininity reducing it to a set of supposedly moral characteristics.

Resistance is one of the most important aspects of the feminist study of violence (Lokaneeta, 2018). Often researchers study groups that engage in violent action. Spencer (2000) argued that it is necessary to also

consider collectivities and individuals who choose not to engage in violence which would help us understand their identities, too. The choice of women's movements to act nonviolently - again - can be explained from the positions of oppression and empowerment. It is women and women's movements that mostly employ nonviolent tactics (Beckwith, 2002; Dodson, 2015). This predominance creates the *nonviolent female identity*, the general association between women and nonviolence. On the one hand, nonviolent actions are "self-defeating because they enact a version of femininity that re-inscribes and incites patriarchal violence" (Frazer & Hutchings, 2014). Such identity is passive and symbolistic which invites the nonviolent practices to "incite violence directly though creating opportunities [...] to exercise violence against women" (Frazer & Hutchings, 2014). On the other hand, nonviolent opposition can be an important component of a *desirable* collective identity of a "citizen and peacemaker" (Costain, 2000). Simpson, Willer & Feinberg (2018) empirically supported this argument concluding that violence in protest movements negatively impacted participants' identification with the movement and therefore decreased their support.

Costain (2000) argued that more women than men oppose violent practices, which makes collectivities that promote nonviolence attractive for women who wish to voice their grievances. Why do women choose nonviolence? Beckwith (2002) suggested a list of possible reasons which includes socialization (women are socialized in such a way that they oppose violence), political learning (women often become victims of violent actions), history, and having different opinions about peace and war than men. However, she proposed that such predominance of nonviolent action among women can be explained by the fact that violence, as many other social and political phenomena, is gendered. This means that women and men are offered different opportunities when they take collective action. This point brings us back to the division between private and public, feminine and masculine.

To conclude this section, I would like to bring an example of a nonviolent women's movement which had no evident feminist agenda. Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo is a movement of mothers and grandmothers which was created in response to disappearances and killings of Argentinian men during Videla's dictatorship. Las Madres used exclusively nonviolent practices, openly identified themselves as mothers and women, exploiting their femininity yet they managed without directly opposing the patriarchal societal structures of Argentina to occupy a space in the masculinist political arena. Las Madres politicized their feminine motherly identity and broke the distinction between private - motherhood, care and nurturing - and public - political action (Lokaneeta, 2018; Poe, 2018).

Chapter 3. Methodology

The present study was approved by the University of Twente BMS Ethics Committee on March 19, 2021.

Data collection

To answer the research question, I needed to collect new data originating directly from the participants of the protests. While many studies on individual motivations to protest were done quantitatively (Goldenberg et al., 2014; Kessler & Hollbach, 2005; Stürmer & Simon, 2009; Van Stekelenburg et al., 2011; Van Zomeren et al., 2004), I chose to conduct a qualitative study (examples of that are Leap & Thompson, 2018; Nikolayenko & DeCasper, 2018). As the purpose of this research was not to measure the strength of various motives or their relative weight, etc. but to openly explore motivations to protest from the gender perspective, designing the study qualitatively allowed to collect the necessary data giving the participants enough freedom to express themselves and the researcher to interpret. The choice of the method was based on several criteria. Firstly, it was important to consider the feasibility of a given method given the restricted movement conditioned by the Covid-19 pandemic. Secondly, the method of data collection needed to focus on individual participants. Finally, motivation to participate in protests was to be studied *post factum*, i.e. no observation was possible. Taking these criteria into account, I opted for conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews. This meant that the theoretical framework could serve only as the guiding tool and would not predefine the participants' narratives. To collect such data for my study, I conducted 14 online in-depth interviews over 4 weeks.

Conducting qualitative interviews provided the opportunity to collect uncategorized data, observe the interviewees' responses and reactions. The interviews allowed space for clarifications, if needed, and elaborations. Research shows that when conducted with care, interviewees experience more reward during an interview than while completing a survey and that the response rate for interviews is higher than for surveys (Phellas, Bloch, & Seale, 2011).

Sampling

The two inclusion criteria for sampling were to identify as a woman *and* to have participated at least in one protest in August – December 2020. However, during the research, the focus shifted towards comparing experiences of the same women who have participated in both types of protests. This shift was prompted by the discovery that the absolute majority of the interviewed women indeed had participated in both types of protests. Following the most common criterion for sampling in qualitative interviewing, saturation of knowledge, there was no minimum number of interviewees expected from the outset. The

sampling goal, however, was to receive different perspectives on the protests and women's motivation. While almost all interviewees participated in both protests, one might consider this as a limitation to the study. I, however, believe that this fact, which was not predetermined as a requirement at the stage of participant recruitment, strengthens the results. It shows finer differences in motivational dynamics rather than a comparative study of participants of only the women's marches and only the general protests or a study of participants and nonparticipants would show.

The initial plan to form a sample was to post a 'call' in a Facebook group of a feminist NGO. I created a poster that advertised my study and invited women who participated at least in one protest in Belarus between August and December to contact me via email. The advertising poster shared with the groups on social media included basic information about the study: the topic of the project, its aims, means of communication during the interview, a brief introduction of the researcher, and the contact information. Prospective participants were encouraged to contact the researcher should they have any questions about the procedure, the contents of the interview, etc. The poster was written in the Russian language. However, after some deliberations and to jumpstart the study, I chose to use the snowball technique first.

The snowball technique was found very useful at the initial as well as the final phases of participant recruitment. The first attempt at engaging with prospective participants was focused on employing my personal network's connections. It resulted in a few prospective interviewees. This attempt also resulted in identifying an additional access point via a group in the Telegram messenger. The group became the main source of participants and helped to connect with 12[3] women. The name of the group is not disclosed to maintain the anonymity and intractability of the participants of the study. After conducting the eleventh interview, I opted against posting another advertising poster in a different social media group and chose to use the snowball technique instead. This allowed me to have control over the number of the new participants in relation to the level of saturation of knowledge. Three new participants were recruited via recommendations of the previous interviewees. At fourteen interviews, the point of saturation of knowledge was reached, participant recruitment and data collection were stopped. Once each participant was recruited and the interview date was set, each woman was briefed on the procedure and their rights (to stop the interview at any moment, for instance). A uniform message was sent to each participant a few days before the interview (see Appendix 1). It is my conclusion that snowball sampling may serve indispensable in cases when the researcher does not have any reliable or obvious access points

[3] Not all women who responded to the call eventually participated in the study for various reasons.

to the population under study. At later stages of the research, it also helps ensure a diverse sample: if the researcher builds a good and trusting relationship with the interviewees, snowballing can guarantee a steady yet controllable growth of the number of participants.

Following the originally proposed plan, I also had the advertising poster posted by the mentioned feminist NGO on their Facebook page. The advertisement was reposted by several group members on different social media platforms. However, this attempt did not add any participants to the sample. At the same time, this lack of success benefited the sample by avoiding a possible bias toward women with a strong feminist ideology.

Sociobiographical background of the participants

Approximately 92% of the interviewees (12 out of 13) took part both in the general protests and in women's marches (see Table A in Appendix 4). The biographical information about the participants regarding their age, education, employment, and marital status obtained at the end of each interview was consolidated (see Table 1 below). The median age of the participants was 30 years. The youngest participant was 21 years of age and the oldest – 52 years of age. Based on a comment of a participant, the sample may not be entirely representative in terms of the age of the participants in the women's marches:

> At the women's marches, I think, there were even more older women. Visually, as a guesstimate, [...] I think there was about 30 percent of women over 40 [years of age]. At the general protests... I think, in general, the people's age was 20 – 40 [years]. [...] There were more young people. It's a very subjective [opinion] of course. (Participant L)

Nearly 85% of the participants had a university degree. Approximately 38% of the interviewees had two 'university degrees', which can be translated to the European equivalent of two master's degrees. According to the national census of 2019, my sample is not representative as only 36% of working-age[4] women living in Belarus have a university degree (National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus, 2021). The high level of many participants' education could be a limitation of the sample. While the mean level of education of the protest participants is not known and therefore it is not yet possible to judge whether this study's sample was representative of them or not, research showed that the educated

[4] I considered only the working-age statistics by the Committee as my sample's age was purposefully chosen to be over 18 years.

individuals are less supportive of violence and repression (Hall, Rodeghier, & Useem, 1986; Rodeghier, Hall, & Useem, 1991).

Twenty-three percent of the participants indicated that they were unemployed at the moment (all those also have two university degrees), which leaves the rest 77% of participants having a form of employment (self-employed, part-time, or full-time employed), one of whom was on her maternity leave at the moment of the interview. This correlates well with the national statistical data which showed that 79.5% of working-age women in Belarus have a job of some kind (National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus, 2021). Almost half of the participants (46%) had a child (23%) or children (23%). All those with a child or children were married or divorced. Nearly 70% of the participants were married or in an unregistered relationship which is almost 20% higher than the census' values: 52% of women aged over 15 years are married or in a relationship in Belarus as of 2019 (National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus, 2021).

Table 1. Overview of the socio-biographical background of the participants

Participant	Age	Education	Employment status	Marital status
Participant A	30	master's degree	maternity leave	married, has a child
Participant E	52	2 university degrees	unemployed, homemaker	married, has children
Participant F	21	vocational secondary education and incomplete university degree	employed	single
Participant J	22	incomplete bachelor's degree	part-time employed	single
Participant K	29	2 university degrees	unemployed	in a relationship
Participant L	35	university degree	employed	married, has a child
Participant M	30	2 university degrees	employed	married, has a child
Participant N	30	2 university degrees	employed	in a relationship
Participant P	26	university degree	employed	in a relationship
Participant Q	36	university degree	self-employed	not married
Participant U	41	university degree	self-employed	divorced, has children
Participant V	31	university degree	employed	married
Participant W	27	2 university degrees	volunteering	married, has children

Overall, the sample mostly represents well-educated, employed women in their thirties. Some of the socio-biographical characteristics are representative of the entire female working-age population of the Republic of Belarus and others less or not at all. According to the participants' comments, the sample may not be entirely representative as it includes less representation of women older than 30 years of age, however, it does reflect the general picture of the protesting women (aged 20 to 40) in terms of their age.

Given the limited timeframe of the research, the chosen strategy of finding participants was aimed at short-term, immediate results: the first responses to the call, plausibly, came from the women who were likely to be active on social media either as the receiver of information or contributor, or both. Women who were more hesitant or not as active on social media did not make it to the sample as the purpose of the strategy was to achieve quick results in recruitment. It is debatable whether the women who responded to the call first were more motivated and if their motivation to participate in the study correlates with their motivation to have participated in a protest. However, it is outside the study's scope to measure the strength of women's motivation.

Safety of the subject-participants and data protection

Given the increasing repressions in the country and their extent, one of the biggest concerns for recruiting the prospective participants and generally engaging with them was their safety and security. The following steps were taken to ensure their maximal safety. Guaranteeing anonymity was essential and included mentioning the irreversibility of anonymizing in the advertising poster. The transcripts were carefully redacted for any information that could link it with a person: street names, unordinary dates[5], personal relations, gender of children, place of residence and any other location markers, previous occupations and business, and other types of information were removed. During the interviews, I shared with some interviewees their roles (Ackerly & True, 2020), e.g., being the first/second/last woman to be interviewed. To eliminate this connection from the present report, after the transcripts were sent to the interviewees and feedback was received, the transcripts were shuffled and the participants were randomly assigned a letter of the alphabet that did not correspond with their numerical order as a participant. Lastly, to help establish trust from the outset, I provided proof of my identity to those participants who requested it.

Transcription

Before the start of the interview, each woman was asked for her consent to my recording of the interview with a voice recorder. The voice recorder was demonstrated to the participant on the camera. All women agreed to the recording. After the recording was stopped, each woman was offered to have a debrief by asking questions, sharing her impressions, or something that she wanted to say off the record. Along with

[5] Participants often mentioned dates on which they joined various protests. While there are certain dates that are commonly known and referred to (such include August 9, 10 and 11 when the biggest protests took place and the largest share of police violence occurred), other dates, especially towards the end of the year, may link to small-scale protests wherein it is easier to identify protestors. Such dates were irreversibly removed from the transcripts.

and after conducting the interviews, the recordings were transcribed, the audio files were permanently destroyed, and the voice recorder was formatted. The majority of the recordings were transcribed using the Amberscipt transcription software. The software was used to transform the recordings into bare text, after that each transcript was edited manually for contextualization of the speech (Ackerly & True, 2020). The text files were encrypted using SURFfilesender and sent to the interviewees for their approval and/or clarification: the subject-participants could redact the text further to correct the interpretation of contextualization or for the reasons of anonymity. The final transcripts were named, for instance, 'P-A', where P stands for Participant and A – for the anonymized participant's name using the randomizer for a letter of the Latin alphabet. For convenient cross-referencing, in the next chapter, the participants are referred to by the corresponding name of the transcript, e.g., P-A.

Interview guide

The interview guide operationalizes the four concepts presented in the previous chapter comprising the integrative model put forward by van Stekelenburg, Klandermans and Van Dijk (2011). These four concepts are identity, ideology, instrumentality, and group-based emotions. As explained in Chapter 2, I focused on group-based emotions instead of anger to maximize my findings and allow for discoveries if perhaps different emotion/emotions are more prevalent in women protesting in the women's marches. The questions were loosely inspired by those of the survey designed by Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011, p. 96), in order to correspond with the authors' conceptual model. The wording does not recreate the survey questions and rather rephrases the four key concepts in the form of questions. Table 2 illustrates the relationship between the concepts and the core interview questions.

Table 2. Relationship between interview questions and theoretical concepts

Interview question	Corresponding concept	Aim of the question
Question 1	-	Which protests were participated by the interviewee
Question 2	Instrumentality	Identification of grievances
Question 3	Instrumentality	Identification of perceived efficacy
Question 4	Group-based emotions	Identification of felt emotions
Question 5	Group-based emotions	Differences in felt emotions per protest
Question 6	Identity	Self-description of identity
Question 7	Identity	Role of identity in protesting
Question 8	Ideology	Identification of values
Question 9	Ideology	Sharing of feminist values or not
Question 10	-	Opinion about fellow protestors
Questions 11 – 14	-	Biographical questions
Question 15	-	Approval of the transcript
Question 16	-	Receipt of the study results
Question 17	-	Obtaining consent for data processing
Additional question 1	-	Change of motivation caused by detainment
Additional question 2	Group-based emotions	Felt emotions at the next protest after detainment

Question 1 invites the participants to share in which protests they participated. Since participation in a protest was an inclusion criterion for the study, this question allows to grasp the bigger picture of a given woman's experience in protesting in 2020, understand the ratio of the women's marches and the general protests as well as a given woman's preference for either of the protest type. Question 10 was an additional prompt-like question to obtain more information on participants' from the point of view of a bystander. Answers to this question provide more insight into how protestors view other participants. The context in which they place their descriptions and considerations define their narrative about others *and* themselves (Ackerly & True, 2020). In other words, question 10 invites a different angle at the question on identity. The additional questions 1 and 2 were originally drawn up for the purpose to explore micro-dynamics of women's motivations and the roots of its sustainment.

At the conclusion of each interview, participants were asked biographical questions about their age, occupation, family status, and education. These questions were reproduced from a similar study

conducted by Nikolayenko and DeCasper (2018) on women's motivations to participate in the Maidan protests in Ukraine. The complete interview guide is presented in Appendix 2.

Data analysis method

Data analysis consisted of multiple phases. For quoting and coding, the ATLAS.ti software was used. The transcripts were quoted for key phrases. On average, a transcript had 40 quotations, with the highest number of quotations per transcript being 54 (transcript P-F) and the lowest number – 20 (transcript P-W). Afterward, each quotation was coded in the context and not autonomously, using both descriptive and process coding (Saldaña, 2014). The codes and their meaning are described in detail in the Code Book (see Appendix 3).

Coding was approached bottom-up, with no predetermined categories. Instead of using the four key concepts of ideology, instrumentality, identity, and group-based emotions as codes, I chose to code inductively labeling quotations with a word or a few words, condensing the meaning (Thomas, 2006). Each code summarized the theme of the quotation, in other words, what a given woman was talking about in a given piece of the interview. That is, code 'overwhelmed' meant that the participant felt overwhelmed (see Appendix 3). Consequently, after categorizing the codes (see the final paragraphs in this chapter), this approach allowed to not only analyze the three motives and group-based emotions and compare them for the two protests but explore the *building blocks*, i.e. the elements of the motives and emotions[6]. Instead of analyzing whether emotions of identity drove a given protest, I was able to begin the analysis from a deeper level: *which* emotions and *which* elements of identity were prevalent in a given protest, for instance. While such inductive coding helped to maintain the focus on the participants' perspectives, it implied a certain degree of interpretation liberty. This limitation could be resolved by intercoding. Notwithstanding, I consider this strategy to have been successful as it uncovered a large variety of themes concerning participation in the two types of protests in Belarus.

To answer the research question, each datum needed to reflect the unit of analysis (an individual woman), the element of motive, the type of the protest at hand, and the perceived importance of the element of motive at the same time. Perceived importance refers to what the researcher judged a given participant perceived important. The dichotomy of co-coding the elements as important or unimportant was used to decrease arbitrariness while it also served the purpose of practical coding. Thus, each code was three-fold

[6] For convenience and to avoid wordiness, the three motives and group-based emotions are further referred together as the (four) *motives*.

and was linked to the ID of the quotation which, in turn, included the name of the transcript. Because of the limitations of the software and to prevent human error, each code originally consisted of the three mentioned dimensions together which allowed maintaining the connections between each dimension when the results were exported into an Excel file. The dimension of the type of protest was indicated by starting the code with either 'WM' for a women's march or 'GP' for a general protest. It was followed by the element of motive under discussion. The code was completed by indicating the perceived importance of the given element by stating either 'important' or 'unimportant'. An example of a code is 'WM;injustice;important'. This code indicates the element of the motive at hand (injustice) and that the participant considered it important. It also refers to the context in which the participant mentioned the element of motive (women's march). If the quotation referred to both protests, both codes were applied, for example: 'WM;injustice;important' and 'GP;injustice;important'.

When coding was completed, I returned to the transcripts to control the codes for consistency, to ensure intracoder reliability, and to manage the codes for doubles. The 'doubles'—codes that reflected the same idea—were merged or recoded. Quotations and associated codes were exported as an Excel file. Leaving only the quotation ID, the name of the transcript, and the split codes, I reorganized the file into 13 individual tables, each corresponding with one participant (see Table 3 for an example of data organization). The original list of codes was reduced to the unique values and comprised the Code Book (Appendix 3). In total, there were 87 unique codes. The numeric values at the intersection of the element of motive with the type of protest indicate the number of times such combination was coded in a given transcript. The sub-columns help dichotomize the perceived importances prescribed to a given element of motive.

Table 3. Example of data organization per participant (Participant Q)

P-Q	General protest		Women's march	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
anger			1	
antiwar				
anxiety				
any action matters				
atheism	1			
attract attention				
Belarus	2		1	

Subsequently, in order to compare the data across the individual participants, each sub-column from each table was transferred to a table representing the (1) elements of motives perceived important by a given participant for her participation in a general protest, (2) elements of motives perceived unimportant by a given participant for her participation in a general protest, (3) elements of motives perceived important by a given participant for her participation in a women's march, and (4) elements of motives perceived unimportant by a given participant for her participation in a women's march. Column 'count' includes the number of times each value of an element of a motive was mentioned across all participants. The tables were then reorganized according to the descending count (see Table 4 for an example).

Table 4. Example of comparative data organization per types of protest and perceived importance across the participants

General Protest - Important														
Element of motive	P-A	P-E	P-F	P-J	P-K	P-L	P-M	P-N	P-P	P-Q	P-U	P-V	P-W	count
violence	2		1		2	1	2	1	1		2		2	9
injustice			1			2		2		1	1	1	3	7
lawlessness	1		2	3	2				1	1	2			7
fear	1			2						1	1	1	1	6

While categorization or grouping of codes is usually considered the next logical step after coding is finished (Saldaña, 2014; Trent & Cho, 2014), I opted out of categorization until the very last phase of data analysis with the purpose to showcase the many tones and shades of the elements that compose motives of individual protesting women. Data were categorized into four groups, each group corresponding with one of the motives: instrumentality, identity, ideology, and group-based emotions. Each code was assigned to a motive. In rare cases, a code got assigned to several motives at a time. An example of the relationships between the codes and the four concepts is illustrated in Table 5 below. To draw these relationships, the corresponding quotations were consulted for context. Grouping the codes into four clusters helped analyze which motives were dominant for participation in a given protest.

Due to the restricted timeframe, a limitation to this analysis is the absence of an intermediate step of collecting the individual codes into thematic groups before categorizing them per motive. That is, instead of having four individual elements referring to citizenship in one way or another (see Table 5, elements 8—11), those could form one group 'citizen'. Such grouping would, firstly, significantly reduce the number of codes, and secondly, show more general patterns. This limitation is however addressed in the next chapter to some extent.

Table 5. Relationship between codes and key concepts

No.	Code	Corresponding motive
1	Anger	Emotions
2	Antiwar	Ideology
3	Anxiety	Emotions
4	Any action matters	Instrumentality
5	Atheism	Ideology/identity
6	Attract attention	Instrumentality
7	Belarus/ Belarusian as identity	Identity
8	Citizen as identity	Identity
9	Citizen embodiment	Identity
10	Citizen first	Identity
11	Citizen, not woman	Identity
12	Clothes and flowers	Identity
13	Curiosity	Emotions
14	Disappointment	Emotions

Chapter 4. Results

This chapter presents the comparative analysis of the results and its discussion along the four predefined variables – identity, ideology, instrumentality, and group-based emotions. Also, the unexpected results are discussed. The results are analyzed for uniformity.

Elements of motivation and their occurrence were compared across all participants for each of the following: elements that were considered important for participation in a general protest, elements that were considered unimportant for participation in a general protest, elements that were considered important for participation in a women's march, and elements that were considered important for participation in a women's march. The elements were reordered to reflect their frequency: that is, the elements at the top were coded across the most participants and the elements at the bottom were not coded for any participant at all for the given combination of the type of protest and perceived importance. Tables B – N in Appendix 4 present coded elements for each participant. Table 6 below presents the top-coded elements and Tables O – R in Appendix 4 give the full overview with the elements which have the count of at least 1 across the participants.

Table 6. Top-coded elements for both types of protests across all participants

Coded element	Motive	Count for combination General protest - Important	Count for combination General protest - Unimportant	Count for combination Women's march - Important	Count for combination Women's march - Unimportant
Violence	Identity/ideology/instrumentality	9		7	
Injustice	Instrumentality	7		7	
Lawlessness	Instrumentality	7		5	
Fear	Emotion	6			5
Human rights	Ideology	6			
Unity	Identity	6		5	
Anger	Emotion	5		5	
Belarus	Identity	5		5	
Enthusiasm	Emotion	5			
Efficacy	Instrumentality	5	5		5
Motherhood	Identity	5			
Nonviolence	Identity/ideology/instrumentality	5			
Numbers of people	Instrumentality	5			
Solidarity	Identity	5		6	
Woman as identity	Identity			8	
Clothes and flowers	Identity			6	
Feminism	Ideology		4	6	5
Support	Identity			6	
Pride	Emotion			5	
Safety	-			5	

Instrumentality

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the following sections discuss the elements that were grouped into four categories wherein each category corresponds with a motive to participate in a protest. Therefore, the sections are structured to reflect the four concepts and also follow the logic of the developments in the research of individual protest participation. That is, instrumentality is addressed first, followed by identity and emotions. The chapter is concluded with a discussion of the results pertaining to the motive of ideology, newly introduced by Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011).

As Klandermans (2014a) claimed, grievances are at the core of participation in collective action: without grievances, there is no protest. Nearly 54% of the interviewees considered injustice important for both protests, which places it as the second most mentioned element across the participants. Interestingly, while the participants referred to, for instance, violence in varied ways: torture, beating, violence, cruelty,

killing, etc., they mostly used the same word for injustice. Also, 54% of the women considered lawlessness important for the general protests and 38% – for the women's marches. The object of the women's grievances was the outgroup: the law enforcement personnel of the detainment facilities, the state in general, the political elites, the riot police, the president: "[Another reason was] *that there is no law in the country. That is, it's there for OMON, for the former president, and for the rest – the people – there's no law while the Constitution says that people* are *the law*" (P-A). When speaking of injustice, 3 out of 7 women spoke about violence while using the word 'injustice' to describe it. For example, Participant W shared:

> First of all, [I protest] against the violence of course. This was the only thing in my head because Roman's [Bondarenko] death was absolute violence and injustice. Yes, injustice... Perhaps even, yes, I protest against injustice was louder in my head than violence at that moment. Because indeed this young man in his own courtyard... this death [...].

Participant U spoke similarly:

> [When I protested] for the very first time – indignation with the injustice, that is, the desire to stop the violence. I wanted – at any costs, by any means – to stop the violence. Had we not been so many in the lines of solidarity, I would have picketed or something in front of the police and I would have probably been going, going, and going there so that they knew for sure that I am here and I care.

Efficacy is the other component of instrumentality, it is "the belief that collective action will be effective" (Klandermans, 2014a, p. 5). Thirty-eight percent of the women considered efficacy as important for the general protest, unimportant for the general protests and unimportant for the women's marches. While the majority of the interviewees mentioned this element as *either* unimportant or important, P-L considered it important *and* unimportant for both protests at the same time. This is explained by her saying that at the beginning of the protests it mattered to her less than at the moment of the interview or later in the protests:

> You know, at that moment I probably was thinking about it less than now. [...] At that moment, yes, there was hope and belief, personally for me, though I've heard different opinions, that we really were able to make a change, reverse the situation by showing how many we were and our intentions.

Five women mentioned 'numbers of people' as an important element for the general protests. They explained that it was meaningful for them to see a lot of people at the protests: "[...] *there was fear that people wouldn't come. I was afraid that I'd come and there are five thousand people or they wouldn't be able to come at all*" (P-P). Participant P elaborated on why she preferred the general protests:

> It seemed to me that they needed attendance more because they are more important. More people come [to those protests], and it's more important that they come, because it seemed that [if they stopped] the big Sunday protests, if they get broken up, not enough people come, if they could stop them [the protests], then that's it, the last stand.

While the participants shared a very similar narrative, there were sub-tones to it. P-M mentioned that the numbers of people at the protests mattered not only for the efficacy but also as an instrument to show the international community, "*the other countries that we still disagree, that we are not three percent, not two percent and not twenty, but that we are the majority*".

Overall, the top coded elements for the general protests include both components of instrumentality: grievances and efficacy. The top coded elements for the women's marches include only grievances. However, should the elements coded much less frequently be considered, 23% of women mentioned 'violence as instrumental' as an important element. To illustrate what the coding means in the context, I quote two interviewees. Participant K explained:

> Plainly it's their mindset... Meaning, if 'I've beaten up a woman' then 'I'm a sissy'. And it could be played well. It was considered somewhat disgraceful in their little flock-like-mindset world. But, again, it was considered so but not long. So when the whole world sees it, they are ashamed. That's why we understood it and we used it.

Participant Q shared a similar narrative:

> [describes the symbolic clothes and flowers of the women's marches which she didn't like so much] But I agree, it made the impression on me which it probably was supposed to make. I didn't even think it could be unsafe, because, I'm sorry, walking in the city center wearing a white dress and carrying flowers... that I think [is]... It wouldn't make sense if OMOM came and started beating everyone with their batons. It seems to me that... [...] Why didn't we always do it like this? [laughs].

Despite only 3 women mentioned this element, I consider it interesting and important for understanding the impact of state violence on individual motivations.

Identity

Because many codes were categorized as comprising the identity motive, it is fitting to discuss the participants' self-identification next. As Copp argued, a "person's citizenship, gender, and ethnicity can be part of her 'identity', as can her language, her religion, life projects, ethical commitments" (2002, p. 365). To the question about their self-identification, the interviewees gave the most various answers including identifying as "a lawyer", "a homemaker", "a good person", "a creative person", etc. Notwithstanding the variation, nearly 62% of the participants mentioned their identity as a woman being important for their participation in the women's marches. Forty-six percent mentioned that solidarity was important for them as well. 38% considered unity important.

As for the general protests, 46% mentioned unity as important, 38% - solidarity. Motherhood was mentioned by 5 women (38%) as important for their participation in the general protests and by 4 in relation to the women's marches. While still a meaningful characteristic of the women's motivation, motherhood cannot be attributed to the uniform signal features which contrasts with the findings of Nikolayenko & DeCasper (2018) about the motivations of women protesting in Ukraine in 2013-2014. Klandermans (2014a) argued that people have can multiple identities as they have different roles and places in society at the same time. Thus, one woman can identify as a mother and a social activist (P-U). However, as Klandermans claims, one identity can be more important than others and therefore has more weight in decision-making. Under the pressure of the unfolding events, motherhood was more salient for P-U which impacted her protesting behavior – P-U participated in one line of solidarity and otherwise protested online.

The quotations coded with 'woman as identity' offer a homogeneous picture. Using different words, the interviewees communicated the same idea explaining why they participated in the women's marches: "*We must go as women*" (P-E), "[I went to the women's marches] *Because I am a woman*" (P-F), "[...] *It was important for me to participate in the protest as a woman* [...]" (P-Q). Participant Q, moreover, argued that her primary identification as a woman made it possible for her to protest altogether: "*Once the women's group emerged, protesting became possible for me instantly. Before in my consciousness it was simply impossible*". Participating in the protests allowed women to embrace, celebrate, and share their group identification.

The participants expressed solidarity toward different objects in the general protests and the women's marches. Speaking of the general protests, participants F and K shared that when they went to protest, their thoughts were with those "*who had already suffered*" (P-F), "*the people who were in prisons and who are now in the prisons. Again, Bondarenko*[7]*, who was a friend of my friend*" (P-K). P-P and P-A spoke similarly: "*the feeling of solidarity with* [...] *those unlawfully convicted and* [those who were] *beaten up*", and "*I went in solidarity with all those who are in jail, who were tortured*". P-W felt solidarity with the fellow protestors:

> I looked up and saw that there was a guy standing with a white-red-white flag. When I saw him – he was alone – everything inside me turned upside down, I wanted to cry and I started crying. [...] I saw this guy and realized I wasn't alone, that's why [I felt] joy, and I realized that I could join him and that we could be standing there at least the two of us.

Analyzing felt solidarity in the women's marches, a different image emerges. Participants E, F, J, V, and N expressed solidarity with the protesting women:

> I felt even more of this female support, this solidarity, because I probably haven't seen it at any other marches that people stood up for each other this much as they did at the women's marches. Even at the general protests, I didn't see that as much as at the women's [marches]. (P-F)

While it is important to note that feeling solidarity with the women at the women's marches was not exclusive and Participant F also mentioned sympathizing with the victims of violence in relation to the women's marches, the difference in the object of solidarity is clear and brings us back to the notion of collective identities grounded in solidarities (Leap & Thompson, 2018). The analysis of the quotations referring to the 'support' code shows that solidarity and support can be grouped which increases the count from 6 to 7 for the women's marches. In fact, in 4 cases out of 6, both codes were applied to the selected quotations.

An element of identity closely associated with 'woman as identity' and solidarity is sisterhood. Albeit mentioned by just 23% of the interviewees, it was coded only as important and only in relation to the women's marches which signals a possible feature of this type of protest. When mentioning sisterhood,

[7] Roman Bondarenko (*Bel.*, Raman Bandarenka) died in November 2020 in Minsk which resonated both nationally and internationally.

the participants (P-L, P-M, and P-U) spoke of closeness and unity. Participant U's response was very emotional when she spoke about her experience:

> In the women's lines of solidarity... This banal word, sisterhood. I had a feeling, you know, that we stood for our men, for not letting them be killed. [...] I was standing there and the ground was crumbling under my feet. I was crying, those were such tears... [sobs].

Unity is categorized as part of the identity motive. While there are two separate codes 'Belarus' and 'Belarusian as identity', a closer look at the coded quotations shows a large overlap and groups them together. The grouping also increases the count of women mentioning the two elements as important for their participation in the women's marches from 5 to 7. *Social unity*, as defined by Copp, is the "degree to which members of the state identify with the corresponding country" (2002, p. 385). When the women spoke about their country, they spoke about being a *citoyenne*: "*And for the first time we felt like the citizens of our country who love their country and want change. Precisely, we are citizens, we stand for our country, we want a better tomorrow for Belarus*" (P-E); pride: "*Perhaps from this moment this 'wow' started, my fellow-country people, my compatriots amaze me. From this moment, yes, probably, [I started feeling] pride and it hasn't stopped*" (P-L); attributing herself to the country and/or the people: "*It is painful to know that your people, the people of Belarus, have already grown up but the laws haven't*" (P-V). When asked to describe how they identified themselves, some women mentioned identifying as a Belarusian (woman): "*Belarusian would be important to me, that I'm not a Russian, for example, not a Pole, but belong to precisely this country*" (P-Q), "*I am a Belarusian, a creative person*" (P-V), "[...] *I am a woman, a strong woman, I am a Belarusian*" (P-N). Associating themselves directly with the country or its people can partly explicate the women's motivation to protest.

The code 'unity' itself is also part of the introduced broader category. When coded for 'unity', the quotations included mentioning of the unity of people the women experienced at the protests. When the two types of protests are compared against this code, the difference is minute. Only P-L distinguished her feeling of unity for the women's marches:

> A general protest is like your family, all your relatives, both close and distant; and a women's march – it's your close relations, we understand each other better. I had such a feeling. We didn't have to talk actually but still there was this atmosphere of understanding, safety, calmness, unity.

The white clothes that women wore and the flowers they brought to the women's marches can be interpreted as both an element of instrumentality and identity. Participant N explained the instrumental factor of this element:

> Why did it start with women? Because men were ultimately beaten up then. And because... because, no matter how cynical it sounds, it was a very pretty picture – when women take to the streets, children, elderly, wearing white, carrying flowers.

Participant L, on the other hand, mentioned the clothing and flowers choices in a self-defining context: "*So that you understand... when I discussed it with my girlfriends: 'Girls, that's it, we are going, I'm so looking forward! What will you wear? Shall we buy these flowers?'*". Finally, Participant E merged these two interpretations in one perspective:

> That's exactly why we wore the white clothes and brought flowers, to... People were so peaceful on both the 9th, 10th and 11th, that... I don't know how else we could show it to the authorities that this is a peaceful protest, that's why it's the women, and the white clothes and flowers, so that it was impossible not to notice that the protest was against violence.

The flowers and white clothing referring to the symbolism of peace and nonviolence served as a part of the women's identity as *women*, which, in its turn, entails nonviolence (as discussed in Chapter 2). Using these symbols in practice was instrumental for the protestors to prevent violence and repression.

> They aim at avoiding provoking the anger and hostility of the milice forces and the power-holders, while helping protesters and by-standers feel less fearful. Deliberately planted ambivalence, sheer fun peppered with a measure of legality are believed to protect protesters against repressive measures. (Flam, 2004)

In sum, the elements of the identity motive comprise a large share of the top-coded elements for both types of protests: more than a quarter for the general protests and almost half for the women's marches. While some elements are the same (solidarity and national identity), they originate from different contexts and have different objects.

Finally, violence was the absolute 'leader' to be mentioned across the participants with nearly 70% of the women considering it important for the general protests. Fifty-four percent of the participants mentioned it as important for the women's marches. No participant mentioned it as unimportant for either of the

protests. Essentially, violence (and further nonviolence) or rejection thereof can be considered a value, which therefore would refer this code to the ideology motive. However, code 'violence' is analyzed under identity because of the effect it had on the women's identity as part of the motivation to protest in the women's marches, which is elaborated below.

When coded for violence, the quotations originate from a very homogenous context: 'I protest against violence'. This recurring message permeates many transcripts: "*I went after I saw violence*" (P-F), "*Then it seems that we just needed to show* [...] *that we don't want war, aggression, violence*" (P-L), "*I protested against violence*" (P-M and P-U), "*First of all,* [I protest] *against the violence of course*" (P-W), etc. Participant J said that she joined the women's march because she "*didn't want to put up with violence anymore*". Participant N concluded when speaking about the women's marches:

> [...] We showed that this needs to be peaceful, and whatever you [the authorities] have been doing in the past days, violence must stop. This was very [proper]. I don't know who created this [concept of women's marches], but that first event at Komarovka [Komarovskiy market]... if I met that person I'd hug and kiss them, [throw myself] at their feet. This person deserved the Peace Prize.

Thirty-eight percent of the interviewees mentioned nonviolence as important for the general protests, and 23% for the women's marches. The difference of contexts, however, is interesting: when talking about nonviolence in relation to the general protests, women spoke of the protestors not exercising violence and their appreciation of that ("*Clearly, nearly nobody was violent and the only Molotov cocktails that we saw were thrown by some teenagers into the asphalt to... I don't know, why they did that... to obstruct the view for the cars or something like that*" – P-K). In relation to the women's marches, the narrative focused on themselves or reflecting about womankind: "*Had I, participating* [in the protests]*, gone* [to the protests] *and felt once or twice that something was off, that it was some aggressive, inhuman action, then I would've stopped participating in it*" (P-E); "*Women are less prone to aggressive things*" (P-V); "*I believe that everything in this world can be solved through words, through the mouth. God, just sit down and talk, discuss, come to a conclusion, hear each other!*" (P-N).

While the state offended the value of nonviolence or the rejection of violence by exerting violent action against the protesting citizens, I do not conclude that both protests were ideologically driven. Women's non-acceptance of violence *transcended* being a value and became embedded into their identity, which was expressed by the participants in the interviews in relation to the women's marches. That is why the

violence element is categorized as an element of the identity motive as not as an element of the ideology motive.

Emotions

As the literature connects emotions so closely with identity (see Chapter 2), it is the emotions that are discussed next. The comparison of the top elements shows that different emotions drove different protests: while anger was present in both, fear and enthusiasm were dominant in women when they participated in the general protests, and pride – in the women's marches. Furthermore, 5 women indicated that fear was not important to them when they participated in the women's marches.

The participants spoke about these emotions in the context of the emotions' objects. Kessler and Hollbach (2005) distinguished between the ingroup and outgroup as the objects of emotions. Taking this distinction into account, I identify more specific objects of emotions. The participants who felt enthusiastic did so about the progress of the protests, their scale, and the atmosphere at the general protests. Several women shared that they started feeling proud very early in the protests or even before the events occurred:

> I had been feeling proud since quite a long time ago, but then it gave me a reason to say to everyone around me: 'Look how cool you are! I told you so! You should've believed in yourselves and others! (P-L)

The women who felt proud were proud primarily of their fellow protestors. Participant J commented: "*At that moment I had one of the biggest feelings – pride for us, all of us together, and at the same time a giant grudge against the state for the injustice* [...]". Participant V particularly mentioned her feelings toward other protesting women: her pride for the Belarusian women and her girlfriends with whom she participated in the women's marches.

Group-based anger is usually experienced toward the outgroup which assumingly offended the ingroup (Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead, 2013). In their expression of anger, the participants were consistent: the women felt angry with the aggressive and violent actions of OMON, with "*absolutely everything that was going on*" (P-K). Moreover, as Shepherd et al. (2013) reported, "anger is associated with a high level of arousal and action readiness" (p. 44). Participant N spoke very emotionally of how feeling angry prompted her to take to the streets:

> I read an article that the woman who had had her uterus surgically removed after having been raped was released from Okrestina [prison in Minsk]. And... I was feeling sick at work, I was just throwing up from the realization of what was happening. I was standing there [...] looking at [...] [Voice breaking. Pause. Sobbing]. I have never felt such anger before. It wasn't even anger, it was some nondescript emotions. I wanted to do something. [...] I couldn't wait.

Interestingly, Participant Q expressed her anger with the ingroup. Kessler and Hollbach (2005) argued that anger toward the ingroup decreases identification. And indeed, P-Q explained:

> And separately I'd like to mention something about the women's marches. Because I participated in one and did not participate in them on Saturdays [anymore], and did not participate consciously, because [that] women's march made me very angry. [...] I was simply furious because I really didn't like how women were represented in the end [at the marches]. I didn't like... Very many stereotypes and things that I saw.

As P-Q's anger increased and her identification decreased, her participation in the women's marches also stopped. This can be explained by what P-Q said about the differences regarding her participation in both types of protest. About the women's marches, Participant Q shared: "*I think the most important thing for me* [...] *was to protest as a woman, stand up to the women's rights and promote the women's agenda.* [...] *I went when women went*". Besides identifying as a woman, P-Q also strongly identified as a bisexual woman and shared the group identity with the greater LGBTQI community. I conclude that while her anger with the ingroup (the women) decreased her identification with the women's marches participants and consequently led to nonparticipation in this type of protest, it did not impact her group identity with the LGBTQI community which meant continuous participation in the general protests for as long as the community was represented.

Finally, the participants' fears were mainly of getting detained or arrested, of OMON and their violence, the associated dangers of the protests. Several women described their fear as a very strong emotion standing in their way of joining the protest events. For example, P-U shared that she felt "*suffocating fear*" and even panic. Mothers of babies or toddlers experienced fear of endangering their child or children, thus the emotion amplified their identity. P-E shared that she was also afraid of not protesting:

> It was even scarier not to go [to the streets]. Because if you don't go, you'll continue living in such a country. Something needs to be changed. That's why everyone, including me, had a tremor

> before every march. I'm so afraid of going but I'll go anyway because staying at home is even scarier.

Interestingly, Participant U mentioned that anger took over fear:

> From that moment when I went to the protests and when I looked at danger in its face, all fears were gone. At that moment the fears were replaced with this particular anger. Anger, stubbornness, the desire to prove [my point].

At the same time, when fear was coded as unimportant, it referred to the women giving clear priority to other emotions than fear: P-F explained that she did not feel afraid of OMON in the line of solidarity when the protesting women had to protect the men behind their bodies from the riot police. Otherwise, fear coded as unimportant meant that the interviewee did not feel afraid of participating in a particular protest. In most cases, the women were feeling unafraid of joining the women's marches.

It is the conclusion that for the women participating in the general protests, anger with the other coded elements—violence, lawlessness, injustice—helped manage the fear of violence and mistreatment. For participating in both types of protest, pride served as an amplifier of the identity-based motives.

Ideology

Similar to emotions, different values drove different types of protest: while the participants spoke about human rights in relation to the general protests (46%), they mentioned feminism in relation to the women's marches (46%). At the same time, 38% and nearly 31% of the participants considered feminism unimportant for the women's marches and general protests, respectively. For 1 participant (P-N) it was both important and unimportant:

> (1) When you are at the women's marches, it's somewhat different, because... you understand that no matter how different you are, what pressure of the gendered socialization you've been brought in, what you think about feminism and patriarchy, unshaven armpits and legs and stuff like that... When something really scary happens, there's no competition which the society wants to impose, no. There's support. There are wonderful women, who are just unbelievable...
>
> (2) So, most likely [no], simply thank you feminism for that it some time ago gave [me] awareness of my own significance and that they cannot treat me like that.

P-N exhibits feminist values. Quotation 1 shows they are part of her worldview and pivotal for judging what is important for her. At the same time quotation 2 demonstrates that while these values are part of who she perceives herself to be, P-N was conscious about feminism not being on her agenda or playing a critical role in her participation in the protests. In other words, while feminism was important for P-N in developing her identity and her set of values, it was not a conscious point on her agenda. That said, I consider feminism as an element of ideological motive for P-N because it is an inner moral obligation, a value, which P-N acknowledged (Klandermans, 2015).

Overall, women's support for the feminist values can be traced to two 'types': clear expression of her interest in the feminist agenda and movement (for example, P-Q), and expression of her support of women in general without advancing women's rights to the top of her personal agenda (for example, P-N, P-P). As the case of P-Q's motivation was discussed in the *Emotions* section above, I would like to discuss her stopping her participation in the women's marches from an ideological perspective. While it was caused by the decrease in her identification, other factors contributed to that as well. P-Q shared her thoughts about the next announced women's march in which she did not participate anymore:

> [...] When the women's marches were discussed in social media, I saw [...] this idea [...] that women went to protest because the men had been beaten up or because men couldn't. For [men] it was dangerous and for women not. And I got so enraged because I had gone [to protest] for my rights and among other things as a woman. I'm not going to protect the interests of the people who already have way too much privilege. I mean men. And I perceived it as another work shift! As the third work shift on Saturdays. [...] Thus, you work for 5 days and then you have to go all weekend to advocate for [men's and women's] interests. [...] And at the same time you are not given any voice and your agenda is not being communicated. Seriously?!

Participant Q was offended by stereotyping and the expectations that society had of women. This contributed to her identity alienation which was closely connected with the feminist values as P-Q clearly expressed the first 'type' of support of feminism.

What is interesting, however, is that nearly the same percentage of women considered feminism important and unimportant for the women's marches: 46% and 38%, respectively. This brings me to conclude that the ideology motive did not play the key role in either of the protest types. Furthermore, considering there were few ideological top elements coded for each protest, neither was primarily driven by this motive.

An ambiguous element that deserved attention is safety. Thirty-eight percent of the participants expressed concerns about their safety. This element was always mentioned in conjunction with other elements in relation to the general protests which differed from woman to woman. For instance, P-Q spoke of her safety concerns and feeling guilty:

> On the one hand, I didn't want to go, didn't want to put myself at risk, but on the other hand, I had a strong feeling of guilt, it seemed to me that I was a coward, that I let someone down.

P-W spoke of safety and motherhood. While safety constitutes a part of the women's motivation, it is not clear to which motive it belongs. Safety *is* a value, however, it is doubtful to include the element in the ideology motive. As literature explains, ideology-driven motive refers to offended values (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2011) while the participants expressed their worry about staying safe, i.e. not getting detained or hurt. It can also be interpreted as an emotion of feeling safe. In relation to the women's marches, the participants mentioned their concerns about staying safe in the context of police actions: "*I felt that it was safer to go only to the women's marches. That's why I most often went to the women's* [marches] *because the likelihood of detainment was less than at the general protests*" (P-A); "*Yes, I felt safe as a woman. From the start I realized that me being quite a fragile woman in the eyes of OMON, police* [...] *hardly made me a target for attack. That's why I felt very safe*" (P-Q). At the same time, it is critical to note that the participants spoke about feeling safe at the women's marches only at the beginning of the marches. Later, according to the women's testimonials, the riot police also started to detain participants at the women's marches:

> At the women's marches, it wasn't so scary in the first days because [the police] didn't pack [i.e., detain] anyone. At the big [general] protests it was of course more dangerous because they brought all this equipment to break up [the protests], etc., etc. Later it kind of turned upside down because girls got detained anyway. (P-K)

This change in circumstances entails that the initial motivation to be safe and the need for safety were met by the nature of the women's marches – pointedly peaceful and unaggressive, which enabled the women to participate in the women's collective action.

Chapter 5. Discussion

In this chapter, the discussion of the empirical results presented in Chapter 4 relies on the theoretical framework offered in Chapter 2 and is guided by the empirical expectations. Two primary questions were examined in this study: whether (1) the motivations of the women participating in the general protests and women's marches were different or not; and whether (2) the identity motive played a key role in women's motivation to participate in the women's marches. Consequently, the research question posed in Chapter 1 is addressed to conclude the present chapter.

The results have shown that the three motives and the group-based emotions are expressed differently in the two types of protests. The participants were recorded to express similar grievances concerning perceived lawlessness of the authorities, injustice, and state violence toward the same objects. However, the women's concerns for their efficacy in the general protests stood out. As for the women's marches, the manipulation of the state violence for the participants' benefit—exploiting the notions of femininity, fragility, and vulnerability—was characteristic of that type of protest. While the interviewees demonstrated much identity expression in the general protests and the women's marches by talking about unity, solidarity, and associating themselves with their homeland in the transcribed conversations, the elements of this motive show the most significant dissimilarity across the four concepts. Overall, the women's marches witnessed much more expression of identity than the general protests. So far as emotions are concerned, in both types of protest, the participants predominantly felt anger. However, other emotions were different. The women were afraid when they participated in the general protests while this emotion was not salient for their participation in the women's marches. Pride was much more pronounced in the women's marches while the participants felt enthusiastic when taking part in the general protests. Finally, the ideology motive (values) had an equally limited impact on the motivation of the women to participate in both types of protest even though different values were manifested in different types of protest. These conclusions serve to support the first empirical expectation: Individual motivations of the women who took part in the general protests differ from their motivations for participation in the women's marches.

In concordance with the literature (see Chapter 2), the results of the present study have demonstrated the close interrelatedness of the elements of the motives. In the presentation of the results regarding emotions, I suggested that pride was found to be an amplifier of the identity motive. Salice and Montes Sánchez (2016) argued that group-based pride is a "form of pride of oneself *qua* member of a group, the group to which the [...] pride-inducing agent is perceived to also belong" (p. 4). This entails that feeling

proud of their fellow-protestors amplified the women's group-based identities. Kessler and Hollbach (2005) concluded that not only does group identification define emotions but group-based emotions can as well determine identification. That is, feeling proud of fellow protestors—be that of fellow women protestors or fellow citizens protestors—uncovered the identity of either a woman or a citizen.

As for the findings about fear, the argument of Flam (2004) presented in Chapter 2 supports my findings as well: in the repressive Eastern European regimes, protestors demonstrate fear and anxiety rather than anger because they are afraid of the repercussions. Flam's argument also supports the findings about the participants feeling enthusiastic and joyful: according to the researcher, the protestors adopt rather "satirical and carnivalesque forms" of action for the same reasons of fearing repression (p. 184). This helps explain the festive, First-of-May-like massive protests in August 2020. Furthermore, the social identity theory explains that people want to maintain a positive identity: identifying with their country means that the damage done by the outgroup, i.e. what the participants name as the 'regime', the 'system', to their ingroup, i.e. the country and the fellow-country people, needs them to repair it. To do so, people can participate in collective action (Shepherd et al., 2013).

Adding to the discussion of fear and the interconnectedness of the motives, the *absence* of fear in women to participate in the women's marches is fitting to consider. The absence of fear in relation to the women's marches is associated with the latter being perceived safe. It is important to reiterate the previously made comment that the participants of the women's marches thought of them as very safe only at the beginning of this movement. The marches were considered safe because of the techniques used to 'disarm' the riot police: walking barefooted, carrying flowers, wearing white clothes, singing folk songs, also in the presence or vicinity of the police or media, etc., in other words, employing the socially constructed images of female vulnerability and exposure. Kuppens and Yzerbyt (2012) showed that a change in the salience of a social identity can result in experiencing different emotions. It is to suggest that it was not these practices that the protestors used to protect themselves from the state violence but the newly salient identity as a woman instead of the identity as a citizen that muted the fear to protest. I consider both motives—instrumentality and identity—and the group-based emotions closely linked and mutually influential.

This leads to further discussion of identity, as the elements comprising this motive offer the biggest difference with regard to the two types of protests. It is therefore practical to touch upon women's movements whereas identifying as a woman is a natural prerequisite. González & Revilla-Blanco (2020) outlined a classification of women's movements where "women as defenders of life" and "women against

authoritarianism" are some of the identified actions (p. 409-410). That is to say that women's movements do not automatically imply "organized feminism" (p. 410). Alvarez's arguments help understand the Belarusian women's marches as a *reactive* movement wherein it accepts "prevailing feminine roles and assert[s] rights on the basis of those roles" in the contrast to the proactive movement which challenges the roles that women are prescribed by the society (Alvarez, 1990, as cited in Beckwith, 2000, p. 437). The participants' mentioning of women protecting men and women taking to the streets because all men were beaten up refers to Beckwith's (2000) argument: "political opportunities are structurally gendered in cases where male actors are precluded, by law or by threats of coercion or retribution by states or other groups, from engaging in movement actions or campaigns" (p. 447), which virtually describes the Belarusian women's marches. Identifying as women and experiencing solidarity, unity, support, and sisterhood based on this identity, manifesting this identity in the symbolism of dressing and accessorizing characterizing the motivation of the participants to join the women's marches. This conclusion helps support the second empirical expectation: the identity-related motive played the key role in women's motivation to participate in the women's marches. Furthermore, the 'switch of identity' that activated the citizen at the general protests and the woman at the women's marches is evidently in state violence. The non-acceptance of violence was channeled in the identity expression of those rejecting it—the women. Klandermans (2014) argued that dual identity—a national identity together with a subgroup identity such as gender—makes it more likely for people who are aggrieved to participate in a protest. In the context of this study that is, the interviewees' identification as Belarusian or as a citizen *and* a woman increased their motivation and made it almost inevitable to engage in the women's marches.

Another important finding of this research is that there was an external force—state violence—that reshaped the protest dynamics at an early stage. Apart from influencing the women's identity, violence generally influenced the motivation of women to participate in both protests, as the results have shown. While in both women's marches and general protests women protested against the violence of the state and their grievances were very similar, their means and ends were different. Similarly, if the participant of the general protests felt angry toward the outgroup about the violent actions, the same participants but of the women's marches felt angry but also afraid of state violence. In the general protests, women protested as citizens who oppose violence. Consequently, they opted for the techniques characteristic of nonviolent citizens (peaceful inclusive protest, the first-of-may-like atmosphere; picnicking at the protests, carrying balloons, etc.). In the women's marches, women protested as women in whose nature it is to reject violence (see Chapter 2). Therefore, they employed techniques that maximize the effects of such a nature and make the women almost invincible to the violence of the state, which at the same time

promotes family values, strongly divides personal and political, etc. The impact of state violence on the citizens permeated all motives and group-based emotions. The effects of this impact can be traced in the choices of symbols for the women's marches (identity motive) and using them as means to increase their efficacy (instrumentality) as well as using the socially constructed concepts of female fragility, untouchability, and indirect shame (toward the police, instrumentality); in the protestors' solidarity with the violated or with the similarly-spirited fellow women protestors (identity motive); the nature of the protestors' grievances (instrumentality); and the emotions, such as the fear of and anger with the violators, and feeling proud of the like-minded. Violence also shaped a motive that does not expressly fit into any concept predefined by the theoretical framework: safety concerns. While it was important for the participants only at the beginning of the women's marches, it shaped the movement at the early stages. On the one hand, gender was empowering as women could safely engage in open public action socially reserved for the expression of masculinity, while femininity, which is normally devalued, gave power to the women protestors. This served as a strong contention of what is public (political) and what is private (personal) (Peterson, 2000; Runyan & Peterson, 2018). On the other hand, as Frazer and Hutchings (2014) argued, "the non-violent strategic practices [...] enact a version of femininity that reinscribes and also incites patriarchal violence because they model women's identity in passive terms (symbolic), and they incite violence directly through creating opportunities for (mostly) men (soldiers and police) to exercise violence against women" (p. 24), which happened at the women's marches later and eventually.

An additional matter to consider, which raises from the discussion on the same women participating in both types of protests and experiencing fear at the general protests and no fear at the women's marches, is why women did not participate *only* in the 'safe' protests given the opportunity. That is, the women's marches offered the 'safer' option to express their disagreement and solidarity, celebrate their identity, stand up to their values, and use resistance techniques that stemmed from the social and cultural knowledge available to women. It is the matter of multiple identities each of which is determined by the environment (Graumann, 1983). At the same time, as Burke argued, an identity can influence the environment in which it exists as well, "[s]uch positioning helps determine not only levels of commitment and salience for the identities, but also the variations in the meanings contained in the identities" (2003, p. 212). This can entail that the women who continued participating in the general protests after the women's marches emerged (i.e., participated in both types of protest) could attach different meanings to their identity as a woman celebrated in the women's marches and their identity as a citizen shared with fellow protestors at the general protests. The participants' expression of rejection of violence in both types of protest implies that the two identities did not interfere. Moreover, the participants themselves

were aware of it and prevented such interference (see page 35, paragraph 3 for the respective quotations). While the sex identity is ascribed at birth (Settles, 2004) it does not assume the gender's social construction as a given. The literature discussed in Chapter 2 on the nonviolent female identity is rather critical of that notion and stresses its historically, culturally, and socially created artificiality. The social and cultural knowledge available to women embeds the notions of nonviolence and care into their group identity which were 'called out' by the mass detainments and violence against the protesting citizens. The gender perspective at the individual motivations of protest participants has demonstrated how the status of women conditions their participation in collective action under a repressive regime and has shown the women's need for safety that has to be met to enable their initial mass participation. I argue that the state violence activated this particular contentious yet grounded in peace, care, and support identity of the women. This is the main finding of this study, which also prompts to suggest that, similar to emotions playing the role of an amplifier for the other motives (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2011), violence acts as a *modulator* of the motivational dynamics. However, if emotions are always present and unalienable, violence is an incident, 'non-resident' element which strengthens and modifies the motives and the group-based emotions. The women's marches have showcased how state violence modulated not only the identity motive—although the dissemblance between the identities manifested at the general protests and the women's marches is the largest across the motives—but the others as well. The discussion of fear and the instrumental expressions provided evidence to this argument.

The two-fold theoretical approach has proved itself as, on the one hand, very few elements were ambivalent and therefore could not be coupled with one single motivation component. These included moral judgments or statements of the participants such as 'I am doing the right thing' or their expression of obligation or trust. While there were only a few of such 'outcast' elements, it would be interesting to research such expressions closer to grasp a better understanding of what they entail for individual motivation to participate in protests and whether they 'gain or lose weight' depending on the type of protest. On the other hand, the feminist analysis of violence and nonviolence has also proved itself as the findings indeed have shown that the female identity manifested the notions of nonviolence and care. Therefore, the answer to the research question posed at the beginning of the study—How did motivations to participate in the women's marches differ from motivations to participate in the general protests in women in Belarus between August and November 2020?—can ultimately be summarized as follows. The motivation to participate in the women's marches was mostly driven by the identity of women established in the notions of nonviolence and care, while their motivation to participate in the general protests was primarily driven by the grievances and the behaviors that were perceived efficacious. Furthermore, when

joining the women's marches, women participants were motivated to stay safe and not fall victim to state violence. The latter had a formational effect on the women's marches: it activated the particular identity in women which motivated them to manifest this identity in ways that protected them from the police violence, therefore, enabling their initial mass participation.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The 2020 Belarusian protests offered an opportunity to study women's participation in two simultaneous variants of collective action. The women's marches and the general protests had stark differences yet had many similarities which made it ever more interesting to study the motivations of the women who engaged in both expressions of contentious politics. Guided by the integrative model of individual motivation authored by Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011) and the feminist analysis of violence and nonviolence with relation to female identity, I designed a qualitative study and conducted online interviews with the women participants of both protests. The analyses of the collected data produced four main results. Firstly, evidence showed that the motivations of the participants were different to protest in the general protests and the women's marches. Secondly, while the general protests participants' motivation was mainly driven by the considerations about means and ends (the instrumental motive) and fueled by anger with the outgroup, the women's marches participants' motivation was strongly driven by the shared identity of a woman, and solidarity and support stemming from this identity, fueled by pride of the ingroup. Thirdly, this identity of a woman, or female identity, was activated by the state violence, i.e. the rejection of violence. The fourth result was unexpected but is considered to be the most important one. The findings concerning violence have transcended to theorize that state violence served as a modulator of motivational dynamics, similar in its mechanics to the amplifying effect that the group-based emotions have on the motives. In contrast to the group-based emotions' *intensification* of the motives, state violence exerted the effect of modulation of the motives in different protests.

This study has several limitations. While comparing the motivations of the women who participated in both protests allowed to explore intrapersonal dynamics, studying women who only participated in either the general protests or the women's marches would add another layer of depth to the discussion of identity. In particular, it would help uncover why the identity activated in women who participated in the women's marches was not activated in those who participated only in the general protests. While the sample does include participants with such an experience, the number is minimal and does not allow to draw well-substantiated conclusions. Another limitation is the conditions of data collection. Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011) highlighted that collecting data in the field during the protest is more yielding than collecting data based on self-reported past behavior. My study, that focused on self-reported past behavior, confirms this argument: when I analyzed the data, I realized that many responses to the interview questions answered the questions only briefly. The rest of the reply contained a story unrelated to the question (for example, about an arrest or prison experience) which, however, was very salient for

the participant. The fact that the participants had been living with their personal protest-related stories for some time before the interview took place is, on the one hand, a benefit because I am not qualified in trauma counseling, but on the other hand, a limitation because the experience may have been developed into a narrative.

As for the societal implications, I conclude that the women's marches have been effective under Lukashenka's regime. While no change in power has taken place as a result of the collective action, these protests were effective in attracting more international attention to the problem of the undemocratic elections and state violence. The women's marches had a shock effect on the authorities leaving the latter hesitant to break up the protests as the protestors exploited the state-promoted traditionalist values of female fragility and vulnerability. However, as the interviewees shared and the media witnessed, the paralyzing effect was short-term as the riot police were engaged in dispersing the women's marches participants. At the same time, exploiting the feminine identity induces patriarchal violence and emphasizes victimization, which could be another reason why the strategy had no long-term effect (Frazer & Hutchings, 2014).

The authors of the guiding framework, Van Stekelenburg et al. (2011), offered a comprehensive tool by integrating the motives that were previously studied separately or in different combinations. This study has demonstrated that an external phenomenon—state violence in this case—modulated the motivation dynamics of the Belarusian protests. This principle finding has several implications for the political science research. The rest of this chapter is dedicated to discussing the scientific implications of the present study and the suggested directions for future research.

A modulator is concluded to be an external event that shifts gears of an existing protest by activating a new salient identity, changing emotions, and the perceived efficacy of the protestors. In the case of the present research, it also added a new value (nonviolence) to the ideology motive. The participants of both protests shared the same grievances but did not have completely the same goals. A modulator can be observed as the protest branches out into a new independently organized collective action or the protest itself may change as its motivational dynamics undergo modulation. Since the modulating role of an external event was found because motivations to participate in two protests were compared, an interesting line of future research may be found in starting *comparative studies of protest participation*. Studying a pair or a group of different protests that happened one after another and comparing the participants' motivations with the purpose to explore whether other phenomena act as modulators changing the motives and the mobilizing context is encouraged.

While the present study has showcased state violence to have modulated the general protests participants' motivations, it is highly unlikely that state violence could be the only possible modulator. In an imaginary scenario of a clash between an opposition protest and a pro-government protest, participants could exert violence against fellow protestors. If this use of violence modulates the motivations of the participants of either protest, it implies that state violence does not own a monopoly over activating a nonviolent identity, for instance. Was it, however, unique to women protestors that state violence had the modulating effect on their motivation? The fact that state violence activated the identity of a woman the central notions of which are nonviolence, care, and support, is indeed unique to women. As for the uniqueness of this expression of modulation with regard to the repressive regimes, the relationship between state and violence is not an exclusive characteristic of a repressive regime. While in such a sociopolitical environment repressive action usually backfires and only strengthens the movement (Shultziner, 2018; Smithey & Kurtz, 2018), democratic regimes do not shun away from using such actions as well (Carey, 2006). Therefore, investigating other protests taking place under different regimes—democratic, authoritarian, etc.—and under different culturally, socially, and historically conditioned relationships between state and protest for such phenomena is promising, too.

Can we compare protests that are transnational/international? The protest activity against climate change has been going on for decades, however, the Fridays for Future movement was created only recently. Moreover, children had been part of the climate protests ever since the protests started but a *children's* movement was founded only after Greta Thunberg's school climate strike in 2018 (Kühne, 2019; Wahlström et al., 2019). I assume that the grievances of the protestors of both the School Strike for Climate and many other climate crisis protests are very similar, but the new identity, salience of which got activated, created a new mobilizing context. This implies that violence is not the only modulator.

As this study has shown, a modulator has the strongest effect on the identity motive. This effect is generally in line with the previous research that stresses the centrality of identity for protest participation (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2008; Wulff et al., 2015). The literature demonstrates that people possess multiple identities and that social structure defines which identity is active in a given environment (Graumann, 1983; Klandermans, 2014b). I suggest that in a protest environment, sooner or later, there will be an identity with the potential for activation. That is, there is always a potential for a modulator and any motivation to protest can subsequently be modulated. This, in turn, signifies that any protest can branch out with an independent mobilizing context.

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Appendix 1

The uniform message that was sent to all the participants prior to the interview is presented below.

"To save us the time during the interview, I have made a short description of the procedure and the conditions of participation. For the interview, I have prepared several groups of questions. Some questions directly ask your opinion or invite to share a certain experience, others offer to finish a sentence. Please share only that information that you are comfortable with. Any names or dates are confidential and you do not have to mention them in our interview. In any case, no personal information will be included in the transcript. When our interview is over, it will be transcribed. The transcripts are the data for further analysis. In the end of the interview I will ask for your consent to my processing of the data that I will obtain from the interview. You can withdraw your consent at any moment after the interview: the transcript will be destroyed irreversibly and the data will not be used. You can stop the interview at any moment and withdraw from participating in the research without explaining your reasons. Also in the end of the interview, I will ask you if you would like to receive a copy of the transcript for your approval of the text (in a few days after the interview) as well as a summary of the study (in the end of summer). This research received the approval of the Ethics Committee of the University of Twente on March 19, 2021. You can contact me with any questions at any time after the interview".

Appendix 2

Part 1 of the interview guide. Obligatory questions

Question 1: Let's start with the general impression: Could you please tell me in which protests you participated last year?

Question 2: When you went to the protests, what was it that you were thinking along these lines: I'm protesting against...?

Question 3: When you went to the protests, do you remember what you were thinking about how much that protest was going to contribute to the common goal?

Question 4: Do you remember what you were feeling before your first protest? Which emotions?

Question 5: How were your emotions and feelings different when you participated in a women's march and a general protest?

Question 6: Let's discuss something that we perhaps normally don't think about every day. Identity is an important component of motivation. Usually people talk about identity in the context of perception of oneself and belonging to a certain group or groups in the society. These can be social, cultural, political, professional. To what groups in the society do you attach yourself?

Question 7: Do you think this sense of belonging with *xxx* played a role in your motivation to protest?

Question 8: How would you say, I protest because...?

Question 9: Do you feel that you share the feminist values? Do you think it played a role in your motivation to protest?

Question 10: I'd like to ask you your opinion of other protestors. How do you think they were different at the women's marches and at general protests, besides the gender difference?

Question 11: We've approached the end of the interview. I'm going to ask you several 'biographical' questions: it will help me ensure the most representative description of the group of the women I have interviewed. These questions are very broad and concern group rather than personal characteristics. What is your age?

Question 12: What is your highest level of education?

Question 13: What is your employment status: unemployed, employed by a contract, studying, self-employed, volunteering?

Question 14: What is your marital/family status?

Question 15: Would you like to read and approve the transcript of our interview?

Question 13: Would you like to receive a summary of the results of this study?

Question 14: Do you give your consent to my processing of the data I have obtained during our interview?

After the answer to Question 14, the recording was stopped which was announced.

Part 2 of the interview guide. Additional questions

If the interviewed woman had been detained or arrested during her participation in a protest, the following additional questions were asked in the course of the interview. Additional question 2 was asked if the woman continued to protest after her detainment/arrest.

Additional question 1: Did you motivation to protest changed after you were released?

Additional question 2: What emotions did you experience when you went to your next protest?

Appendix 3

The Code Book is presented below.

1.	anger	Participant experienced anger, and/or participant mentioned feeling angry
2.	antiwar	Participant did not want war to break out in the country
3.	anxiety	Participant experienced anxiety, and/or participant mentioned feeling anxious
4.	any action matters	Participant mentioned that any action of opposition mattered to her
5.	atheism	Participant mentioned that she is an atheist
6.	attract attention	Participant wanted to attract attention of the media/foreign governments to the events in the country
7.	Belarus	Participant mentioned her country
8.	Belarusian as identity	Participant identifies as Belarusian
9.	citizen as identity	Participant identifies as a citizen
10.	citizen embodiment	According to a participant, a protest embodies a citizen
11.	citizen first	Participant identifies as a citizen in the first place
12.	citizen, not woman	Participant contrasts an identity as a citizen with an identity as a woman and identifies as a citizen, not a woman
13.	clothes and flowers	Participant mentioned the white clothes and flowers at a given protest
14.	curiosity	Participant felt curious about a given protest
15.	disappointment	Participant felt disappointed about a given protest or about certain events at a given protest
16.	disrespect	Participant perceived disrespect of the authorities toward citizens, or their opinions
17.	doing the right thing	Participant felt she was doing the right thing by participating in a protest
18.	domestic violence	Participant mentioned domestic violence in Belarus
19.	efficacy	Participant perceived a given protest/protests as instrumental
20.	emotion	Participant experienced an otherwise indescribable emotion, and/or participant mentioned emotion/emotions as a value of hers
21.	emotional	Participant felt emotional at a given protest, and/or participant found a given protest or certain events at the protest emotional
22.	empowering	Participant found given events empowering
23.	energy boost	Participant experienced an energy boost
24.	enthusiasm	Participant experienced enthusiasm
25.	equality	Participant mentioned equality as a value
26.	fear	Participant mentioned feeling afraid/fearful/scared
27.	female voice	Participant commented on the 'communal' female voice of a given march
28.	feminism	Participant shared her views on feminism *and* its relation to her participation in a given protest
29.	festive	Participant found a given protest a festive event
30.	First of May	Participant compared a given protest with the First of May demonstration
31.	future	Participant mentioned her concerns about the future of hers/her

		family or/and of her country
32.	gender equality	Participant mentioned gender equality as a value
33.	getting heard	Participant wanted to get her voice heard
34.	grief	Participant experienced grief
35.	grievances	Participant mentioned she felt aggrieved
36.	guilt	Participant felt guilty for non-participation, and/or participant felt guilty for "enabling" the regime by not acting earlier
37.	happiness	Participant felt happy
38.	hope	Participant felt hopeful
39.	human rights	Participant mentioned human rights as a value
40.	indignation	Participant felt indignant, resentful
41.	injustice	Participant was concerned with injustice
42.	involvement	Participant felt involved
43.	joy	Participant felt joyful
44.	lawlessness	Participant was concerned with lawlessness
45.	lawyer	Participant identified as a lawyer
46.	LGBTQI	Participant identified as LGBTQI
47.	love	Participant felt love toward other people
48.	male friends	Participant's friends are primarily male
49.	motherhood	Participant identifies as mother, and/or participant expressed care about her child/children
50.	new elections	Participant wanted that new elections take place
51.	no aggression	Participant mentioned non-aggressiveness of a certain event/protest
52.	non-masculinity	Participant found the demonstration of the features typically described as masculine (see, for example, Sjoberg & Via, 2010) unappealing, unappropriated, and/or discomforting
53.	nonviolence	Participant mentioned the nonviolence of a given protest/protests and/or protestors, and/or participant does not share the values of violence
54.	numbers of people	Participant mentioned the numbers of people in relation to protesting
55.	obligation	Participant felt obligated to partake in a given protest/protests
56.	organized	Participant found a given protest well organized
57.	overwhelmed	Participant felt overwhelmed
58.	peaceful	Participant identified peacefulness as a value, and/or participant mentioned peacefulness of a given protest/protests
59.	president candidates	Participant mentioned other presidential candidates (see also *Svetlana Ti(khanovskaya)*)
60.	pride	Participant felt proud
61.	protecting men	Participant mentioned women protecting men at a given march/marches
62.	rationality	Participant mentioned rationality of a given protest and/or protestors
63.	regime	Participant expressed opinion about the political regime
64.	respect	Participant mentioned respect toward others
65.	responsibility	Participant feels her responsibility for acting and not acting, and/or participant feels responsible for the events taking place in the country, and/or participant feels responsibility toward others (child, family, country, etc.).

66.	rigged elections	Participant was concerned about rigged elections
67.	safety	Participant mentioned the feeling of safety
68.	self-respect	Participant mentioned self-respect
69.	sense of belonging	Participant experienced the sense of belonging
70.	serene	Participant described an event or an image of protestors as serene
71.	sisterhood	Participant experienced the feeling of sisterhood
72.	social policy	Participant expressed her concerns for the social policies in her country
73.	solidarity	Participant experienced solidarity with others
74.	stagnation	Participant expressed her concerns about stagnation
75.	stereotyping	Participant witnessed and/or experienced stereotyping in the context of a given protest
76.	support	Participant felt supported
77.	Svetlana Ti(khanovskaya)	Participant mentioned Svetlana Tikhanovskaya as a role model or example, and/or participant felt inspired by Svetlana Tikhanovskaya, and/or mentioned Svetlana Tikhanovskaya's role in the events
78.	symbolism	Participant mentioned symbolism of a given protest
79.	system	Participant expressed her concerns about the state system
80.	trust	Participant experienced trust toward other protestors
81.	unity	Participant experienced unity at a given protest/protests
82.	violence	Participant mentioned violence. This includes torture, killings, beatings, violent breakup of protests, etc.
83.	violence as instrumental	Participant implies that the state violence exercised by OMON and directed primarily at males served as a "shield" to women-participants of the women's marches. The participant implies that the women-participants of the women's marches used this opportunity to protest as women
84.	which protest	Participant mentioned her preference for the type of protest
85.	woman as identity	Participant identified as a woman
86.	woman embodiment	According to a participant, a protest embodies a woman
87.	*zmahar*	Participant identifies as *zmahar* (*Zmahar* can be loosely translated from Belarusian into English as a person of opposition)

Appendix 4

Table A. Participation of the interviewees in the two types of protest

Number	Participant	General protests	Women's marches
1	Participant E	yes	yes
2	Participant F	yes	yes
3	Participant J	yes	yes
4	Participant K	yes	yes
5	Participant L	yes	yes
6	Participant M	yes	yes
7	Participant Q	yes	yes
8	Participant U	yes	yes
9	Participant W	yes	no
10	Participant P	yes	yes
11	Participant V	yes	yes
12	Participant N	yes	yes
13	Participant A	yes	yes

Table B. Participant A: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-A	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
citizen as identity			1	
clothes and flowers			1	
fear	1		1	
feminism		1		1
future	1		1	
human rights	1		1	
joy	1		1	
lawlessness	1		1	
motherhood	2		2	
new elections	1		1	
responsibility	1		1	
rigged elections	1		1	
safety	1		2	
solidarity	1		3	
unity	1		1	
violence	2		2	

Table C. Participant E: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-E	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
any action matters	1		1	
Belarus	1		1	
citizen embodiment	1			
citizen first	1		1	
citizen, not woman			1	
clothes and flowers			1	
doing the right thing	1		1	
empowering	1		1	
fear		2		2
female voice			1	
feminism		1		1
festive			1	
First of May			1	
future			1	
guilt	1		1	
happiness	1		1	
indignation			1	
injustice			1	
involvement	4		4	
new elections			1	
no aggression	1			
non-masculinity			1	
nonviolence	1		1	
obligation	2		2	
organized	1			
peaceful	1		2	
responsibility	2		2	
sense of belonging	1		2	
serene	2		2	
solidarity			1	
support	1		1	
symbolism			2	
violence			3	
which protest		1		1
woman as identity			1	
woman embodiment			1	

Table D. Participant F: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-F	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
anger	2		2	
anxiety		1		1
Citizen as identity	1		1	
domestic violence	1		1	
emotional			1	
enthusiasm	2		3	
equality	1		1	
fear		1		3
feminism	1		1	
gender equality	1		1	
human rights	2		2	
injustice	1		1	
efficacy		1		1
lawlessness	2		2	
LGBTQI	1		1	
protecting men			1	
rigged elections	1		1	
safety		1		1
social policy	1		1	
solidarity	2		4	
support			5	
unity	2		2	
violence	1			
woman as identity			1	

Table E. Participant J: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-J	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
anger	1		1	
anxiety	1			
attract attention	1		1	
Belarus			1	
clothes and flowers			1	
curiosity	1			
fear	2			2
feminism				1
festive	1			
getting heard	1		1	
grievances			2	
human rights	1		1	
efficacy		2		1
joy	1			
lawlessness	3		1	
non-masculinity			1	
organized	1		1	
pride	1		1	
regime	1		1	
sense of belonging			1	
solidarity			2	
stagnation				
support	1		1	
violence			5	
woman as identity			2	

Table F. Participant K: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-K	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
Belarus		1		
citizen as identity		1		
clothes and flowers				1
disrespect	1			
enthusiasm	2			
feminism		1		
grievances	1			
human rights	1			
indignation	1			
lawlessness	2			
love	1			
male friends	1			
nonviolence	1			
obligation	2			
respect	3			
safety			1	
self-respect	5			
solidarity	1			
system	1			
trust	1			
violence	2			
violence as instrumental			1	
which protest	1			

Table G. Participant L: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-L	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
antiwar	1		1	
any action matters	1		1	
Belarus	1		1	
clothes and flowers			1	
fear		1		1
feminism				2
festive	2		1	
indignation	1		1	
injustice	2		2	
efficacy	1	1	1	1
motherhood	3		3	
nonviolence	1			
numbers of people	2		2	
peaceful			2	
pride	1		1	
rationality			1	
responsibility	2		2	
safety			1	
sisterhood			1	
support			1	
unity	1		2	
violence	1		2	
which protest			1	
woman as identity			1	

Table H. Participant M: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-M	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
Belarus	2		1	
clothes and flowers			1	
disrespect	1		2	
emotional			1	
enthusiasm	2			
female voice				1
feminism			1	
involvement	2		1	
joy	2			
motherhood	3		3	
new elections	1			
nonviolence	1			
numbers of people	1			
obligation	2			
organized	3			
peaceful	1			
pride	1		1	
rigged elections	1		2	
safety		1		2
sense of belonging	1			
sisterhood			1	
social policy	1		1	
support	1			
SvetlanaTi(khanovskaya)			1	
unity	1			
violence	2		2	
woman as identity			2	

Table I. Participant N: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-N	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
anger	2		2	
any action matters	1		1	
attract attention	1		1	
Belarusian as identity			1	
clothes and flowers			1	
doing the right thing	1			
empowering			1	
enthusiasm	1			
feminism			1	1
future	2		3	
indignation	1		1	
injustice	2		2	
efficacy	3		3	
nonviolence	1		1	
peaceful			1	
responsibility	3		3	
serene			1	
solidarity			2	
support			2	
SvetlanaTi(khanovskaya)			2	
symbolism			1	
violence	1		2	
violence as instrumental			1	
woman as identity			2	
woman embodiment			1	
zmahar	1		1	

Table J. Participant P: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-P	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
anger	1			
Belarus	1			
citizen as identity	1			
enthusiasm	1			
equality	1			
feminism	1			
human rights	1			
instrumentality	2			
lawlessness	1			
numbers of people	2			
president candidates	1			
pride	1		1	
regime	1			
solidarity	2			
SvetlanaTi(khanovskaya)	1			
system	1			
violence	1			
which protest	1			1

Table K. Participant Q: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-Q	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
anger			1	
atheism	1			
Belarus	2		1	
clothes and flowers				1
disappointment	1			
domestic violence	1		1	
energy boost	1			
fear	1			
feminism	1		1	
festive	1			
First of May	1			
gender equality			1	
getting heard	3		2	
guilt	1			
happiness	1			
injustice	1		1	
instrumentality		1		1
lawlessness	1		1	
LGBTQI	2		1	
numbers of people	1			
overwhelmed	1			
protecting men				1
safety	1	1	2	
stereotyping			2	
symbolism				1
unity	2		1	
violence as instrumental	1		3	
woman as identity			3	

Table L7. Participant U: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-U	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
anger	1		1	
emotional			1	
empowering			1	
fear	1			1
feminism	1		1	
festive	1		1	
grievances			1	
injustice	1		1	
instrumentality	1		1	
involvment	1			
joy			1	
lawlessness	2		2	
lawyer	1		1	
motherhood	3		3	
non-masculinity			1	
numbers of people	2		1	
obligation	1		1	
protecting men			1	
sisterhood			1	
unity			1	
violence	2		4	
woman as identity			1	

Table M. Participant V: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-V	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
Belarus			1	
Belarusian as identity			1	
emotion	1			
fear	1		1	
feminism			1	
future	2		2	
guilt	1			
hope	1			
injustice	1		1	
instrumentality		1		1
nonviolence			1	
pride			1	
safety	1		1	
solidarity			1	
stagnation	1		1	
support			1	
SvetlanaTi(khanovskaya)			1	

Table N. Participant W: Elements of motives unique for the participant organized per perceived importance and unimportance, and per type of protest

P-W	General Protest		Women's March	
Element of motive	Important	Unimportant	Important	Unimportant
any action matters	1			
emotion	2			
fear	1			
feminism		1		
grief	2			
human rights	1			
injustice	3			
instrumentality	1			
joy	2			
motherhood	4			
safety	2			
social policy	1			
solidarity	1			
support	1			
system	1			
unity	1			
violence	2			

Table O8. Comparison across participants for the elements considered important for participation in a general protest

General Protest - Important														
Element of motive	**P-A**	**P-E**	**P-F**	**P-J**	**P-K**	**P-L**	**P-M**	**P-N**	**P-P**	**P-Q**	**P-U**	**P-V**	**P-W**	**count**
violence	2		1		2	1	2	1	1		2		2	9
injustice			1			2		2		1	1	1	3	7
lawlessness	1		2	3	2				1	1	2			7
fear	1			2						1	1	1	1	6
human rights	1		2	1	1				1				1	6
unity	1		2			1	1			2			1	6
anger			2	1				2	1		1			5
Belarus		1				1	2		1	2				5
enthusiasm			2		2		2	1	1					5
efficacy						1		3	2		1		1	5
motherhood	2					3	3				3		4	5
nonviolence		1			1	1	1	1						5
numbers of people						2	1		2	1	2			5
solidarity	1		2		1				2				1	5
any action matters		1				1		1					1	4
feminism			1						1	1	1			4
festive				1		2				1	1			4
joy	1			1			2						2	4
obligation		2			2		2				1			4
pride				1		1	1		1					4
responsibility	1	2				2		3						4
safety	1									1		1	2	4
support		1		1			1						1	4
future	1							2				2		3
guilt		1								1		1		3

indignation					1	1		1						3
involvement		4					2				1			3
organized		1		1			3							3
rigged elections	1		1				1							3
social policy			1				1						1	3
system					1				1				1	3
attract attention				1				1						2
citizen as identity			1						1					2
disrespect					1		1							2
doing the right thing		1						1						2
domestic violence			1							1				2
emotion												1	2	2
equality			1						1					2
getting heard				1						3				2
happiness		1								1				2
LGBTQI			1							2				2
new elections	1						1							2
peaceful		1					1							2
regime				1					1					2
sense of belonging		1					1							2
which protest					1				1					2
antiwar						1								1
anxiety				1										1
atheism										1				1
citizen embodiment		1												1
citizen first		1												1
curiosity				1										1
disappointment										1				1
empowering		1												1
energy boost										1				1

First of May										1				1
gender equality			1											1
grief													2	1
grievances					1									1
hope												1		1
lawyer											1			1
love					1									1
male friends					1									1
no aggression		1												1
overwhelmed										1				1
president candidates									1					1
respect					3									1
self-respect					5									1
serene		2												1
stagnation												1		1
SvetlanaTi(khanovskaya)									1					1
trust					1									1
violence as instrumental										1				1
zmahar								1						1

Table P. Comparison across participants for the elements considered unimportant for participation in a general protest

General Protest - Unimportant														
Element of motive	P-A	P-E	P-F	P-J	P-K	P-L	P-M	P-N	P-P	P-Q	P-U	P-V	P-W	count
efficacy			1	2		1				1		1		5
feminism	1	1			1								1	4
fear		2	1			1								3
safety			1				1			1				3
anxiety			1											1
Belarusian as identity					1									1
citizen as identity					1									1
which protest		1												1

Table Q. Comparison across participants for the elements considered important for participation in a women's march

Women's Marches - Important														
Element of motive	**P-A**	**P-E**	**P-F**	**P-J**	**P-K**	**P-L**	**P-M**	**P-N**	**P-P**	**P-Q**	**P-U**	**P-V**	**P-W**	**count**
woman as identity		1	1	2		1	2	2		3	1			8
injustice		1	1			2		2		1	1	1		7
violence	2	3		5		2	2	2			4			7
clothes and flowers	1	1		1		1	1	1						6
feminism			1				1	1		1	1	1		6
solidarity	3	1	4	2				2				1		6
support		1	5	1		1		2				1		6
anger			2	1				2		1	1			5
Belarus		1				1	1			1		1		5
lawlessness	1		2	1						1	2			5
pride				1		1	1		1			1		5
safety	2				1	1				2		1		5
unity	1		2			2				1	1			5
future	1	1						3				2		4
motherhood	2					3	3				3			4
responsibility	1	2				2		3						4
any action matters		1				1		1						3
Belarusian as identity				1				1				1		3
emotional			1				1				1			3
empowering		1						1			1			3
festive		1				1					1			3
human rights	1		2	1										3
indignation		1				1		1						3
efficacy						1		3			1			3
non-masculinity		1		1							1			3
nonviolence		1						1				1		3

peaceful		2				2		1						3
rigged elections	1		1				2							3
sisterhood						1	1				1			3
SvetlanaTi(khanovskaya)							1	2				1		3
violence as instrumental					1			1		3				3
attract attention				1				1						2
citizen as identity	1		1											2
domestic violence			1							1				2
fear	1											1		2
gender equality			1							1				2
getting heard				1						2				2
grievances				2							1			2
involvement		4					1							2
joy	1										1			2
LGBTQI			1							1				2
new elections	1	1												2
numbers of people						2					1			2
obligation		2									1			2
protecting men			1								1			2
sense of belonging		2		1										2
serene		2						1						2
social policy			1				1							2
symbolism		2						1						2
woman embodiment		1						1						2
antiwar						1								1
citizen first		1												1
citizen, not woman		1												1
disrespect							2							1
doing the right thing		1												1
enthusiasm			3											1

equality			1											1
female voice		1												1
First of May		1												1
guilt		1												1
happiness		1												1
lawyer											1			1
organized				1										1
rationality						1								1
regime				1										1
stagnation												1		1
stereotyping										2				1
which protest						1								1
zmahar								1						1

Table R. Comparison across participants for the elements considered unimportant for participation in a women's march

Women's March - Unimportant														
Element of motive	P-A	P-E	P-F	P-J	P-K	P-L	P-M	P-N	P-P	P-Q	P-U	P-V	P-W	count
fear		2	3	2		1					1			5
feminism	1	1		1		2		1						5
efficacy			1	1		1				1		1		5
clothes and flowers					1					1				2
safety			1				2							2
which protest		1							1					2
anxiety			1											1
female voice							1							1
protecting men										1				1
symbolism										1				1