Chapter 1: Introduction

All the world's indeed a stage,
And we are merely players,
Performers and portrayers,
Each another's audience
Outside the gilded cage.

-"Limelight" (Rush)

The Tamil Tigers are a social movement. While many definitions for social movements exist, most of them stress the resistance to or establishment of social change (Zurcher and Snow 1992; Turner and Killian 1972)[1]. A social movement is an active, collective effort to establish specific lifestyles, values and beliefs. It refers to the construction of a common identity (a collective identity) through collective action or behavior. Collective action takes place through the mobilization of resources. Of these resources, symbolic and sign resources are of prime importance to a movement's collective identity. These resources are appropriated from culture, and delimited by social structure. Collective identity can therefore be said to be the link between collective behavior and collective meaning. Collective meaning refers to the way a group thinks of itself, or a mental model of itself.

The exploration of exactly what elements are involved in the construction of collective identity is what this paper explores. The task of this paper is: to *show that collective identity exists, to explain what collective identity is, how it is useful to the study of social movements, what elements it contains, how collective identity is constructed, and to test collective identity empirically using biographical information on the Tamil*

Tigers. Collectivities utilize cultural resources in the form of values and narratives to construct a collective identity. Movements also organize their collective identities according to their social structural environment (roles). Values and roles represent culture and social structure in the construction of collective identity. With this formulation in mind, I further contend that cultural action systems and social movements are connected via collective identity.

In Chapter 2, I review the literature pertinent to this study, and lay the theoretical groundwork necessary for this study. I start out by stating the biography of the Tamil Tigers. After that, I define and stress the importance of studying collective identity. I then proceed to specify and explain the elements of collective identity. Concepts are extracted from both the biography and the literature. Finally, in this chapter, I recommend the rudiments of a Collective Identity Theory that can be tested empirically. Chapter 3 is the methods chapter. I illustrate overall research design, data, measures and variables involved in the study. I then proceed to construct and define a multilevel Collective Identity model using first a general formulation, and then a specified Hierarchical Linear Model (HLM).

Chapter 4 is the results section. Using 4 tables of statistical analyses, I illustrate the outcome of the study. Finally, in Chapter 5, I relate these empirical outcomes to the separate components of collective identity I proposed in Chapter 2. The end of Chapter 5 proposes possible future directions for this research.

Chapter 2: Theory

Biography of the Tamil Tigers

The story of the Sri Lankan or Tamil Tigers hails back to colonial British times. Sri Lanka was part of the British Empire. It was part of the British Raj that encompassed the Indian subcontinent and the islands that surrounded it (one of which is Ceylon or Sri Lanka). In typical fashion, the British sought to divide and conquer the many ethnic groups that lived there. The two main groups on the island were (and still are) the Sinhalese and the Tamils. The British declared Sinhalese the national language. This sowed the initial seeds of Tamil dissatisfaction. After several peaceful attempts at solving this growing problem, the Tamil Tigers were born in 1972 (Wilson 2000). The organization now known as the Tigers arose out of the ashes of the Tamil United Liberation Front or TULF (Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam 1994). Initially called the *Tamil Ilainar Peravai* or Tamil Youth Front (TYF), this organization was made up mainly of disillusioned students. They had been victims of the Sinhalese government's "standardization" education policy.

Standardization was a policy that imposed a quota on the number of Tamil students admitted into tertiary education institutions (Wilson 2000). This policy is similar to the quota system used in Malaysia to limit the number of minority (Chinese and Indians mainly) students entering universities (Vamadevan 1997). The youth were at first primarily of *Vellalar* or upper caste. Many of them came armed with Western (usually British) educational credentials, and came from the Northern territory of Jaffna

(Wilson 2000). With time the organization came to be composed of members of lower castes most notably *Karaiyars* from the Eastern territories (Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam 1994).

This marked an interesting turning point for its members as their previous role identities as members of a particular caste had been transcended. Thus, the previous Vellalar social domination had been partially ended (Pfaffenberger 1982). A new collective identity called *Tamil Ilam* had encompassed it (Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam 1994). In its most basic form, this identity can be split into an ethnic component (Tamil), and a state component (Illam). This paper seeks to explore the existence of the Illam collective identity. Ethnic identity is rooted in Hindu culture and religion. Given the context, it can be said to be the most entrenched identity in the Sri Lankan Tamil cultural system. State identity is grounded (quite literally) in the Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka. It is also anchored in the notion of the autonomous political and bureaucratic mechanism of the state. It is therefore delimited by social structure[2]. I argue that this collective identity manifests itself in the ability of the group to be an active social agent. By this, I mean that it is socially constructed by the collective. It is facilitated or inhibited by social structure and culture. This means that the contingencies or opportunities generated by culture and social structure set parameters for its growth or decay. Snow (2000, pp.47) calls this a function of identity work "the construction of collective identity through the creation of symbolic resources and boundaries constitutive of collective identity". This collective identity has both a value component (i.e. how important it is to itself), and a relational one (i.e. how it works in relation to another group).

Defining Collective Identities

Do social movements or collectivities have identities? If so, what kind of identities do they have? What are these identities composed of? How are these identities created? How are they maintained? How does one measure them? For the purposes of this manuscript, what does the Tamil Ilam mean to the Tamil Tigers?

Identity refers to the self-meanings people have, or who they are to themselves (Burke 1980)[3]. Identities arise when someone identifies with someone else or something (e.g. a social structure) (Foote 1951). Identities are also evaluative (i.e. values) when they are tested against cultural standards, and become relatively trans-situational (Gecas 2000). Alberto Melucci defines *collective* identity as:

> **"an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place"(1995,pp.44).**

Melucci (1992) also refers to collective identities as springs of collective action[4]. Melucci (1989, 1989, 1995) conceptualizes collective action on three axes represented by means, ends and environment. Means and ends correspond to values appropriated from the dominant culture but which have been reinterpreted to suit the movement objectives of social change. Environment refers to the prevailing social structural conditions in place (i.e. the status quo). To be successful, Melucci asserts that a movement has to achieve equilibrium between all three axes.

To be precise, taking the group as a reflexive entity (and thus having a "self"), collective identity refer to a group's collective self-referential meanings. This is essentially what a group as a whole means to itself, in reference to a social system. To assume that a group is merely the aggregation of individual identities is perhaps

erroneous, as oftentimes groups have identities created and employed by the group as a collective entity. Melucci also emphasizes collective identity as the process of constructing a *multipolar action system* (**Diagram 1**)[5]. This means that this is an actively constructed system of values, beliefs and practices that are in mutual tension with social structural constraints[6]. In line with Melucci's line of inquiry, I define collective identities as *meanings constructed by collectivities of people that identify with social structural elements, and then evaluate them against preexisting cultural standards to satisfy group goals*. This is the definition this manuscript will adhere to. In the form of text put out by a movement like the Tamil Tigers, collective identity appears as a collective "cognitive map" (Carley 1997). A cognitive map is simply a map of the various interrelated concepts a movement may use. Collective identity is therefore seen as a system of interacting parts that includes culture (values) and is delimited by social structure (roles).

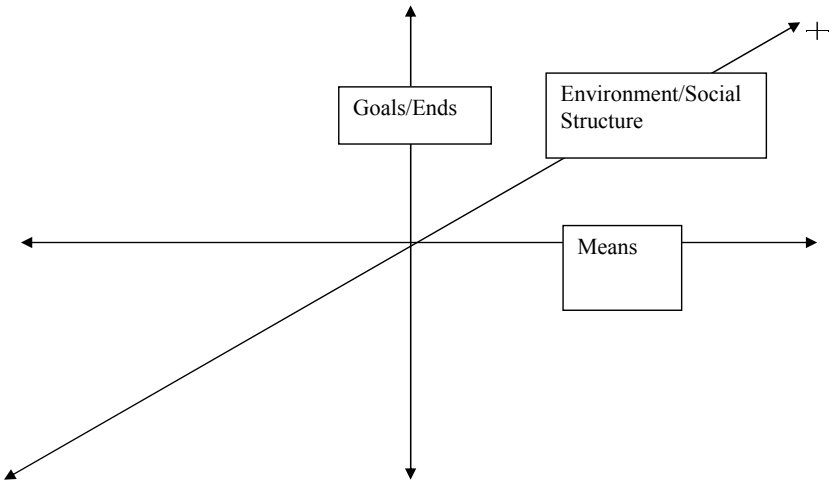

Diagram 2.1: Melucci's Multipolar Action System

The Utility of Collective Identity to Social Movement Research

One may ask why the concept of collective identity is needed. The first answer to this question is because collectivities such as social movements do have a constructed identity (i.e. as "The Chicago Steel Union"). This answer will be addressed by identifying the elements of collective identity, and their combined effect (next section). The second answer is because the study of identities in regard to social movements has been sparse and vague. Social movement theorists do not adequately define or even test for the existence of a collective identity. Collective identity is taken as a "given" in social movement research. To remedy these problems, I have turned to the extended research programs studying identities in general within social psychology (both sociological and psychological strains) to provide some insight into collective identity.

The Identity Theory tradition ("structural symbolic interaction") has an extensive research program for the study of identities. This research have been on *role* identities (self-meanings associated to occupying a role or social structural position), and group identities (self-meanings associated with membership in a group) respectively. Role-identities are therefore conceptualized and measured at the *individual* level. The contributions of this intellectual tradition will be discussed in the next section. Within psychological social psychology, the Social Identity tradition (Tajfel 1981; Turner 1987) has studied *social* identities. Social identities are the self-meanings a person acquires as with membership in a group. Social identities are also studied and measured at the *individual* level.

But what about the identities a collectivity has? Don't social movements have self-meanings associated collectively with their group? Most recently, the study of identities within a social movement context has been addressed by the work of David A. Snow and his colleagues (1987, 1994, 1995, 2000), and the work of "New Social Movement" theorists (Larana, Johnston and Gusfield 1994, Morris and Meuller 1992). This approach has recently generated the general process of "identity work" that takes place to ensure alignment between the personal (unique) identities participants have, and the movement's collective identities (common to the collective group). These scholars postulate the existence of identities at the *collective* level as an outcome. However, This research has not told us what identities are being aligned with what other identities to produce collective identities, what collective identity is (clearly), or what it is made-up of. One of the aims of this manuscript is to make some headway into answering these questions.

Elements of Collective Identity

Roles

Stryker defines social structure as "patterned regularities that characterize most human interaction", and, as such, this interaction takes the form of relational categories called "positions". Attached to these positions are behavioral expectations, and this is called "role-identity" in Identity Theory (Stryker 1980). Social structural positions (roles) and the identities attached are inseparable conceptually. This concept has been best captured by the strain of symbolic interactionism called Identity theory (Stryker 1980). While identity theories appear in a wide variety of forms, this conceptualization is most desirable since it specifically addresses the problem of social structure interacting with agentic forces via role-identities[6]. The contributions it makes towards collective identity are: (1) roles are structurally anchored, (2) some roles are more salient or important than others, and (3) suggesting identities at different levels (cultural, structural and personal) interact.

When social structural positional designations (i.e. the names or labels of roles) are internalized by social agents (individuals or groups), they become role-identities. These processes include (but are not limited to) self-verification (i.e. positive feedback from others verifying a role identity), and social comparison (i.e. comparing oneself to others). It also argues that the issue of multiple role identities has not been adequately addressed in any of these identity theories (Stryker and Burke 2000). Unlike many of the other identity theories that proliferate across disciplines, this interactionist identity theory focuses specifically on the processes that occur between agency and structure. Structural interactionism centers on voluntary actors interacting with social structure via

the use of shared meanings which in turn form definitions of situations (Blumer 1969; Mead 1934; Stryker and Statham 1985)[7]. The basic premise is that the Self socially constructs society. Since the collectivity is an active agent in this construction and is delimited by social structure, it too contains elements of roles[8]. The collective self is delimited by social structure. [9] According to Stryker (2000)

> **"action and interaction are shaped by definitions of situations; definitions are based on shared meanings developed in interaction; meanings persons attribute to themselves – self-conceptions – are critical to interaction and action; and self-conceptions, like other meanings, are shaped in interaction and the outcomes of others' responses to persons."**

These are the basic assumptions of any symbolic interaction formulation (and many other theoretical frameworks). Identity theory adds another assumption to this: social structure constrains human behavior (Stryker 1980, 2000). Social structures do this by facilitating or inhibiting human behaviors but not determine them. From this explanation and others, one can grasp the importance of studying definitions of situations as they capture the interaction between the individual and society (and between individuals). In the symbolic interactionist framework, *symbols* (languages, math etc) are used to negotiate between the two. The collectivity actively negotiates with social structure to choose roles.

But how does a collectivity decide which roles to choose? Roles are ordered into a salience hierarchy when some of the role-identities are reinforced through socialization processes (Stryker 1980). Stryker (2000) addresses this by asserting that identity salience (and identity) carries 4 implications:

> **"persons 'carry' cognitive schemata across situations…identities (and identity salience) is self-reinforcing…identities are motivational…identities can influence action independent of relationships supporting their identities-they can be functionally independent of the commitments affecting them."**

Salience is defined as the "readiness to act out an identity as a consequence of its properties as a cognitive schema "(Stryker and Serpe 1994)[8]. For a social movement, this means that it asserts its favorite roles continuously, and that collective identity serves as a *cognitive map* that serves as an interpretive frame for the group. This manifests itself in differential role choices, and identity choices. Interactionist formulations do recognize the fact that social structures are not simply the by-product of the interaction between social agents.

Interactionism also recognizes that the social (and physical) world is organized into multiple categories. Identity salience is indicates the willingness to choose one role over another. This illustrates the delimiting potential of social structure, and a movement's choice of using portions of roles to construct a collective identity. Roles that have been appropriated by a movement will therefore appear in movement symbols and signs. Furthermore, there are *multiple* types of identities that interact with one another[9].

When we speak of multiple identities, we refer to the intersection of different self-meanings (Burke 2001). In terms of a movement, these self-meanings are derived from occupying different roles. These self-meanings occur at two different social locations. They can be roles that occur within the movement (i.e. "captain" and "propagandist"), and in relation to another collectivity (i.e. "Tamil Tiger versus Sinhalese Lion").

To sum up, role identity theory's main contributions to collective identity formation can be said to be: (1) showing that roles are structurally anchored and actively chosen by social agents, and (2) social agents are more committed to some roles that others, and that those roles become salient or important than others, and (3) suggesting that identities at different levels (cultural, structural and personal) interact. Applied to

collective identities, the first (and crucial) step is identifying the collective identity. The next step is to identify the components of collective identity and where they come from. Finally, the processes that occur in the construction of collective identity have to be understood[10]. In order to holistically grasp the relationship *between* the components of collective identity and the *process*es that occurs between them and this is possible through the analyses of the cognitive maps. It is my assertion that the collective identity is an *emergent property* that appears as a result of the interaction between roles, values (next section) and active social agents. Based on this past research on roles, some propositions may be generated

P1a: If a role is salient, then it will appear more often in a movement's text as stories and objects

P1b: If stories and objects increase , then collective identity will increase

P1c: The association between values and roles is stronger in movements with a stronger collective identity

Values

Culture refers to general systems of values, beliefs and meanings (Geertz 1973; Gecas 2000). This definition reflects a symbolic interactionist definition perspective with its emphasis on symbols and signs as forms of meaning. As such, self-meanings or identities are embedded within such systems. As a result, these identities transcend many contextual or situational constraints (Gecas 2000). Of these, values are central to the longevity of social movements. Values provide chronic plans of action for individuals and groups. As such, they transcend specific times and situations. To paraphrase Rokeach (1973) and Gecas (2000), values consist of conceptions of social life in terms of means and ends. They are therefore "conceptions of the desirable" (Kluckohn 1961). To the Tigers, this represents the statement of movement goals and how they plan to accomplish them.

Essentially two varieties of values exist: *instrumental* values and *terminal* values (Rokeach 1973; Schwartz 1992; Gecas 2000). Instrumental values are means-oriented. By contrast, terminal values are ends-oriented. In this formulation, a general structural symbolic interactionist framework can be identified: means represent human behavior as process, and ends represent social goals. These values are translated into self-meanings (identities) when they have been internalized by the collectivity. The successful transmission of these cultural self-meanings results in a sense of self-efficacy, self-esteem and authenticity (Turner 1976; Gecas 1986). Cultural self-meaning is also known as collective identity. It unites collective meaning and collective behavior. This is akin to the union of social structural roles and individual behavior through role identities (Stryker 1980; Burke 1989).

Identity generally refers to self-meaning. These identities are generally located in social sets or systems within particular time-space (McCall and Simmons 19661978; Stone 1962; Wallerstein 1992; Castells 1997). It is who or what we mean to ourselves and to others (Gecas 2000). When we identify with something (i.e. a social institution), identities are created (Foote 1951). Types of identities that have been studied by the social sciences include role identities (self-meanings associated with occupying a social structural location), social identities (self-meanings associated with group membership), (Tajfel 1981; Turner 1987), collective identities that are self-meanings a collectivity have as members of a shared collective (Melucci 1992, 1995), and personal identities that are self-meanings we have as unique individuals (Erikson 1959). The defining criteria of these identities are that they are often contextual or situational in nature, and are based on the similarities or differences we have to one another. That being so, they operate within specific social arenas. For example, social identity operates within in-group and out-group contexts (i.e. how we define ourselves as being similar to one group and different from another). However, as Gecas (2000) points out, these are not the only sources of identity. Cultural systems are also important locations for identities. This being so, the type of culture also influences the *types* of self-conceptions a collective have, as well as the *type* of social movement that exists within that culture. When the type of self-concept and subsequently the social movement is affected, the *type* of identity is also affected. Evaluative identities anchor themselves to value systems within culture. That being the case, the type of culture they are grounded in affects the type of self-concept that is produced in the individual[10]. Collective self-conceptions occur through socialization processes.

Socialization refers to how social control is transformed into self-control (Gecas 1981). In essence, this reflects the methods and contexts whereby culture is transmitted to the individual self-concept. Self-concept, in turn, refers to the ideology people have of themselves (Gecas 1986). The ideology is obtained from the surrounding culture or sub-culture (in this case the Tamil Tigers' collective identity). This ideology becomes part of a collectivity's identity when it has been internalized. Collective identity can be seen as an emergent property[11] of a mosaic or network of interrelated social behaviors, expectations and structures. Culture, as such, operates as an intervening variable between social behaviors. This can occur at the individual or collective level, appearing in the form of signs and symbols. From this body of research, I obtain my next propositions:

P2a: As values increase, they will appear in a movement's stories and objects more extensively and intensively

P2b: If stories and objects increase, then collective identity will increase

Stories and Objects

A successfully constructed collective identity is organized into relatively stable patterns of symbols and signs. That being the case, the collective identity will display the role components and value components it contains through symbolic and sign patterns actively used by the group. For social movements, this means the display of a collective narrative, and of the use of unifying collective emblems, logos and mottos. Much of the research of signs, symbols and their structure occurs within linguistics using various content analytic methods. This paper equates the organization of signs and symbols by a group to be the same as collective agency (the capacity for the group to be a social agent). That being the case, the study of signs and symbols (i.e. content analysis) is an adequate starting point. From this, I obtain some propositions:

P3a: If objects increase, then collective identity will increase

P3b: If stories increase, then collective identity will increase

Towards a Collective Identity Theory

Ideas about how to measure social phenomena rarely appear out of thin-air. Rather, they often arise out of the natural human curiosity that perhaps afflicts us all. That being said, I shall detail the methodological steps I undertook to study the oftentimes ethereal collective social entities we have come to know as social movements. This multilevel framework is conceptualized as a *collective social field.* The ultimate outcome variable is the mobilization of a *collective identity*. The ultimate complex of independent variables is the *collective identity field*.

The general typology to study the various dimensions comes from a suggestion from John Lofland to study social movements systematically (1995). His typology entails two criteria: location and dimensions. By locating social movements in multidimensional social space, Lofland argues that it is possible to place the movement within concrete cultural and social structural frames of reference. These include (but are not limited to) values, objects, stories, occasions, roles and personae. Related to these locations, are the various dimensions of a movement. These include similarities, differences, scope, quantity, expressiveness and elaboration. Lofland then proceeds to cross-classify these locations and dimensions (**Table 1**). I refer to this cross-classification, within time and space, as a movement's *collective identity field*. The primary way this field appears is collective identity. Thus, the ultimate variable of interest is both the cause and effect. These meanings are altogether cultural (Lofland 1995). These are the meanings the group as a collectivity holds for itself. A field measures these quantities at all points of a movement's space. The total effect of a collective identity field on movement behavior (including symbolic resource mobilization) is the result of its attempts at controlling of its

environment (social or physical). This is also based on the interrelationship between them (operating like a variance-covariance matrix, in statistical language). In other words, it is a multi-level control system. White (1993) has developed a similar system for social networks.

Operational Definitions

Concepts:

Collective Identity – the agent-constructed collective meaning a movement has for itself, resulting in collective expectations.

Collective Identity Field – this refers to the overall effect of components that form a collective identity. These components or variables are roles, values, objects and stories respectively. In this paper, it is a multilevel system of interactive identity or meaning components. Collective identities may also contain emergent properties of roles, values, sign and symbol resources.

Values – collective self-meanings evaluated in terms of movement means and ends.

Roles - collective self-meanings that refer to movement leaders, counter-roles, or the movement by name.

Objects – emblems, logos, insignias and other signs that identify a movement.

Stories – the narrative of a movement, or its "story".

Locations/Dimensions	Sharing	Distinctiveness	Scope	Elaboration	Quantity	Expressiveness
Values						
Objects						
Stories						
Occasions						
Roles						
Personae						

Table 2.1: Lofland Location-Dimension Typology

Hypotheses[12]

The hypotheses tested in this study are organized according to their level of analysis. That being so, they appear as:

Level 3

H1a: If a role is salient, then it will appear more often in a movement's text

H1b: If roles increase, then collective identity will increase

Cross-Level

H1c: The association between values and roles is stronger in movements with higher collective identity

Level 2

H2a: As values increase, they will appear more extensively and intensively in a movement's stories and objects

H2b: If values increase, then collective identity will increase

Level 1

H3a: If objects increase, then collective identity will increase

H3b: If stories increase, then collective identity will increase

Chapter 3: Methods

Design

This study coded the collective meanings the Tamil Tigers as it appeared on their websites. A content analysis (Carley 1992, 1997) that measured the relationship between roles, values, stories and objects was performed. This influence of this network of meanings on collective identity was measured using 3 scales. Following that, the scaled variables were incorporated into the Hierarchical Linear Model (HLM) developed in Chapter 3 of this manuscript. The websites were divided into those belonged to the Tamil Tigers and the Sri Lankan (Sinhalese) government, and were identified by the tail-end of their web addresses:

(a)**.com – Sri Lankan Tamil Tiger members and supporters

(b)**.org – Sinhalese/Sri Lankan government members and supporters

Since the data is part of a convenience sample, dual coders were used to code it. Coders were chosen according to their familiarity with Sri Lanka. Appendix **B** shows coder instructions. Appendix **C** shows a sample coding sheet. Appendix **D** shows the coding scheme used. Websites were randomly assigned to the coders. The average inter-rater reliability (Cohen's Kappa) is approximately 65%. The percentage of agreement was reached despite the fact that one of the coders is not a native English speaker.

Roles were compared to suggestions by Lofland (1995). Values that appear on the website were compared to a lexicon generated from past research by Rokeach (1973, 1979).

Data

The data consisted of 180 repeated observations of 30 websites. The data is part of a non-probability sample drawn from publicly available Tamil Tiger and Sri Lankan websites.

Measures

Data Extraction

Since the data being analyzed are embedded in the form of movement text, the variables of interest need to be extracted from them. They also have to be molded into a form suitable for statistical analysis. Of the many content analysis methods within linguistics, it perhaps has most in common with psycholinguistics. Psycholinguistics generally refers to those language processes that serve as indicators of a given psychological quality. Osgood's *Evaluative Assertion Analysis* can be said to be the immediate forebear of semantic content analysis "the purpose of evaluative assertion analysis is to extract from messages the evaluations being made of significant concepts, with a minimum dependence on the effects of the messages on coders or their existing attitudes" (1959,p.42). Put into a larger theoretical framework, it is a method of measuring representational mediational processes. For example, Burke and Tully (1977) incorporated one such technique, the Semantic Differential, into a symbolic interactionist framework. Representational processes operate on specific assumptions "those stimulus patterns that we call *signs (*be they perceptual or linguistic) acquire their representing character by coming to elicit some minimally effortful but distinctive portion of the total

behavior produced by the things signified. This reduced portion of the total behavior toward things is a *symbolic process*, which I call a *representational process*" (Osgood, 1959). According to this framework, representational mediation processes serve as mediators between semantic decoding and semantic encoding via a process "By the term *semantic decoding* I refer to the selective association of signs with representational processes; by the term *semantic encoding* I refer to the selective association of representational mediation processes with spoken or written linguistic responses" (Osgood, 1959). Therefore, in its simplest form, Evaluative Assertion Analysis as a content analysis method consists of the use of linguistic forms to confer meaning in relation to their social context. Operationally, words are classified as *object* or *subject*.

In line with this and other linguistic methods, semantic content analysis has its origins in sociolinguistics (Roberts 1997). Semantic content analysis has evolved into two general types with similar underlying principles[13]. Both consist of a 3-fold process: isolating text of interest, acquiring a semantic grammar, and coding the texts following the relationships specified by the grammar. These grammars are divided into phenomenal and generic grammars respectively (Roberts 1997). The first variety called *phenomenal semantic analysis* focuses on a specific grammar suited to measuring a specific phenomenon of interest. An example of this is a semantic grammar that highlights the role of laziness in a corpus of text via Verb-Object (V-O) agreement. This method's main weakness is its overspecialized grammar. The second variety of semantic analyses is referred to as *generic semantic analysis*. This variety analyses a randomized, relatively unorganized corpus of text using a generic semantic grammar to measure theme relations. An example of this is a Subject-Verb-Object (S-V-O) grammar to measure how the

actions of several different actors. It can therefore be said that generic semantic analyses are a much more powerful tool for social scientists that want to a random corpus of text. This semantic grammar takes 4 general forms that measure frequency and direction (Roberts 1997).

In light of the methodological strength of both these techniques, this paper shall focus on analyzing the content of Tamil Tigers websites to ascertain not just the frequency and direction of concepts, but the *relationship between roles, values, stories and objects*. To this end, I shall use what has come to be known as map analysis or cognitive mapping (Carley 1992, 1995). This process is deductive. The WWW works as a constructed collective action frame in order to construct and maintain specific collective identities. To the Tamil Tigers, these collective identities contain an ethnic Tamil identity, and the Illam statehood identity. The Tigers therefore identify *with* social roles, and then *evaluate* those roles according to cultural standards. The *end-result* of this two-fold process is the construction of stories and the use of objects to represent their collective identity to others cohesively. These collective identity claims may be stated explicitly, or implicitly. For example, the Tigers can indirectly (implicitly) refer to their Tamil Ilam identity through the counterpoint Sinhalese ethnic identity (cultural), or the Sri Lankan State identity (structural). Collective action frames appear within the semantic space of the web-sites. The units of analysis are the relationship between collective symbols and signs the movement uses to combine role and values. I will detail this typology of collective identity components in the next section.

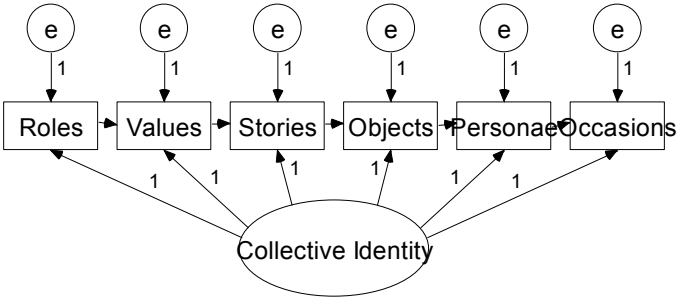

Diagram 2: Illustrative Conceptual Network

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable measured in this study was collective identity. Collective identity refers to the varying usage of symbolic and sign resources used by the movement to construct its own collective identity. This mobilization therefore culminates in the creation of a reified collective identity. An example of this in the Tiger's case is the increase use of a map of Sri Lanka with the Tiger territory highlighted. In this study, a scale ranging from 0 to 5 was used to measure collective identity in 20 point increments (0 being "absent", and 5 being "heavily mobilized").

Independent Variables

All the independent variables at level-1 were scaled along 3 dimensions: *Similarities/differences, scope/elaboration* and *quantity/quality*. Similarities/Differences refer to general versus more specific versions of a variable. Scope/Elaboration refers to the breadth or depth of the variables. Quantity/Quality refers to the frequency or relatively lengthy description of a variable. These dimensions are measured using the same metric. I measure the locations and dimensions of the independent variables on a scale ranging from 0 to 3 (0 being "absent" and 3 being "important"). The result is a 6 by 3 matrix of correlations that measure these vector quantities (**Table 3.1**). I measure the dependent variable (collective identity) on a scale of 0 to 5. Cronbach's Alpha Scale Reliability (Unstandardized) was 0.77 for all scales used to measure the level-1 independent variables. The scales are all linear and additive. Independent variables at

level-2 are website id. (coded “1” for Sinhalese, and “2” for “Tigers”), and level-3 is a fixed time interval of 180 repeated measures.

Locations **Dimensions**	Similarity or Differences (0 to 3)	Scope or Elaboration (0 to 3)	Quantity or Quality (0 to 3)
Roles			
Values			
Objects			
Stories			

Table 3.1: Scales of Movement Locations and Dimensions

Level 3

(1)Roles

Roles are the positional designations people in movements play. They can generally be divided into creators, disseminators, culture retailers, and artistic performers (Lofland 1995). That being the case, these can all be considered as forms of claims-making (Spector and Kitsuse 1977) about extant social structural roles.

Level 2

(1) Values

Values are the expressed goals of a social movement. In the case of the Tigers, it is the goal of obtaining its own sovereign nation-state. A nation-state is simultaneously an ethnically and geographically distinct social construct. For example, a value is held in high-regard by a movement if they score a "3" on my scale. Values are unfortunately the most "fuzzy" concept in the social sciences and I choose to focus on clearly articulated goals of the Tigers. As stated earlier in this paper, values embed individuals and groups within culture (Rokeach 1973; Gecas 2000). As such, they often take the form of *means* and *ends* of the movement. Values also function as the evaluative dimension of collective identities once they have been internalized by the collectivity. In the case of the Tigers, I measured these in two ways: the name the movement named itself (e.g. "liberation movement"), and the words used by the movement to describe its activities ("struggle for freedom"). These values also vary along the lines of their dimensionality (sharing/distinctiveness, scope/elaboration and quantity/expressiveness). This component of collective identities is perhaps the most important one.

Level 1

(1) Objects

Objects come in 5 general varieties: movement identifiers, iconic persons, key artifacts, central events, and symbolic places (Lofland 1995). The use of these distinguishing characteristics by a movement gives it unique character. An example in the case of the Sri Lankan Tamil movement is the use of a Tiger's head to represent strength. This variable has been measured along the three dimensions mentioned earlier, and on the same scale.

(2) Stories

This refers to a movement's narrative. By narrative, I mean the espousal of specific beliefs, ideology, and practices that facilitate these beliefs and ideologies (Lofland 1995).

General Model

The studies of social phenomena through a typology have been conducted by students of collective behavior in the past (Weber 1905; Smelser 1969). These proceed with the assumption that social phenomena have to be interpretively understood through their participants' eyes; ("*verstehen*"). In my eyes, this represents studying the self-meanings individuals and groups hold; in other words the study of identities within their immediate social contexts. In essence, these studies have made cross-sectional or point estimates of movement behavior (a *scalar* quantity). What these studies lack is to tell us when and under what general conditions these identities operate on. I constructed a scale using Lofland's (1995) typology of location and dimension to address this problem. This scale measures a series of social locations (all at the collective level): *roles, values, objects,* and *stories*[14]. The various dimensions of a movement are measured along the lines of *similarities/ differences, scope/elaboration* and *quantity/quality.* In sum, this scale measures a social movement as a set of *vector* quantities. Collectively, these make up a *vector field*. By definition, vector fields locate strength (magnitude) and intensity within 3-Dimensional space and time. As mentioned earlier, I have dubbed this general phenomenon as a collective social field. Specifically, these take the form of a movement's social locations, dimensions and the concept of identity (by it's virtue of being relatively stable over time). Identities are embedded within these locations and dimensions (once these components have been internalized by the collectivity). One is thus able to conceptualize these concepts at a cultural, structural and individual level. Specifically, in vector notation, the collective identity field can be expressed as

$$\mathbf{I} = B1(x,y,z)\ \mathbf{i} + B2(x,y,z)\ \mathbf{i} + B3(x,y,z)\ \mathbf{i} + B4(x,y,z)\ \mathbf{i} + B5(x,y,z) + B6(x,y,z)\ \mathbf{i}$$

Where, **I** = Collective Identity, *B1* = Objects, *B2* = Stories, *B3* = *Values* and *B4* = Roles. Each of these quantities are measure on a 0 to 3 scale, where x = Similarities /Differences, y = Scope/Elaboration, and z = Quantity/Expressiveness. These components remain relatively stable over time due to the influence of time and the collectivity. The components of the collective identity field operate under certain field axioms or assumptions. They are can operate additively or multiplicatively to achieve different end-states.

Model Specification

However, since all of these components of **I** do not usually operate at a single level. They can then be arranged in a hierarchical (nested) model. In the language of Hierarchical Linear Models or HLM (Raudenbusch and Bryk 2002)

At Level-1,

$$Y = \pi 0 + \pi 1 + \pi 2 + \pi 3 + \pi 4 + e$$

At Level-2,

$$\pi 0 = B00 + B01 + r$$

$$\pi 1 = B10 + B11 + r$$

$$\pi 2 = B20 + B21 + r$$

$$\pi 3 = B20 + B21 + r$$

$$\pi 4 = B20 + B21 + r$$

At Level-3,

$$B0 = \gamma 00 + \gamma 01 + u$$

$$B1 = \gamma 10 + \gamma 11 + u$$

$$B2 = \gamma 20 + \gamma 21 + u$$

$$B 3 = \gamma 20 + \gamma 21 + u$$

$$B 4 = \gamma 20 + \gamma 21 + u$$

Where Y = Collective identity. At Level-1, π 0 through π 4 are the intercept and slopes for values, objects, stories, occasions, roles, personae respectively. At Level-2, the B's are the group level effects on the level one variables. Finally, Level-3 represents the effects of time on the group, and subsequently the individual level variables. Random effects are represented by the error terms e (level-1), r (level-2) and u (level-3). Dimensions and locations are represented a by website and group, and history (time) characteristics specifically. Since there are 2 groups in question (the Tigers and the Sri-Lankan government), identification numbers are assigned to each of them (2 for "Tigers", 1 for "Government"). In this paper collective identity is seen as an emergent property of the interaction between social structure and social agent moderated by culture.

Chapter 4: Results

Summary statistics presented in **Table 4.1** indicate that the mean value of collective identity is skewed to the right. This value of 3.64 indicates that collective identity is always relatively high in the case of social movements. Since the sample is a convenience sample, I bootstrapped the correlations of all the variables to gauge if this was going to be a problem as a next preliminary step, Ordinary Least Squares regression was carried out on the data. The results of the OLS (**Table 4.2)** tells us that 14% (R-squared = .14) of the variance in the dependent variable is explained by the independent variables. However, it does not tell us the effects of cultural (values) or social structural (roles) characteristics on collective identity.

Table 4.3 brings us to the main model presented in this paper. The estimated coefficients in this Hierarchical Linear Model (HLM) appear in the left column, and the parameter being estimated is presented on the right (in Greek script). The intercept is the average likelihood of collective identity at the beginning of the investigation (3.95). A hierarchical model is one that is nested within levels. For example, independent variables at level-1 of the model are influenced by independent variables at level 2, and so on. In this analysis, group level variables (signs and symbols in the form of stories and objects) appear at level-1, and are said to be nested within collective value characteristics at level-2, which in turn in influenced by relatively fixed collective social structural roles at level-3. That being so, the model can also be interpreted to state that roles influences group values, and this influences stories and objects. Since all the variables in this analysis are scaled, the coefficients can be interpreted directly. Stories increase the likelihood of

collective identity by .349. *This confirms hypotheses 3b*. This is significant at the .01 level. Objects decrease the likelihood of collective identity by -.0725, but yield a non-significant p-value. *This falsifies hypothesis 3a*. Total unique variance at level-1 of the model accounts for approximately 14% of change in the dependent variable.

The unique explained variance at level-2 is 41%. *This confirms hypothesis 2a and 2b*. At level-3, the unique explained variance is also approximately 41%. *This confirms hypothesis 1a and 1b*. Finally, the interactive effect of roles and values is .16. This confirms *hypothesis 1c*. The fit of this model is good with a log-likelihood of -320.759. The intra-class correlation between websites and the level-1 predictors and the level-2 predictors is .18. The intra-class correlation of between level-3, level-2 and level-1 predictors is .15.

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.
Values	4.605556	1.635832
Objects	6.594444	1.16128
Stories	1.483333	.7729722
Roles	2.905556	.6575494

Table 4.1: Summary Statistics of Variables

Independent Vars.	Model 1 (Ordinary Least Squares Model)
Constant/Intercept	4.58
Objects	-.279** (.0996)
Stories	.604**(.149)
Explained Variance (R-squared):	.14

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Coefficients significant at the point .01-level are marked with asterisks (**).

Table 4.2: Individual Effects of Collective Identity Field on Collective Identity.

Independent Vars.	Model 2 (HLM)	Parameter
Constant/Intercept	3.95	$\pi 0$
Objects	-.0725(.123)	$\pi 1$
Stories	.349(.146)**	$\pi 2$

Log-Likelihood -320.759

Intra-class Correlation for Group Values

.18

Intra-class Correlation for Group Roles

.15

Cross-level Effect (Values*Roles)

.16

Explained Variance

Individual level (OLS)	14%
Group (Values) level	41%
Group (Role) level	41%
Total	96%

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. Coefficients significant at the point .01-level are marked with asterisks (**).

Table 4.3: Estimated Effects of Group and Individual Effects on Collective Identity.

Chapter 5: Discussion

(Re)Constructing the Tamil Tigers

What do these results tell us about the Tamil Tigers? To be exact, the model predicts which components of the collective identity field exert the most influence on collective identity. It is also important to also remember that since this is a model of *collective* identity, the components themselves average out and act in unison. Overall, this model represents a first step at measuring and quantifying social movement collective identities. The Illam collective identity of the Tamil Tigers is best predicted by the nested and collective influence of their social structural location in the Eastern Sri Lanka or Illam (role), and their identity as Tamils (values). Both of these identities affect the Tamil Illam collective identity by influencing the stories and objects the movement itself uses.

Roles

As I mentioned in Chapter 2 of this manuscript, the contributions Identity Theory has for collective identity are: (1) showing that roles are structurally anchored and actively chosen by social agents, and (2) social agents are more committed to some roles, and that causes some roles to become more salient or important than others, and (3) suggesting that identities at different levels (cultural, structural and personal) interact. Some of these role identities are used by social movements to construct collective identity.

The results of the analysis suggest that roles do indeed play an important part in constructing collective identities. In the case of the Tamil Tigers, these roles appeared in the form of the claims made by the movement leader (one "honorable" Vellupillai Prabakharan), and statements made by movement supporters such as journalists and scholars. Examples of these can be seen in **Appendix A.** The fact that some roles were utilized in constructing the Tamil Ilam collective identity also supports the claim that they are the most salient roles to the movement. Finally, the cross-level interaction (**Table 4.4**) between roles and values indicates that multiple identities exist with a collective identity and that they interact.

Values

The evaluative components of the collective identity field (values) appear to exert a strong influence on movement signs and symbols. This intuitively makes sense, since if a group's values are strong (i.e. solidarity), then the process of building a collective identity is accelerated. To the Tigers, values represent the statement of movement goals and how they plan to accomplish them.

The values expressed by the Tigers center around goals of liberation, freedom and autonomy (e.g. "LTTE – Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), recognition of ethnicity (e.g. "Tamil"), and land ("Ilam" or "Eelam"). These represent values terminal or ends-oriented goals. Means oriented goals are represented by the Tigers in evaluative terms such as "struggle", and "democratic".

Stories and Objects

Objects (i.e. logos) and stories (i.e. narratives) increase the propensity towards collective identity since these components themselves tend to be part of the repertoire used by movements in constructing collective identity (or any other kind of mobilization). Similarly, if the style of interaction or presentation of the group's collective self (via stories and objects) is effective, collective identity would not be a necessary means of achieving movement goals.

The Tamil Tiger story or narrative is presented in their historical biography. They represent their colonial past, and the eventual emergence as a movement. Objects are represented by the use of a map of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) that highlights the north and the eastern regions as Tamil strongholds. The usage of the Tiger as a sign of strength is also an important movement signifier.

Implications for Future Research

This model is an exploratory first step in the analysis of collective identities such as the Illam identity of the Tamil Tigers. That being the case, much more has to be done to explore the Tigers and movements like them.

Although the results of most of indicators predicting collective identity are significant, researchers need to collect further collect both qualitative data. For example, more biographical information on the Tigers is needed to flesh out Collective Identity Theory. The negligible significance of the results of the "objects" indicator may be due to two things: bad measurement, or bad data. It could very well be that the scales utilized in this study do not accurately gauge these concepts. The lack of a random sample could also contribute to these negligible results. Future research needs to address these measurement issues, as well as sampling issues.

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Appendix A

Examples of Web-sites Reviewed (linking to numerous other web documents)

Pro-Rebel

1) http:tamilcanadian.com
2) http:tamilnation.orgbooksEelamgunasingham.htm
3) http:www.wsws.orgarticles2000sep2000sl-s26.shtml
4) http:www.eelamnation.com091901.html
5) http:eelam.com
6) http:eelamweb.com

Pro-Government

1) http:www.theacademic.org

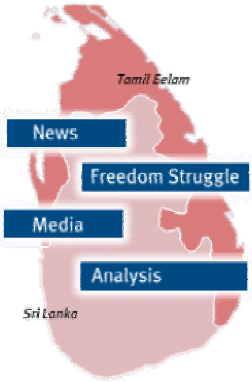
2) http:reality.lanka.com

3) http:ourworld.compuserve.comhomepagessinhalarohan.htm

4) http:www.ict.org.ilarticlesltte2.htm

5) http:www.lankaweb.comnewslatest.html

6) http:www.lankapage.com



Tamil Eelam
homepage

Violation of Freedom of Expression
Sri Lankan style:

6th Amendment to the Sri Lankan constitution:

'No person shall directly or indirectly, in or outside Sri Lanka, support, espouse, promote, finance, encourage or advocate the establishment of a separate State within the territory of Sri Lanka'.

Anyone who contravenes that provision becomes liable to the imposition of civic disability for upto 7 years, the forfeiture of his movable and immovable property... the loss of his passport... the right to engage in any trade or profession... In addition if he is a Member of parliament, he loses the seat.

The Tamil people of the island of Ceylon (now called Sri Lanka) constitute a distinct nation. They form a social entity, with their own history, traditions, culture, language and traditional homeland. The Tamil people call their nation 'Tamil Eelam'.

As a nation, Tamils have the inalienable right to self-determination, a universal principle enshrined in the U.N. Charter that guarantees the right of a people to political independence.

Apart from the right to self determination, the Tamil Eelam may also be justified in terms of international law under the concept of reversion of sovereignty and the concept of effectiveness.

Before a succession of western nations (including the Portuguese, Dutch and the British) ruled the island, there were two distinct kingdoms on the island, the Tamil Kingdom in the north and the Sinhala kingdom in the South.

For ease of administration, the British amalgamated the two distinct nations into a single entity with its capital in Colombo. The British gave Ceylon independence in 1948, handing over control of the entire island to a Sinhalese government, based in Colombo, which renamed the island Sri Lanka.

The Sinhala state's oppression of the Tamil people began in various forms almost immediately, attacking everything that defined the Tamils as a nation.

A series of laws that discriminated against

Tamils were implemented. These included making Sinhala, instead of English, the only official language of the country, i.e. Tamils could not be employed unless they learnt Sinhala. The educational structures were altered to restrict Tamil admissions to higher education. Investment in Tamil areas was minimized.

Recruitment of Tamils into the security forces was restricted. The Sri Lankan security forces are almost exclusively Sinhalese. The security forces have been responsible for and continue to carry out human rights abuses and atrocities against Tamil civilians on a genocidal scale.

Sinhala colonization of traditional Tamil areas was started in the fifties, and was intensified in the eighties with the security forces wiping out Tamil villages and replacing them with Sinhala settlements. Colonization continues unabated.

Anti-Tamil rioting, with the active participation of the Sri Lankan security forces, has claimed thousands of Tamil lives. Thousands more suffered torture and rape.

As the Tamil people sense of helplessness deepened, Tamil politicians advocated a separate Tamil state. In 1977, the Tamil United Liberation Front resolved in its Vaddukoddai Resolution to campaign for political independence on the basis of the Tamil nation's right to self- determination.

At the general elections of 1977, the TULF demanded a clear mandate from the Tamil people to launch a national campaign to establish the sovereignty of the Tamil homeland. These elections were effectively a referendum the Tamil speaking people voted overwhelmingly in favour of secession.

The Tamil call for independence was met by

island wide anti-Tamil rioting. The Sri Lankan government forced all elected MPs to take an oath that they would not seek a separate state.

With all democratic ways to achieve equality having failed repeatedly, an armed struggle for independence began, led by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). International Law recognizes that the armed resistance of the Tamil people to Sri Lankan rule is lawful and just.

Today, the LTTE has evolved into a military and political organization representing the aspirations and hopes of the Tamil people.

Appendix B

Coder Instructions

Dear Coder:

Attached is a short coding sheet I would like you use to code some websites. This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Washington State University for use of human subjects. Since the study unobtrusively codes the publicly available content of rebel/terrorist group websites, the IRB deemed it "exempt" from the usual review process. Should you feel uncomfortable with this task at any time, please feel free to withdraw from the coding process. This will not be held against you in any way. In addition to

this option, your identity will be kept confidential. Please code the contents of the websites as honestly as you can.

With that, I conclude the coding instructions. If you have any questions, please feel free to ask me. Your time and cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Yours Truly,
Nesaraj Vamadevan
Graduate Student
Dept. of Sociology
Washington State University

Instructions

Please code the contents of the websites on the attached coding sheet using the following instructions. A general lexicon has been supplied so that you may compare the content with specific general attributes. You may use the supplied computer program (Text-analyst) to locate similar words on these websites. Please also feel free to make as many copies of the coding sheet as you may need.

A. Code the importance of particular stories or narratives that appear on the websites based on their relative frequency or exaggeration. Stories generally appear in the form of a few paragraphs that fit on one to three web-pages within a single website.

B. Code the importance of particular emblems or logos that appear on the websites based on their relative frequency or exaggeration. Logos or emblems generally appear in the form of pictures, illustrations or photographs on the website's main page.

C. Code the particular values expressed on the website according to the dimensions specified on the coding sheet. Values generally take the form of explicit or implicit means or ends of a particular group (e.g. "the Pullman Civil Rights Movement will use passive resistance to obtain resources from the university.")

D. Code the particular social roles the group publicizes. Roles generally take the form the expressed part a leader or the group plays in society and/or culture (e.g. "The Grand Wizard of the Pullman Ku Klux Klan will continue to play his role of parade-leader.")

E. All dimensions are specified using the following scale:

	Absent ←======= Neutral =======→ Important			
a) similarities/differences	0	1	2	3
b) scope/elaboration	0	1	2	3
c) quantity/quality	0	1	2	3

E. Lexicon:

(a) *Roles* – roles include the following within the context of a social movement (but may not be limited to)

Leaders

Propaganda Disseminators
Claims-makers
Supporters
Protagonist
Antagonist
Followers
Brothers/Sisters
Children

(b) *Values* – values include the following within a social movement context

Liberation
Freedom
Achievement
Humanitarianism
Peace
Progress
Nationalism
Conformity
Rebellion
Struggle
Equality
Efficiency
Conflict
Democracy
Patriotism
Fight
Group Superiority/Inferiority

(c) *Stories/Narratives* - a movement generally has one running narrative or story. The "plot" of these narratives varies from group to group.

(d) *Emblems/Logos/Signs* – movements generally adopts a particular insignia or logo to clearly identify them. This varies from group to group.

Appendix C

Coding Sheet

Web ID # _____

Date: ___ ___ ____

Origin of website: a. Tamil Tigers _____

b. Sinhalese/Sri Lankan Government _____

c. Others (Specify) _____

1. How often does the word "Tamil Illam" occur?

1	2	3	4	5
(0-20 times)	(20-40 times)	(40-60 times)	(60-80 times)	(80-100 times)

2. *Roles (positions, players, parts)*

Absent ←======= Neutral =======→ Important

a) similarities/differences	0	1	2	3
b) scope/elaboration	0	1	2	3
c) quantity/quality	0	1	2	3

3. *Values (goals/ways, means/ends)*

	Absent ←=======	Neutral	=======→	Important
a) similarities/differences	0	1	2	3
b) scope/elaboration	0	1	2	3
c) quantity/quality	0	1	2	3

4. *Story/Narrative*

	Absent ←=======	Neutral	=======→	Important
a) similarities/differences	0	1	2	3
b) scope/elaboration	0	1	2	3
c) quantity/quality	0	1	2	3

5. *Logos/Emblems*

	Absent ←=======	Neutral	=======→	Important
a) similarities/differences	0	1	2	3
b) scope/elaboration	0	1	2	3
c) quantity/quality	0	1	2	3

Appendix D

Weights	Content and Scoring Categories
	A. Collective Identity – references to the group as a whole (i.e. Tamil Ilam)
+3 to +5	1.directly and more frequently (by its own name, and between 40-100 times)
+1 to +2	2.indirectly and less frequently (through another group's name and between 0-40 times)
0	3. absent

Concepts Related to Collective Identity

	B. Roles – references to the part the group plays in society
	(i) Similarities/differences – situation specific or trans-situational
+3	1. Situation specific
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. Trans-situational
0	4. Absent
	(ii) scope/elaboration – cites multiple contexts or covers one/few in depth
+3	1. Multiple contexts/situations
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. Few/One context in depth
0	4. Absent
	(iii) quantity/quality – mentioned frequently or rarely but in detail
+3	1. Frequent
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. In detail
0	4. Absent

C. Values – references to the means the group uses, the ends it wants to accomplish, or the values it explicitly holds

(i) similarities/differences – situation specific or trans-situational

+3	1. Situation specific
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. Trans-situational
0	4. Absent

(ii) scope/elaboration – cites multiple values or covers one/few in depth

+3	1. Multiple values
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. Few/One value in depth
1	4. Absent

(i) quantity/quality – mentioned frequently or rarely but in detail

+3	1. Frequent
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. In detail
0	4. Absent

D. Stories/Narratives– the biography of the group

(i) similarities/differences – group specific or shared with general culture

+3	1. Group specific
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. General culture
0	4. Absent

(ii) scope/elaboration – cites multiple biographies or covers one/few in depth

+3	1. Multiple stories
+2	2. Neutral
+1	3. Few/One story in depth

2		4. Absent
	(ii)	quantity/quality – stories mentioned frequently or rarely but in detail
+3		1. Frequent
+2		2. Neutral
+1		3. In detail
0		4. Absent
	E.	Logos/Emblems/Insignia – pictures/photographs/figures that represents the group
	(iii)	similarities/differences – group specific or shared with general culture
+3		1. Group specific
+2		2. Neutral
+1		3. General culture
0		4. Absent
	(iv)	scope/elaboration – uses multiple insignia or covers or one/few in depth
+3		1. Few/one
+2		2. Neutral
+1		3. Multiple
3		4. Absent
	(v)	quantity/quality – mentioned frequently or rarely but in detail
+3		1. Frequent
+2		2. Neutral
+1		3. In detail
0		4. Absent

Endnotes

[1] Research on social movements has been largely bipolar. The focus has been on member participation (the social psychology of social movement participants), and the mobilization of resources (resource mobilization or rational action) of social movements (Gurr 1970; McCarthy and Zald 1973). They ultimately concentrate on individual behaviors, or organizational characteristics.

[2] This is similar to notions of a nation or city-state that is both social agent and social structure (Migdal 1990, Wade 1990).

[3] Mainly, these researchers are found within the Identity Theory tradition of structural symbolic interaction in sociology, and the Social Identity tradition in psychology (Stryker 1980; Burke 1980; Tajfel 1981; Turner 1987). These have been role identities (self-meanings associated to occupying a role or social structural position), and group identities (self-meanings associated with membership in a group) respectively. Recently, the study of identities within a social movement context has been addressed by the work of David A. Snow and his colleagues (1987, 1994, 1995, 2000), and the work of "New Social Movement" theorists (Larana, Johnston and Gusfield 1994, Morris and Meuller 1992). This approach has recently generated the general process of "identity work" that takes place to ensure alignment between the personal (unique) identities participants have, and the movement's collective identities (common to the collective group). These scholars postulate the existence of identities at the *collective* level.

[4] Similarly, Thoits and Virshup (1995) distinguish between individual ("me") identities and other -based identities ("we") that are derived by the group acting as a collective. Snow and his colleagues propose that the alignment of individual level identities with group level identities ("frame alignment") explains social movement participation (1986, 2000). Other theorists who utilize such approaches include Bert Klandermans (2000).

[5] Some researchers have referred to such collective identity forms as identities created via council (White 1992). Others have proceeded from this assumption to suggest that many groups (i.e. social movements) create new identities or somehow amalgamate and appropriate old ones (Snow and McAdam 2000). Yet others refer to ethereal "collective" identities that they say instigate collective action, but never bother to actually define in testable terms (Melucci 1992; Nagel 1995). These identities are then "pitched" to potential members (individuals or groups). Audience feedback is therefore vital to a social movement's propaganda. If audience feedback affirms the group's claims-making, the identities it propagates are affirmed (Spector and Kitsuse 19771987).

[6] Identity Theory generally explores role identities at the individual level.

[7] One could say that the collectivity reconstructs definitions of situations.

According to Stryker (2000)

"action and interaction are shaped by definitions of situations; definitions are based on shared meanings developed in interaction; meanings persons attribute to themselves – self-conceptions – are critical to interaction and action; and self-conceptions, like other meanings, are shaped in interaction and the outcomes of others' responses to persons."

[10] Generally speaking, self-concepts or self-construals can be divided into *independent* and *interdependent* (Markus and Kitayama 1994; Kanagawa et. al. 2001). At a more cultural level of analysis, these can be said to derive from collectivist or individualist cultures (Triandis 1995). These concepts represent opposite poles on a continuum. Therefore, some cultures are more attached to others within the culture and others a not. In general, people from Eastern cultures are said to be more interdependent than people from Western cultures. The type of social movement that exists within that culture can also be said to be more collectivist

in nature. Since the Tamil Tigers are from an Asian culture, their tactics for recruitment and retention must cater to an interdependent self-concept. This of course, influences socialization processes.

11 Emergent properties are characteristics of a system (or field) that cannot be reduced to statements about its individual elements when the elements are studied in isolation (Durlauff 2001).

13 I use a top-down presentation of the hypotheses from the highest level to the lowest in order to preserve the logical consistency of this document.

12 In relation to websites, Osgood's general definition of content analysis applies as well "a procedure whereby one makes inferences about sources and receivers from evidence in the messages they exchange" (1959, p. 55).

14 I use the words "roles" in place of "role/identity", and "values" in place of "value/identity" to make the variable names sound less awkward. The concepts are also inseparable in this paper since the data examines movement claims verbatim.