Mobilizing for Democracy: Democratization and social movements

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Democratization studies:
- SM not important as
  - Structural explanations: economic, class, geopolitical, cultural
  - Dynamic explanation, but focus (mainly)

SM studies
- SM as only/mainly in democracy, as
  - Structural explanations: political opportunities, discoursive opportunities etc.
  - Available resources
What can we learn from democratization literature?

- Processual
- Relational
- Open-ended
- Agency-driven
Bridging approaches? What can social movement studies offer?

- Appropriation of opportunities
- Mobilization of resources
- Framing processes
- But also:
  - Eventful protest
  - Transnational dimension
  - Conceptions and practices of democracy
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Role of social movements</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resistance</td>
<td>- Underground networks of resistance and cooperation among activists.</td>
<td>Human rights movements and transnational advocacy networks</td>
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<td>- International delegitimizing campaigns, denouncing of human rights violations.</td>
<td>Anti-apartheid movement</td>
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<td>Church-based networks</td>
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<td>Liberalization</td>
<td>- Promoters of the expansion of the transition towards procedural democracy, or for the resistance to the process.</td>
<td>Trade unions strikes</td>
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<td>- Essay of (new) democratic practices (i.e. cultural [re]democratization).</td>
<td>Religious movements</td>
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<td>Urban movements</td>
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<td>Military led or controlled counter-movements</td>
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<td>Transition</td>
<td>- Mobilization intertwined with elite pacts: Claims for justice and for the elimination of the reserved powers that limit the emerging democracy, or support to the authoritarian elites.</td>
<td>Human rights movements</td>
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<td>Women’s movements</td>
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<td>Trade unions strikes</td>
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<td>Right wing solidarity networks</td>
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<td><strong>Consolidation</strong></td>
<td>Movements introduce demands for a consolidated and inclusive substantive democracy, or claims for recovering the lost ‘order’ by limiting political or social rights.</td>
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|        | Land-reform movements  
Indigenous movements  
Employment movements  
Anti-immigration movements  
Security protests |

| **Expansion** | Campaigns for the democratization of international governmental organizations.  
Essay of local/ national post-representative democracy. |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Global justice movements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Labour movement
  ◦ Politicization of Unions
• Human rights/democratization movements
  ◦ Boomerang effects
  ◦ International epistemic community
• Student movements
• Religious/ethnic movements

Which social movements
• Strikes
• Demonstrations
• Petitions
• Electoral repertories
**Networks**: free spaces (churches, unions, theaters), informal networks (family)...

- collective **identity**: depoliticization, quiet encroachment...
- use (mainly) **protest**: unobtrusive, oppositional speech, petitions, hit-and run protests, event seizure (elections)...
- In **conflictual** relations: redistribution and autonomy...

**Social movements in authoritarian regimes**...
Mainstream causal model

SOCIAL CHANGE

Mobilizing structures

Political opportunity structure

FRAMING

repertoires
“teleological temporality”, that explains events on the basis of abstract trans-historical processes “from less to more” (urbanization, industrialization, etc.),

“experimental temporality”, comparing different historical paths (revolution versus non-revolution, democracy versus non-democracy),

“eventful temporality recognizes the power of events in history” (ibid., 262).

**William Sewell’s 3 temporalities (1999)**
• Events as “relatively rare subclass of happenings that **significantly transform structure**”, and an eventful conception of temporality as “one that takes into account the transformation of structures by events”
• “events transform structures largely by constituting and empowering new groups of actors or by reempowering existing groups in new ways” (ibid. 271).
• put in motion social processes that “are inherently contingent, discontinuous and open ended” (ibid. 272).
• Creation of awareness of class interest
• Formation of (insurgent) counter-elites
• Galvanizing experience of agency
• Emergence of perceptions of: no other way out:
  ◦ “The only alternative was the madness of desperation”
  ◦ “my brother disappeared... every day there were two or three bodies..."

**Insurgency creates conditions for democratization**
For SMSs:

• Growing number of TSMOs
• Growing transnational protests
  • Development of cosmopolitan frames
• Strong Criticisms of some IOs policy and politics
  • Demands of more global politics

Politicization of international organization
Cross-national diffusion

Old
- Diffusion as contagion
- Diffusion in proximate areas
- Diffusion as hierarchical
- Diffusion as indirect communication

New
- Diffusion as learning/emulation
- Diffusion as assessment of similarities
- Diffusion as relational
- Diffusion as mediated by agent
- Double diffusion
• New
  ◦ Diffusion as learning/emulation
  ◦ Diffusion as assessment of similarities
  ◦ Diffusion as relational
  ◦ Diffusion as mediated by agent
  ◦ Double diffusion

Cross-national diffusion: new approaches
### Democracy as a multidimensional concept

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consensus</th>
<th>Delegation of power</th>
<th>Delegation of power</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Associational model</td>
<td>Assembleary model</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visions: 59.0%</td>
<td>Visions: 14.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practices: 30.4</td>
<td>Practices: 9.8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norms: 19.1</td>
<td>Norms: 35.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Deliberative</td>
<td>Deliberative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>representation</td>
<td>participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visions: 15.6</td>
<td>Visions: 10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norms: 8.2</td>
<td>Norms: 36.7</td>
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</tbody>
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