

# Contextualizing Contestation:

Cleavages, Organizers, and the  
Internet

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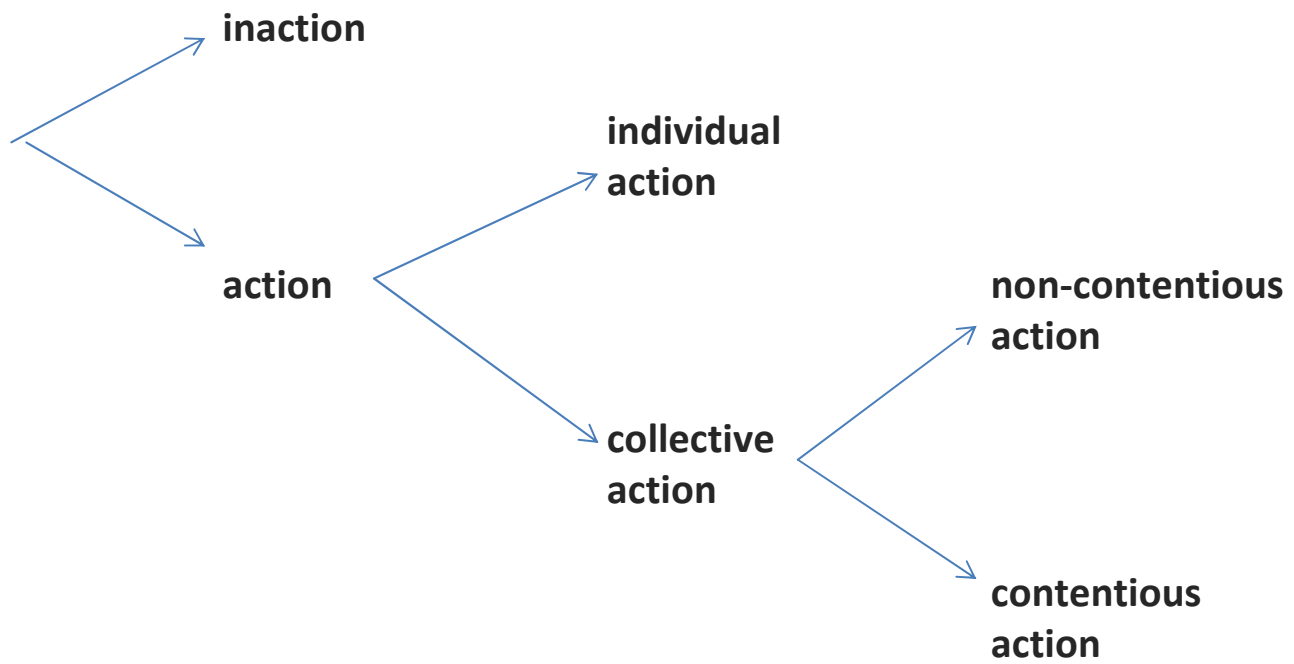
Where do we come from?  
Where are we now?

Where did we come from?

The social psychology of protest:

dynamics of mobilization

dynamics of participation



## ***DYNAMICS OF MOBILIZATION***

- DEMAND
- SUPPLY
- MOBILIZATION

## ***DYNAMICS OF PARTIPATION***

- INSTRUMENTALITY
- IDENTITY
- IDEOLOGY
- EMOTIONS

## **The demand-side of participation: Individuals and their motives**

**requires studies of such processes as socialization, formation and politicization of grievances, the formation and politicization of collective identity, and the arousal of emotions.**

## **The supply-side of participation: Organizations and their appeals**

**concerns such matters as action repertoires,  
the effectiveness of social movements,  
the ideologies movements stand for,  
and the constituents of identification they offer.**

**Mobilization: the marketing mechanism of the social movement domain**

**the study of mobilization concerns such matters as the effectiveness of (persuasive) communication, the influence of social networks, and the perceived costs and benefits of participation.**



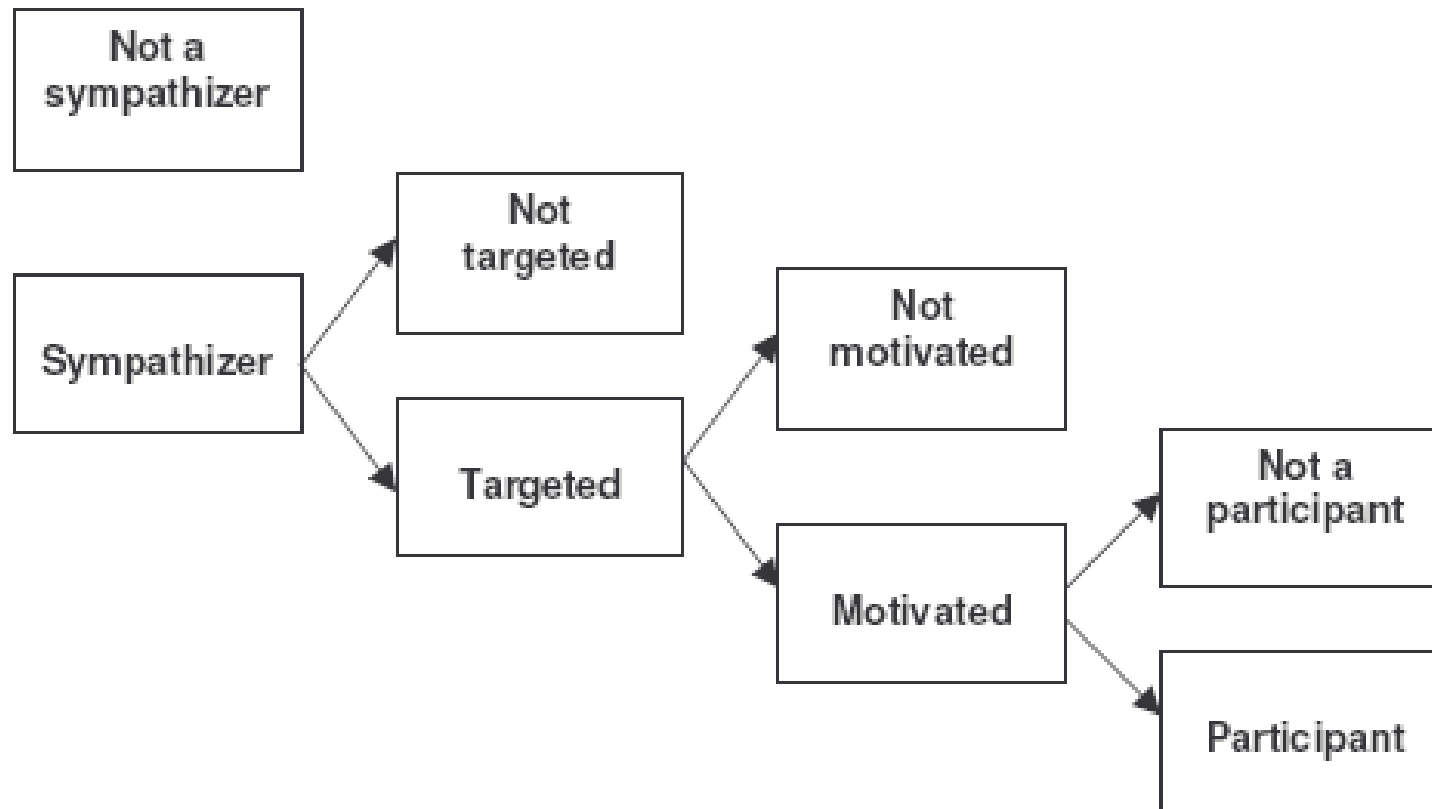
***CONSENSUS MOBILIZATION***

***convincing***

***ACTION MOBILIZATION***

***activating***

# ACTION MOBILIZATION



## **MOTIVATION**

***Instrumentality refers to movement participation as an attempt to influence the social and political environment (efficacy)***

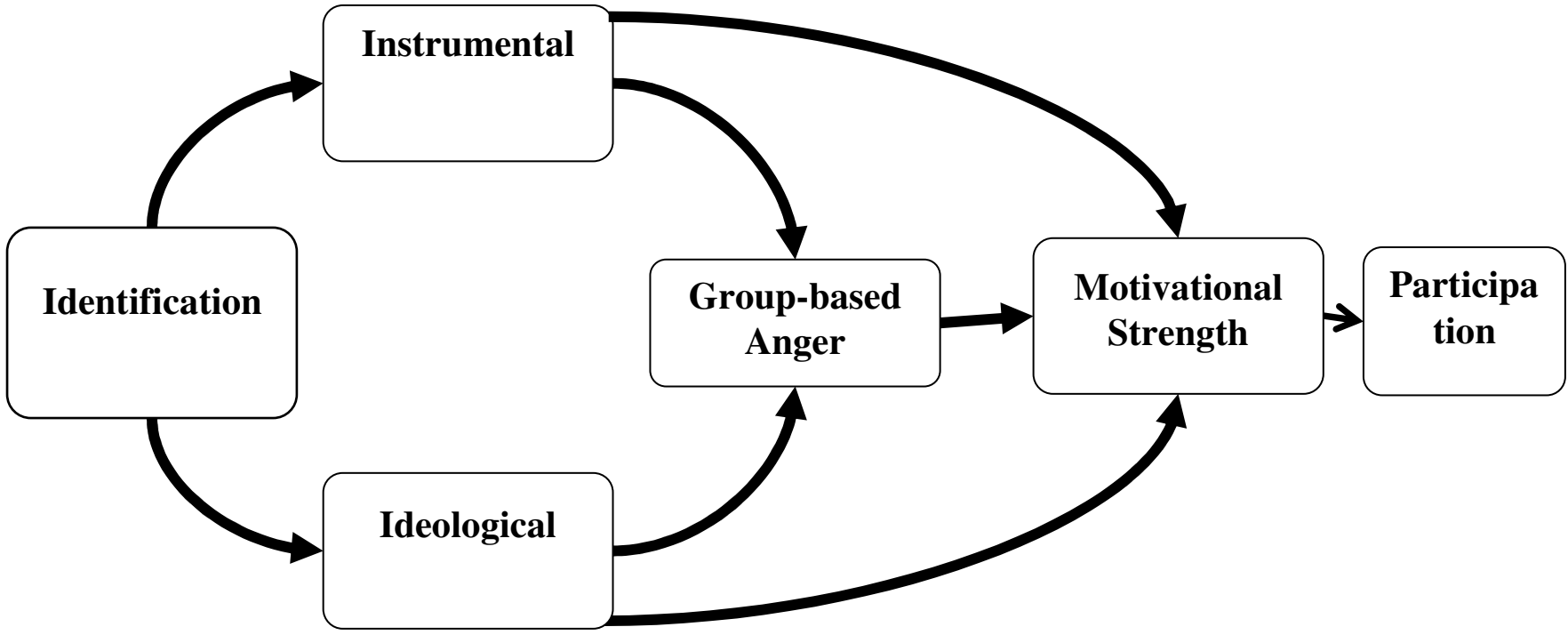
***Identity refers to movement participation as a manifestation of identification with a group (= inner felt social obligation)***

***Ideology refers to movement participation as an expression of one's views (= inner felt moral obligation)***

# **EMOTIONS**

**ANGER = APPROACH**

**FEAR = AVOIDANCE**



Where are we now?

Contextualizing contestation

National context

Mobilizing context

Protest event

The virtue of comparison

Three research examples:

- Comparing mobilization
- Comparing protest events
- Comparing street demonstrations

## Two types of mobilization campaigns

- Traditional mobilization is initiated by a movement organization that tries to activate its members or wider constituency employing the organizational networks and communication channels it commands. Unless weak ties transmit the message to other cliques or organizational networks the mobilization will stop at the outer boundaries of the mobilizing organization.
- Rhizomatic mobilization moves from one person to another—individually, as part of a larger Cc. list, via a listserv, or social networks such as Facebook or MySpace. In a process that continues to reproduce itself, the message is copied and redistributed. An original sender cannot know where or when the message stops travelling. Messages with higher degrees of resonance will be dispersed in greater densities.



- Two protest events 23 & 30 November 2007
  - Both by secondary school pupils
  - Against the same educational policy
  - 23/11 rhizomatic mobilization and an emphasis on quantitative grievances
  - 30/11 traditional mobilization and an emphasis on qualitative grievances

## Most important mobilization channels: Percentages

|                                    | Rhizomatic    |                   | Traditional   |                   |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|
|                                    | Participation | Non-participation | Participation | Non-participation |
| Don't know                         | 3.3           | 11.9              | 0.0           | 5.0               |
| Radio/TV/newspapers                | 11.6          | 11.9              | 21.0          | <b>37.1</b>       |
| Interpersonal                      | 29.8          | <b>42.0</b>       | <b>33.3</b>   | 21.8              |
| School                             | 7.4           | 10.0              | 18.1          | 13.9              |
| Websites                           | 1.7           | .9                | 6.5           | 1.0               |
| <b><i>Traditional channels</i></b> | <b>50.5</b>   | <b>64.7</b>       | <b>79.0</b>   | <b>78.8</b>       |
| Social media                       | 46.3          | 23.3              | 21.0          | 21.3              |
| N                                  | 121           | 219               | 138           | 202               |

Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans 2011

N= 298; <sup>a</sup> main effect rhizomatically; <sup>b</sup>main effect traditionally; <sup>c</sup>interaction rhizxtrad

### The demographics of participation: means and standard deviations

|  | None        | Rhiz. only | Trad. only  | Both        |
|--|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Gender (male=1, female=2) <sup>b</sup> | 1.63 (.48)  | 1.66 (.48) | 1.60 (.49)  | 1.49 (.51)  |
| Age                                    | 15.0 (4.05) | 14.3 (.89) | 15.1 (1.31) | 15.0 (1.08) |
| Education <sup>a</sup>                 | 3.8 (.73)   | 3.5 (.72)  | 3.9 (.82)   | 3.7 (.94)   |
| Political interest <sup>b</sup>        | -.19 (.89)  | -.18 (.89) | .18 (.90)   | .22 (1.13)  |
| Social approval/rhiz. <sup>ab</sup>    | -.19 (.86)  | .51 (.94)  | -.36 (.96)  | .55 (.81)   |
| Social approval/trad. <sup>b</sup>     | -.54 (.94)  | -.04 (.91) | .48 (.80)   | .66 (.75)   |

N= 298; <sup>a</sup> main effect rhizomatic; <sup>b</sup>main effect traditional

Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans 2011

## Motivations to participate: means and standard deviations

|   | None        | Rhiz. only  | Trad. only | Both       |
|---|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Identity <sup>abc</sup>                   | -.50 (.85)  | .17 (.96)   | .28 (.90)  | .40 (.94)  |
| Ideology <sup>abc</sup>                   | -.65 (.82)  | .07 (.95)   | .40 (.86)  | .70 (.73)  |
| Quality <sup>bc</sup>                     | .06 (.94)   | -.33 (1.20) | .11 (.94)  | .17 (.89)  |
| Quantity <sup>abc</sup>                   | -.42 (1.09) | .39 (.80)   | .13 (.91)  | .31 (.78)  |
| Efficacy/rhiz. <sup>ab</sup>              | -.21 (.90)  | .53 (.84)   | -.34 (.92) | .21 (1.05) |
| Efficacy/ trad. <sup>abc</sup>            | -.47 (.94)  | .13 (.96)   | .32 (.85)  | .45 (.93)  |
| Anger <sup>ab</sup>                       | -.32 (.94)  | .08 (1.01)  | .11 (.94)  | .25 (.91)  |
| Fear                                      | -.12 (.94)  | .07 (1.01)  | -.05 (.91) | -.10(.83)  |
| Motivational strength/rhiz. <sup>ac</sup> | -.62 (.73)  | .98 (.63)   | -.28 (.86) | .70 (.74)  |
| Motivational strength/trad. <sup>ab</sup> | -.77 (.60)  | -.39 (.82)  | .78 (.61)  | 1.06 (.55) |

N=318; Note. All variables are standardized. <sup>a</sup>main effect rhizomatically; <sup>b</sup>main effect traditionally; <sup>c</sup>interaction rhixtrad

Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans 2011

# Five protest events

Surround the Government

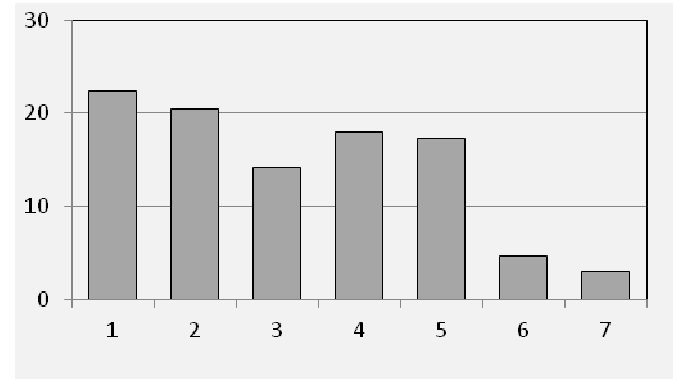
Break with Bush

Stop the G8

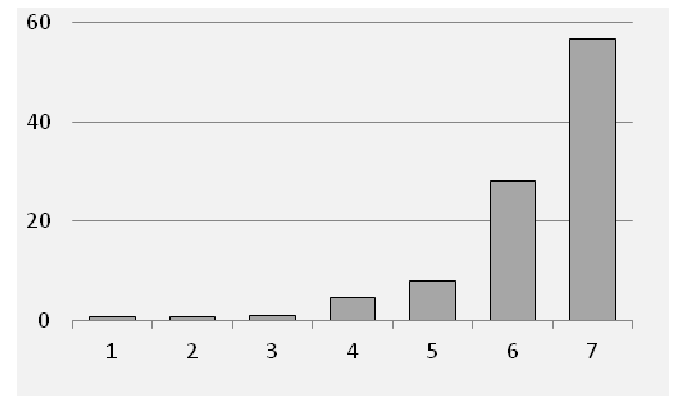
Step it Up

Klimaschutz

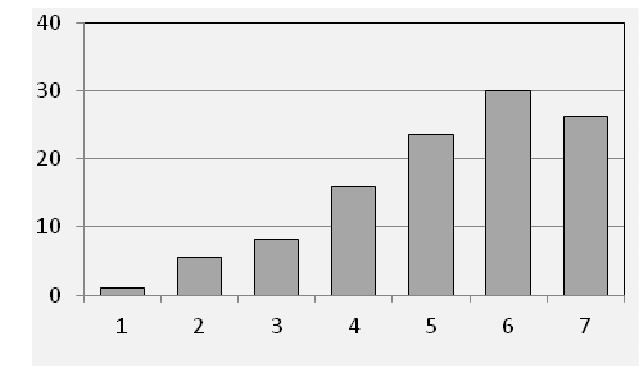
Instrumental motive



Ideological motive

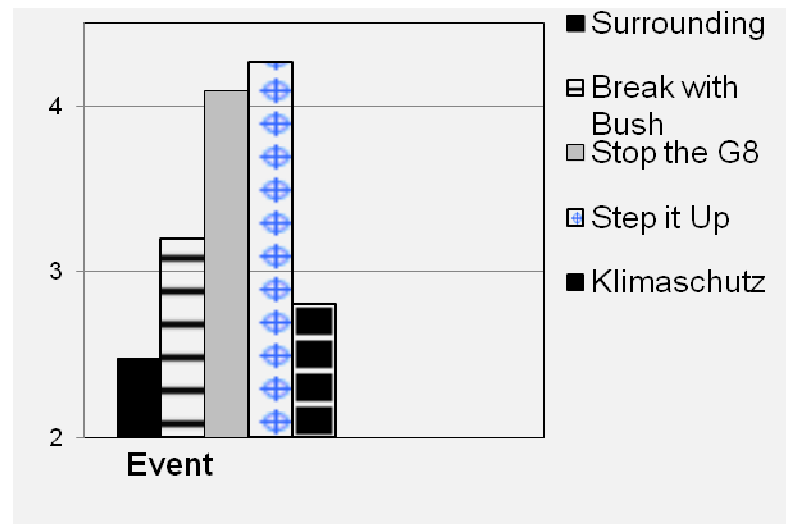


Identification



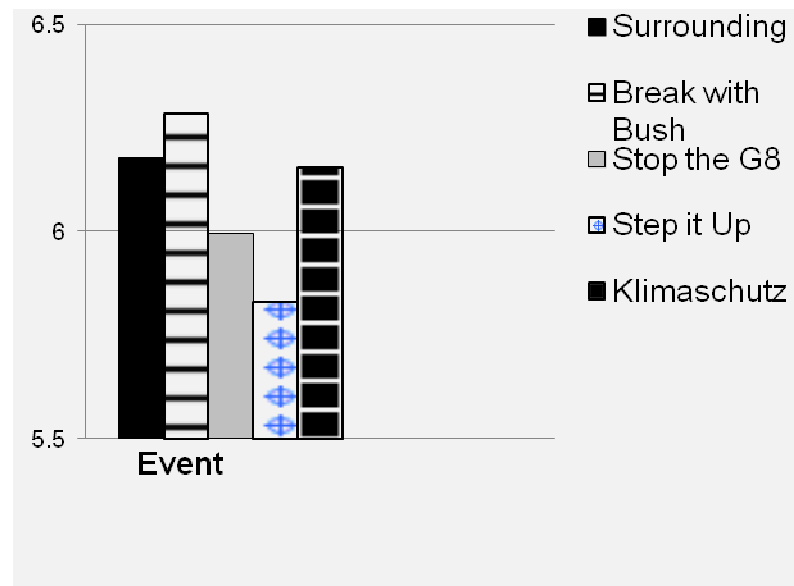
Marije Boekkooi, 2011

## Instrumental motives per event



Marije Boekkooi, 2011

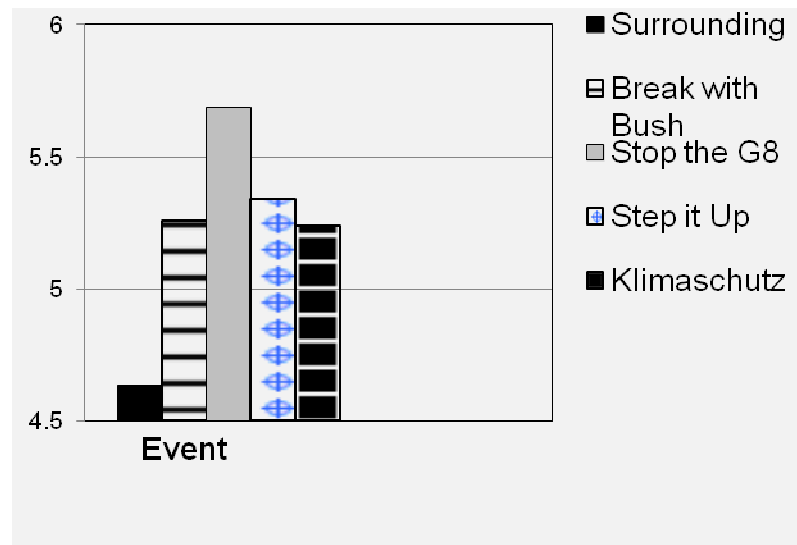
## Ideological motives per event



Marije Boekkooi, 2011



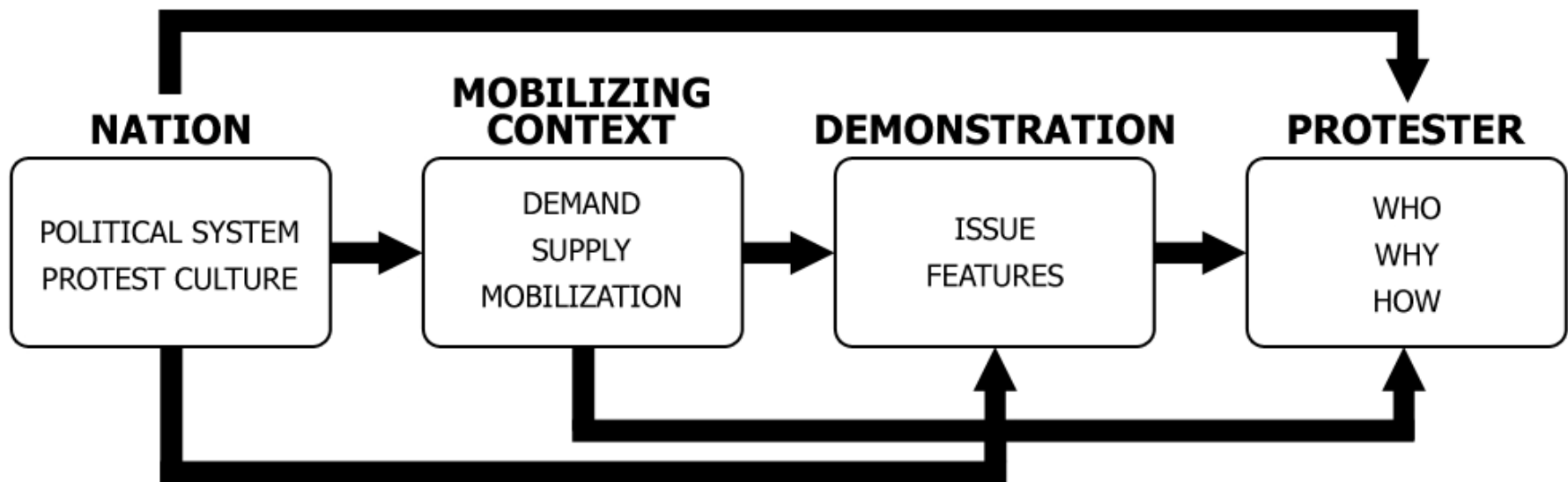
## Identification per event



Marije Boekkooi, 2011

## **Sixty-one street demonstrations**

- Comparative study of collective action
- 6-9 countries; 8-12 per country; approx. 80 demonstrations
- Nation x mobilizing context x demonstration design
- Characteristics of protestors as the main dependent variable
- [www.protestsurvey.eu](http://www.protestsurvey.eu)



# Comparison (1)

- Nation
  - Belgium, Czech Republic, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Mexico

## Comparison (2)

- Demonstrations:
  - 8-12 demonstrations with at least 2000 participants between Fall 2009 and Summer 2012

|                         | <i>Issue</i>      |                  |
|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Mobilizing actor</i> | <b>Principles</b> | <b>Interests</b> |
| <b>‘old’ SMO</b>        |                   |                  |
| <b>‘new’ SMO</b>        |                   |                  |
| <b>transnational</b>    |                   |                  |
| <b>migrants</b>         |                   |                  |

# Standardization of measures and procedures

- Core-questionnaire
- Context data:
  - Factsheets on nation, mobilizing context (general and specific), demonstration
- Sampling

# Demonstrations covered so far

- **Demo x country**
- **Sweden 8 Spain 10 Switzerland 6 Belgium 9 UK 11  
The Netherlands 11 Italy 4 Mexico 1**
- **TOTAL 61**
- **Demo x issues**
- **Trade unions 8 Regionalism 3 Environment 9 May Day 12 Women 2  
Students 4 Abortion 1 Anti-government 7 Peace 1  
Anti-austerity 8 Against racism 5 Gay Pride 1**
- **TOTAL 61**
  
- **AVERAGE DISTRIBUTED BOOKLETS PER DEMO 779**
- **AVERAGE RESPONSE RATE 31,5%**

Sex  
Male 51.7%  
Female 48.3 %  
N=12.686



| With whom did you go to the demonstration? |       |
|--|-------|
| Alone                                      | 14.2% |
| Partner                                    | 30.7% |
| Children                                   | 11.2% |
| Relatives                                  | 35.0% |
| Acquaintances                              | 18.4% |
| Colleagues, fellow students                | 23.7% |
| Members organization                       | 31.8% |
| Friends                                    | 41.8% |
| N=12.686                                   |       |

| Information channels                            |           |                |       |
|---|-----------|----------------|-------|
|   | Mentioned | Most important |       |
| Radio/television                                | 19.2%     | 6.3%           | 49.6% |
| Newspapers                                      | 26.3%     | 8.0%           |       |
| Online media                                    | 22.6%     | 7.8%           |       |
| Advertisements, flyers, posters                 | 23.8%     | 5.4%           |       |
| An organization (magazine, website)             | 36.7%     | 22.1%          |       |
| Partner, family                                 | 13.6%     | 5.6%           | 38.2% |
| People at school/work                           | 14.9%     | 5.0%           |       |
| Acquaintances                                   | 27.9%     | 10.2%          |       |
| Fellow members of organizations/associations    | 32.5%     | 17.4%          |       |
| Online social networks (facebook,twitter, etc.) | 21.6%     | 11.3%          | 11.3% |
| N=12.686  |           |                |       |

Thank you for your attention