SECOND EDITION

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

AN INTRODUCTION

DONATELLA DELLA PORTA
AND MARIO DIANI

Blackwell Publishing

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For Wladimiro della Porta and Vittorio Diani, in memoriam

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THE POLICING OF PROTEST AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The 2001 G8 summit was held in Genoa between July 19 and 22. A year earlier, at the international meeting in Port Alegre of what came to be known as the global justice movement, it had been decided to mobilize on an international scale against the neoliberal version of globalization. About 800 organizations combined into the Genoa Social Forum (GSF), which organized the protest together with other groups.[1]

Given that international summits over the previous two years had sometimes been met with violent protests, the government's preparations for the G8 concentrated on keeping demonstrators out of the area, and the most radical away from the city itself. In addition to installing high barriers to protect the so-called "red zone" around the summit meetings, the airport, railway stations, and freeway exits were closed, and both confirmed and suspected activists were returned to the city limits. In his testimony to a Joint Parliamentary Commission, Chief De Gennaro of the Italian Police spoke of 140,000 checks made and more than 2,000 people turned back. Expulsion orders were used to keep some militants from entering Genoa. With the city center closed and access to the city tightly controlled, Genoa emptied: two days before the start of the summit, electrical consumption and waste disposal had dropped by 40 percent.

Despite the imposing show of force and the tension caused by some attacks before the start of the summit, as well as somewhat alarmist information from the Secret Service (in the Joint Parliamentary Commission [minutes of August 28, 2001: 66], former head of the political police, the UCIGOS, La Barbera, spoke of "a flood of information mostly failing to provide any result"), the peaceful march on July 19 included 50,000 people. However, this situation changed radically the following day due to what newspapers described as the provocations of the radical Black Block, followed by indiscriminate police responses. According to press estimations,

between 400 and 1,000 Black Block members were involved; the police spoke of 500 Italians and 2,000 foreigners. On the morning of July 20 they were unchallenged in attacking banks, shops, the prison, and public buildings. For the entire day, events followed a similar pattern: after the Black Block attacks, the police responded by setting upon those in or near peaceful protests, including doctors, nurses, paramedics, photographers, and journalists.

The fight with the so-called "civil disobedience protestors," encircled and repeatedly charged, started in this fashion. After the police charge, some groups of demonstrators reacted by throwing stones, provoking the police to use armored cars. During one incursion, a *carabinieri* jeep became stuck and its occupants were attacked by demonstrators. One of the *carabinieri* inside opened fire, killing 23-year-old Genovese activist Carlo Giuliani. Within the red zone, the police used water cannon loaded with chemicals against demonstrators from the transnational ATTAC and the Italian trade unions, who were banging on the fences and throwing cloves of garlic. The Democrats of the Left (DS) mayor Pericù, who had tried to negotiate with the organizers, complained about the absence of negotiators from police headquarters. In the evening, the movement's spokespersons were careful to distance themselves from the Black Block, but also criticized the police actions. According to the government, the responsibility for the disorder was the GSF's. The largest center-left party, the DS, withdrew its support for the following day's demonstration, instructing its members not to go to Genoa.

At the July 21 demonstration, between 200,000 and 300,000 demonstrators gathered. (Organizers claimed that 100,000 people were expected, while the police chief claimed that no more than 40,000 attended.) Again, there were attacks by the Black Block, which the demonstrators tried to prevent. The police this time used armored cars and tear gas fired from helicopters and kept themselves at a distance from the demonstrators. The first charge, at 2:25 p.m., took place as the march was about to set off; similar charges took place at 2:50 and 5:35 p.m. The daily papers – and not just those supporting the demonstrations – reported numerous attempts by the movement, which had formed its own rudimentary security force, to push back violent protestors and to rescue demonstrators and lawyers being beaten by police. The day's totals came to 228 injured (including 78 police officers) and 60 arrests.

On the evening of July 21, the police burst into the Diaz School, where the GSF, its legal advice team, the Indymedia press group, and a dormitory for protestors were based, searching for weapons. The press described the behavior of the police as particularly brutal – a description supported by

some members of parliament who were present. According to the report by Interior Ministry Inspector Pippo Micalizio: "Of the 93 persons detained and arrested in the building, 62 (around 66 percent) [had been injured and] were referred with varying medical prognoses: 24 percent up to 5 days recovery; 36 percent between 6 and 10 days; 11 percent between 11 and 20 days; 18 percent from 21 to 40 days; 6 percent were given the all-clear. However, prognoses were uncertain for the remaining 5 percent." The charge was conspiracy to commit acts of plunder; but magistrates immediately released 92 of the 93 detainees. The police confiscated the hard disk from the lawyers' computer, while the Indymedia computers were destroyed.

In the days that followed, various testimonies were published recounting civilians' mistreatment in the Bolzaneto barracks, where a center for identifying detainees had been set up, operated by a group of penitentiary officers from the GOM (Mobile Operations Unit). Witness statements, many of them from foreigners, described physical and psychological assaults. Using tear gas and truncheons, and forcing detainees to stay on their feet for hours, police compelled those being held to repeat fascist and racist slogans. The police handling of the demonstrations raised protests in Italy and abroad. In December 2004, 28 Italian policemen, including senior riot and antiterrorist officers, were tried on charges of abuse of authority, slander, and involvement in severe damage for their role in the assault on the school. The announcement of the trial came at the conclusion of preliminary hearings, where it was alleged that police had planted two molotov cocktails they claimed to have found at the school. The claim by one senior police officer that an activist had tried to stab him was also discredited. All the activists arrested during the raid at the school were released without charges.

The Genoa demonstrations represented a major break (albeit a predictable one) with the image of social movements in the 1980s and 1990s, which had portrayed them as integrated and "civilized," more at ease at the bargaining table than in the streets. After decades of predominantly peaceful activities, emphasis has now been put on the dangers of the radicalization of political and social conflict. In recent countersummits there have been frequent clashes between police and demonstrators, including at the demonstrations against the WTO in Seattle in 1999; in Davos at the World Economic Forum; in Prague and in Washington at the meeting of the international committee of the World Bank and the IMF in

2000; in Quebec City at the NAFTA meetings; and in Gothenburg at the EU summit in June 2001.

What accounts for this evolution in the characteristics of mobilization and the responses to it? Naturally, the particular strategies of social movements can have an impact on the size and form of mobilization. As noted in earlier chapters, ideology, repertoires, and structures constitute material and cultural resources for action, which vary from country to country. Moreover, social structure, the degree of civic culture, and economic development, have helped in explaining protest (Moore 1966; Skocpol 1979; see also chapter 2 above). In attempting to select the most influential of the many determinants of collective action, quite a number of comparative analyses of social movements have concentrated on political variables. It has already been noted that the activities of social movements are in part expressive; in part instrumental; in part directed at their own members; in part designed to transform the external environment. In their protest activities social movements are eminently political: as such they are influenced by and influence first and foremost the political system. As was noted in the introductory chapter, the concept of political opportunity structure has become central to interpretations of interaction between institutional and non-institutional actors.

By taking illustrations principally from countersummits against neoliberal globalization, what follows will seek to identify the main variables of the political system and suggest some hypotheses on the way they influence particular characteristics of social movements. A problem in the research on political opportunities is a lack of clarity concerning the explanandum (recently also discussed in Meyer 2004). The political dimension has been investigated in order to explain a growing number of dependent variables. Political opportunities have been used to explain social movement mobilization (Eisinger 1973), the emergence of the protest cycle (Tarrow 1983), the relationship between allies' attitudes and movement behavior (della Porta and Rucht 1995), and the predominance of either confrontational or assimilative protest strategies (Kitschelt 1986: 67–8). And, indeed, from what has been said here it is clear that the character of institutions, prevailing strategies, varieties of repression, and alliance structures are all useful for explaining one or other of the characteristics of social movements. Few attempts have been made until now, however, to address the question of which variables in the complex set of political opportunities, explain which (of the numerous) characteristics of social movements. In what follows, we shall try to single out the specific effects of specific opportunities on emergence of movements, levels of mobilization, protest repertoires, and chances of success. Beginning with an analysis of the policing of protest (8.1), we shall then identify some characteristics of the institutional opportunities (8.2) as well as prevailing strategies (8.3). The role of political parties as potential allies will be discussed in depth (8.4). As we shall stress, however,

political opportunities are far from structural, in the sense of both immutable and "given": not only are their effects filtered through the activists' perceptions, but moreover they interact with "discursive oppor-tunity" (8.5).

8.1 The Policing of Protest

As the Genoa example illustrates, an important aspect of the state's response to protest is the policing of protest, or police handling of protest events – more neutral terms for what protestors usually refer to as "repression" and the state as "law and order" (della Porta 1995, 1996c; Earl, Soule, and McCarthy 2003). Protest policing is a particularly relevant issue for understanding the relationship between social movements and the state. According to Lipsky (1970: 1) the

> study of the ways police interact with other citizens is of primary importance for anyone concerned with public policy and the just resolution of contemporary urban conflict. Police may be conceived as 'street-level bureaucrats' who 'represent' government to people. And at the same time as they implement government policies, police forces also help define the terms of urban conflict by their actions. The influence of police on political attitudes and developments is fundamental because of the unique role of law enforcement agencies in enforcing and reinforcing the norms of the system.

One can add that, in their turn, protest waves have had important effects on police organizations (see, for example, Morgan 1987; Reiner 1998).

In fact, the various styles of police intervention have received some attention in the sociological literature. Gary T. Marx (1979), working from a phenomenological perspective, distinguished acts of repression according to their purpose: creating an unfavorable image of opponents; gathering information; restricting the flow of resources for movements; discouraging activists; fuelling internal conflicts within the leadership and between groups; sabotaging specific actions. Charles Tilly (1978: 106–15) classified political regimes according to the degree of repression or "facilitation" they manifest towards different collective actors and actions.

Research has picked out three main strategic areas for protest control, favored differently by the police in various historical periods (della Porta and Reiter 1998a): coercive strategies, i.e. use of weapons and physical force to control or disperse demonstrations; persuasive strategies, meaning all attempts to control protest through prior contacts with activists and organizers; informative strategies, consisting in widespread information-gathering as a preventive feature in protest control; and the targeted collection of information, including use of

modern audiovisual technologies, to identify law-breakers without having to intervene directly.

Police actions can vary in terms of force used (brutal or soft), extent of conduct regarded as illegitimate (ranging between repression and tolerance), strategies for controlling various actors (generalized or selective), police respect for the law (illegal or legal), moment when police act (preemptive or reactive), degree of communication with demonstrators (confrontation or consensus), capacity to adjust to emerging situations (rigid or flexible), degree of formalization of rules of the game (formal or informal), degree of training (professional or improvised) (della Porta and Reiter 1998b: 4).

It has been noted that the combination of these dimensions tends to define two different, internally consistent models for controlling public order. The escalated-force model gives low priority to the right to demonstrate, innovative forms of protest are poorly tolerated, communication between police and demonstrators is reduced to essentials, there is frequent use of coercive means or even illegal methods (such as *agents provocateurs*). The negotiated control model, by contrast, sees the right to demonstrate peacefully as a priority; even disruptive forms of protest are tolerated, communication between demonstrators and police is considered basic to peaceful conduct of protest, and coercive means are avoided as far as possible, emphasizing selectivity of operations (McPhail, Schweingruber, and McCarthy 1998, 51–4; della Porta and Fillieule 2004). To these dimensions one might add the type of information strategy police forces employ in controlling protest, with a distinction between generalized control on all demonstrators and control focusing on those possibly guilty of an offense.

In Western democracies, a radical transformation in strategies for controlling public order and associated operational practices and techniques, from the escalated-force model to negotiated control, can be noted, particularly following the great protest wave that culminated in the late 1960s. While the widespread conception of rights to demonstrate one's dissent has tended to become more inclusive, intervention strategies have moved away from the coercive model until then predominant. During the 1970s and 1980s, though with pauses and temporary reversals, we may note a trend towards growing tolerance and breaches of the law being regarded as minor. Among changes apparent in strategies for controlling public order is a reduction in the use of force, greater emphasis on "dialogue," and the investment of large resources in gathering information (della Porta and Reiter 1998a). These strategies, officially called de-escalation (or also, in the Italian case, prevention), are based on a number of specific pathways and assumptions. Before protest events, demonstrator representatives and the police have to meet and negotiate in detail on routes and conduct to be observed during demonstrations (including the more or less symbolic violations permitted to demonstrators), charges are never to be made against peaceful groups, agreements reached with demonstration leaders are never to be broken, and lines of

communication between them and the police must be kept open throughout the demonstration. The police must first and foremost guarantee the right to demonstrate peacefully; violent groups must be separated from the rest of the march and stopped without endangering the security of the peaceful demonstrators (Fillieule 1993a; Fillieule and Jobard 1998, McPhail et al. 1998, Waddington 1994, Winter 1998, della Porta 1998a).

What was seen by many as the consolidated "post-68" standard, no longer subject to debate, proved fragile when faced with the new challenge of a transnational protest movement. The Genoa G8 reignited an almost forgotten debate on the fundamental rights of citizens and the question of how much power the state is allowed in protecting the rule of law (Andretta, della Porta, Mosca, and Reiter 2003, ch. 4). What produced the escalation in Genoa and previously in Seattle, Washington, Quebec City, Prague, and Gothenburg, as well as the many accusations of police brutality against the demonstrators? Various explanations could be suggested. First, even "policing by consent" (Waddington 1998) is a police strategy to control protest, albeit while respecting demonstrators' rights and freedoms as much as possible. There are frequent conflicts between demonstrators and police: Situations may be particularly tense when the territory in a protest has a particular symbolic and strategic value – as is the case, for instance, with the "red zones" closed to the demonstrators around international summits. Moreover, even if coercive control is rarely used, its use easily leads to escalation due to the psychological dynamics connected with physical fights in conditions of relative anonymity (ibid.). The events of the 1990s led to the militarization (in terms of type of equipment, training, and deployment) of some police units specializing in counterterrorism or fighting violent organized crime; these tools were then often deployed in everyday policing.

We have to add that the development of negotiating strategy has always been selective. Even in established democracies, escalated force survived at the margins, in particular in the control of young squatters or hooligans. In fact, research has pointed to the survival, in police knowledge about protest, of a distinctions between "good" demonstrators (peaceful, pragmatic, with a direct interest in the conflict and a clear aim, etc.) and "bad" demonstrators (predominantly young, misinformed, destructive, professional troublemakers with no direct interest in the conflict, etc.) (della Porta 1998a; della Porta and Reiter 1998b). Participants in emerging movements, such as the global justice movement that became visible in Seattle and Genoa, tend indeed to carry the stigma of "bad," and often "dangerous," demonstrators.

But what are the effects of protest policing? Changes in the repressive capabilities of regimes are an important factor in explaining the emergence of social movements. In France, Russia, and China, social revolution broke out when political crisis weakened state control and repressive power (Skocpol 1979). Likewise, an inability to maintain social control facilitated the rise of the civil rights

movement in the United States (McAdam 1982).[2] And in Italy, the protest cycle of the late 1960s first emerged as a more tolerant style of policing was developing (della Porta 1995).

As far as levels of mobilization are concerned, the harshest styles of protest policing ought to increase the risk of collective action and diminish the disposition of actors to take part. However, it should be added that many forms of repression, particularly when they are considered illegitimate, could create a sense of injustice that increases the perceived risk of inaction (e.g. Khawaja 1994). It is not surprising therefore that these two divergent pressures produce contradictory results, and empirical research indicates a radicalization of those groups most exposed to police violence in some cases and renunciation of unconventional forms of action in others (Wilson 1976). In fact, the relationship between the degree of violence in protest and coercive intervention by the authorities would appear to be curvilinear (Neidhardt 1989).

Institutional control strategies influence protest strategies especially. First, they affect the organizational models adopted within movements. This was the case with French republicanism in the nineteenth century, where "intensified repression typically reinforced the role of secret societies and informal centers of sociability like cafés, vintners, and cabarets" (Aminzade 1995: 42); on the other hand, "the extension of universal male suffrage and civil liberties as well as a new geography of representation fostered the development of more formal organization" (1995: 59). In more recent times, too, repression has led to a process of "encapsulation" of social movement organization, in some cases to the point of going underground (della Porta 1990, 1995; Neidhardt 1981). In the global justice movement, groups such as the Black Block that choose to use violent strategies, adopt a very fluid and semiclandestine form of organization that is resistant to police investigation. Strong repression is more likely to be successful when a cycle of protest has not yet been initiated, and solidarities around movement identities are therefore not yet strong enough; "indiscriminate repression is likely to provoke further popular mobilization only during the ascendant phase of the protest cycle" (Brokett 1995: 131–2).

Strategies of repression also influence repertoires of action. A comparative study of Germany and Italy (della Porta 1995), for instance, indicated that tough policing techniques tend to discourage peaceful mass protest and at the same time encourage the more radical fringes of protest. Radicalization among social movements in Italy in the 1970s coincided with a period of harsher repression during which the police killed a number of demonstrators at public marches. Moreover, the belief that the state was conducting a "dirty war" poisoned relationships between elected politicians and movement activists. In Germany, on the other hand, the reformist attitudes of the social democrat and liberal government and a tolerant, selective, and "soft" style of protest policing were reflected in a comparatively lower level of radicalization in the social movement sector. In both countries the high point of repression coincided with a shrinking of the

movements' more moderate wing, a decline that indirectly helped the most extreme elements to prevail, particularly in Italy during the 1970s. The lower levels of violence in the 1980s corresponded instead to an increasing tolerance of protest. In the global justice movement, escalation developed again in the course of physical interactions with the police forces deployed in order to block demonstrators from entering the part of the cities where IGO meetings were taking place.

Police intervention influences the very aims of protestors, whose focus shifts from single issues and policy demands to the "meta-issue" of protest itself. In his study of the Chicano movement in Los Angeles, Edward Escobar has stated that in "a dialectical relationship, while the Los Angeles Police Department's tactics partially achieved the goal of undermining the Chicano movement, the police and their tactics became an issue around which Chicano activists organized the community and increased grass-roots participation in movement activity" (Escobar 1993: 1485). In conclusion, more tolerant and selective styles of protest policing have facilitated the integration of social movements within a complex structure of political bargaining. This has legitimated certain forms of protest and led to the stigmatization of violence, increasingly viewed as a form of deviancy (della Porta and Reiter 1998b).

Finally, as far as movement success is concerned, Tilly (1978) has suggested an inverse relationship between the opportunities for access to the system and coercion. This relation does not always seem to hold true, however. Comparative openness to access from below does not necessarily correspond to minor repression: on the contrary, the availability of instruments of direct democracy might delegitimize protest in the eyes of the government and the public opinion, producing calls for law and order (as has been the case, for instance, in the German-speaking part of Switzerland; see Wisler and Kriesi 1998).

8.2 Political Institutions and Social Movements

The police are of course not autonomous: in varying degrees and forms, they depend on political institutions that might (and often do) react to protest not only via police deployment, but also with policy reforms. Public-order responses are therefore linked to the political response given to the movement in question. Here we move to another level of analysis, addressing the political institutions.

Alexis de Tocqueville's famous contrast between "weak" American government and "strong" French government is usually an implicit or explicit starting point for analyses which link institutional factors and social movement development (Kriesi 2004: 71). Postulating an opposition between state and civil society, Tocqueville considered that a system in which the state was weak and civil society

strong (the United States) would face a constant but peaceful flux of protest from below. Where the state was strong and civil society weak (France), on the other hand, episodic and violent revolt would result. Sidney Tarrow (1994: 62–5) has convincingly criticized this hypothesis, claiming that Tocqueville's analysis was partial even in respect of the historical situation to which the author referred. Not only does the American Civil War raise doubts about the capacity of a "weak" state to integrate conflicting interests, but also recent studies of the French Revolution have demonstrated the existence of a very robust civil society in that country. As Tarrow remarks, in both countries the state and the rights of its citizens grew in steps: conscription mobilized citizens as soldiers, stimulating new demands; the unified fiscal system created a single target for protest; conflict within the elites pushed the various parties involved to appeal to public opinion, extending the franchise; the means of communication built by the state were also used by challengers; new forms of aggregation and expression were legitimized by elections; the creation of new administrative units led to the creation of new collective identities.

If Tocqueville appears to have "exaggerated" the characteristics of both France and the United States in order to construct a dichotomy between the "good" and the "bad" state, the idea that the strength or weakness of states influence social movement strategies remains central to the literature on collective action in general and on revolutions in particular. This approach, "*à la* Tocqueville," has frequently been linked to a pluralist conception that a large number of points of access to the political system are an indication of "openness."

Many case studies which use categories that refer to the "power of the state" are really referring to the power of the central executive. In general, a system has been considered more open (and less repressive) the more political decisions are dispersed. The prevalent belief is that the greater the number of actors who share political power (the greater the checks and balances), the greater the chance that social movements gain access to the system. However, while a weak executive may ease access to the decision-making process, it will have little hope of implementing policies to meet social movement demands.[3] The hypotheses concerning the effects of institutional variables on the evolution of social movements cover three main areas: territorial decentralization of power, functional dispersal of power, and the extent of power in the hands of the state (Kitschelt 1986: 61–4; Rucht 1994: 303–12; Kriesi 1995).

A first set of hypotheses concerns territorial decentralization. The basic suggestion is that the more power is distributed to the periphery (local or regional government, states within a federal structure), the greater the possibility individual movements have of accessing the decision-making process. The "nearer" an administrative unit is to ordinary citizens (in a conception of democracy very common in American social science, but also within social movements themselves), the easier it will be to gain access. Thus, all else being equal, the greater

the degree of power passed from the national government to the regions, from the regions to the cities, from the cities to local neighborhoods, the greater the openness of the political system to pressure from below. Following the same logic, federal states are considered more open than centralist ones (see, for example, Kitschelt 1986; Kriesi 1995; Giugni 1996). In fact, decentralization of power to regional and local bodies often increases the opportunities for social movements mobilizing at the local level. As research in, for instance, Italy and France (see, respectively, della Porta and Andretta 2002; della Porta 2004c) indicates, citizens' committees protesting against the construction of infrastructure for high-speed trains or hazardous waste significantly increase their chances of victory when they can ally themselves with influential local administrators.

As far as the functional separation of powers is concerned, the system can broadly be considered more open the greater the division of tasks between legislature, executive, and judiciary. Moreover, looking at each of these powers separately, the greater the autonomy of individual actors the more numerous will be the channels of access to the system. In the first place, the parliamentary arena has been considered more open the greater the number of seats assigned by proportional representation, so increasing the possibilities for access by a variety of actors (see, for example, Amenta and Young 1999). From the general proposition that "a higher number of autonomous actors equals greater openness of the system," it follows that, as far as the characteristics of the executive are concerned, the possibilities for access will be fewer in a presidential system than in a parliamentary one because there are fewer decision-makers. In the arena of government, it can generally be expected that elite attitudes to challengers will depend on whether the government is homogeneous or a coalition. The more fragmented the government or the greater the differences between the parties that compose it, the easier it will be to find allies, although the chances of actually implementing policies will be fewer. Cultural variables such as traditions of loyalty to the leadership or personalistic divisions within parties and the prevalence of individualistic or collective mediation of consensus also influence government stability and compactness. The openness of the system to pressure from below should also increase in proportion to the power of elected organs.[4]

The characteristics of the public bureaucracy also influence social movements. Kriesi et al. (1995: 31) note that "the greater the amount of resources at its disposal, and the greater the degree of its coherence, internal coordination and professionalization, the stronger it will be. Lack of resources, structural fragmentation, lack of internal coordination and of professionalization, multiply the points of access and make the administration dependent on its private interlocutors in the system of interest-intermediation." A further element of relevance for the functional distribution of power is the autonomy and powers of the judiciary. A strong judicial power can intervene in both legislative and executive functions, as when the Constitutional Court or the magistracy become

involved in legal controversies between social movements and countermovements or state institutions. The greater the independence of the judiciary, the greater the possibility of access for social movements.

The last matter to be dealt with concerns the overall amount of power in the hands of the state, as compared with other actors such as pressure groups, political parties, the media, and ordinary citizens. For example, returning to public administration, the possibility of outside intervention varies a great deal from state to state. In general, where public administration is rooted in Roman law, which rejects external contacts, there tends to be greater resistance to pressure from noninstitutional actors (not simply social movements but political parties also). The Anglo-Saxon model of public administration, on the other hand, with more numerous channels of access for noninstitutional actors, tends to be more open. In this respect the institutional structure of political opportunity will be more open (and the state weaker) where citizens maintain the possibility of intervening with the legislature and executive independently of mediation through political parties, interest groups, or bureaucrats. The greater the degree of citizens' participation through referendums for the proposition or abrogation of particular measures and the procedures for appealing against the decisions of the public administration, the more open the system.

In the 1990s, the general trends in the evolution of political institutions, where they can be said to exist, were somehow contradictory in terms of the openness/closedness of political opportunities. Devolution at the subnational levels and a growing autonomy of the judiciary has certainly increased the points of access to public decision-making. However, the shift of power from legislative assemblies to administrations has made decision-making processes less transparent and decision-makers less accountable to the electorate. The neoliberal shift of the 1990s significantly reduced the space for political intervention (see chapter 9 below). The privatization of public services and the deregulation of the labor market have in fact limited the possibilities for citizens and workers to exert pressure via political channels.

More importantly, movements face a shift in the locus of power from the national to the supranational (see chapter 2 above), with increased power wielded by a number of international organizations – especially economic ones (WB, IMF, WTO) – as well as a number of macroregional organizations (first and foremost the EU) (Haas 1964; Sharpf 1997). International governmental organizations have been both tools for economic globalization, through policies liberalizing trade and the movement of capital, and the result of an attempt to govern processes that can no longer be handled at national level. In this sense, globalization has not just weakened the power of politics over economics, but has generated transnational conflicts on the policies of international institutions, producing different results depending on the organization and field of intervention involved. In particular, opposition has arisen to the neoliberalist policies of

the so-called international financial institutions that wield strong coercive power through the threat of economic sanctions and conditionalities on international credit. More generally, parallel to the acquisition of power by these largely nonrepresentative, nontransparent bodies, criticism has centered on their manifest "deficit of democracy."

But what are the effects of all these institutional properties on the characteristics of social movements? In the first place, since they tend to be stable over the long term while protest evolves cyclically, it is improbable that, beyond a certain level of democratic development, institutional assets do much to explain the emergence of movements. Similarly, institutional arrangements do not appear to have much weight in relation to levels of mobilization either, since this appears as more sensitive to contingent circumstances than to structural variables. Opinion polls as well as cross-national comparative analyses of specific movements (for instance, the antiwar movement in 2003) indicate that the existence of protests cannot be easily explained by institutional variables such as the degree of functional or territorial distribution of power (Waalgrave and Rucht forthcoming; della Porta 2004d and 2005a).

Second, depending on whether or not a movement has allies within the central executive power, the openness of the institutional system would appear to have ambivalent effects on the possibilities of success for social movements. To begin with, it has frequently been observed that in decentralized states challengers can rely on a variety of actors to penetrate the system. Concerning the antinuclear movement, Nelkin and Pollack (1981: 179) stated that the "German decentralised decision-making context has provided ecologists with greater political opportunity, because they can play one administration against the other." Unlike their counterparts in other countries, the German environmentalists were successful in using the judicial system. While the centralized system in France, for example, favored political control by the government, in Germany the wide distribution of power "allowed some courts to take a very powerful and independent role in nuclear disputes" (Nelkin and Pollack 1981: 159).

However, decentralization of power does not always work in social movements' favor: "multiple points of access is a two-edged sword . . . , as multiple points of access also means multiple points of veto" (Amenta and Caren 2004: 472). Dispersal of power increases the chances of access not just for social movements but also for all political actors, including countermovements.[5] It can happen that a movement's allies find themselves in government at national level and take decisions favorable to that movement, only to find these decisions blocked by either decentralized bodies governed by other political forces or by other arms of the state such as the courts. Both of these things happened in Germany in the 1970s on the issues of abortion and nuclear power. Even the use of referendums can favor the opponents of social movements as well as the movements themselves.[6] Similarly, the public bureaucracy can be influenced by

political parties and pressure groups as well as by social movements; the mirror image of this is that a strong and independent bureaucracy increases the autonomous points of access to the decision-making process for social movements but also for other collective actors (Amenta and Young 1999). Thus, the early accommodating responses by institutionally open states to the antinuclear movement did not always have much effect on later developments in the conflict. In fact, it was precisely in more open states that powerful pro-nuclear interest groups could regroup and regain lost ground (Flam 1994b: 317, 321; see also Flam 1994a).

In a more interactive perspective, the institutional context influences which strategies are more effective, but not if and when a movement will be successful: "as political circumstances become more difficult, more assertive or bolder collective action is required to produce collective benefits" (Amenta and Caren 2004: 473).

Institutional variables may have a stronger influence on the strategies adopted by social movements, however. Social movements, in fact, tend to use the channels of access made available to them by "weak" states. In Switzerland, where there is a strong tradition of referendums, 195 per 1,000 inhabitants were mobilized in forms of action involving the use of direct democracy, compared with only 4 per 1,000 in Germany and none in France and the Netherlands (Kriesi et al. 1995: 45).

As will become clear in what follows, as far as the relative moderation of repertoires is concerned, institutional openness must be combined with traditional political culture (itself naturally codified, at least partly, in legislation).

8.3 Prevailing Strategies and Social Movements

Social movements are permeated by the political culture of the systems in which they develop. The strategies adopted by collective actors are influenced by the mutable and flexible spirit of the times – the Zeitgeist – which echoes developments within the economic cycle (Brand 1985), and also by certain relatively stable characteristics of national political cultures (Kitschelt 1985: 302–3). The more egalitarian, liberal, inclusive, and individualistic the political culture, the less the opposition should be antagonistic and confrontational. Taking further the analysis of those aspects of political culture relevant to interaction between social movements and institutions, Hanspeter Kriesi has emphasized the importance of prevailing strategies, which he defines, following Scharpf (1984: 260), as "an overall understanding, among those who exercise effective power, of a set of precise premises integrating world-views, goals and means." Referring in particular to the procedures used by members of a system when dealing with "chal-

lengers," he claims that "national strategies set the informal and formal rules of the game for the conflict between new social movements and their adversaries" (1989a: 295). According to this hypothesis, countries with a strategy of exclusion (that is, repression of conflict) will tend to have an ideologically homogeneous governing coalition and polarization of conflict with opponents. Where there is a strategy of inclusion (co-optation of emergent demands), on the other hand, governments will be ideologically heterogeneous and open towards external actors.

A country's democratic history also influences its prevailing strategies. Past authoritarianism often reemerges in times of turmoil. Young democracies tend to fear political protest, and also have police forces which remain steeped in the authoritarian values of the preceding regime (Flam 1994c: 348; on Italy, see Reiter 1998; della Porta and Reiter 2004a and 2004b). In fact, it has been argued that in each country new social movements have "inherited" consequences from the reactions reserved originally for the labor movement. In Mediterranean Europe, France, and Germany, absolutism and the late introduction of universal suffrage led to a divided and radicalized labor movement. In the smaller, open-market countries, in Great Britain and in Scandinavia, on the other hand, where there was no experience of absolutism and universal suffrage was introduced early, inclusive strategies produced a united and moderate labor movement. As a comparative study of American, British, and German unions show:

> State repression of the rights of workers to combine in the labor market appears to have had three related consequences for unions. First and most obviously, repression politicized unions because it compelled them to try to change the rules of the game . . . A second consequence of repression is that, if sufficiently severe, it could reduce differences among workers originating in their contrasting capacity to form effective unions . . . Finally, . . . repression politicized unions in an additional and more subtle way, by giving the initiative within the labor movement to political parties.
>
> ***(Marks 1989: 14–15, passim)***

These (self-reproducing) prevailing strategies influenced the way in which the conflict between labor and capital was played out, leading to exclusion in certain cases and integration in others (Kriesi 1989a). Initially elaborated in response to trade unionism, these strategies developed their own self-perpetuating logic through political socialization and interaction: "Once the relationship between the union and party-political wings of the labor movement had been molded, it was difficult to break" (Marks 1989: 175). The tendency of national strategies to live on beyond the conditions that gave rise to them helps to explain reaction to new social movements. Political systems characterized by inclusion are more open to these new challengers, just as they had been to the old; systems with exclusionary strategies, in contrast, continue to be hostile to newly emerging claims. In fact, the difference in elite attitudes to challengers would appear to be linked to prevailing conceptions of relations with interest groups. The following

has been said concerning the antinuclear movement: "The speedy and substantial responses came in the nation-states whose political and bureaucratic state elites have either long ago (Sweden, Norway) or immediately after the Second World War, if not earlier (Austria, the Netherlands, West Germany) learnt to recognize as legitimate and even formalized interest group representation and the influence that trade unions and employers exert over governmental decision making" (Flam 1994b: 309). The elites in these countries tend to recognize the legitimacy of interests lying outside the party system, knowing that the movement of today may be the interest group of tomorrow. In other countries, France for example, an exclusionary attitude has prevailed.

What, then, can be explained by this set of variables? First, it should be reiterated that an aspect that tends to remain constant cannot help explain the (cyclical) emergence of protest. In terms of its success, what was said concerning institutional openness also applies here, at least in part. While strategies of accommodation and inclusion may favor social movement access to the system, they will do the same for its opponents too. In an inclusive system, governments hostile to social movement claims can be forced to compromise; on the other hand, a government inclined to be friendly might also be constrained to follow a more moderate policy than they would otherwise.

The relative predominance of either a strategy of inclusion or a strategy of exclusion may also have contradictory effects on levels of mobilization. On the one hand, the anticipated costs of mobilization will be lower in traditionally inclusive countries; on the other hand, the advantage expected from protest would be smaller, since inclusive countries tend to value consensus. Cross-national comparisons do not offer strong support here either. In the 1970s and 1980s, the overall levels of mobilization in Switzerland and the Netherlands, both traditionally inclusive countries,[7] are similar to those in France and Germany, countries with long traditions of repression (Kriesi et al. 1995). Added to that, according to opinion poll evidence, the number of citizens who have taken part in direct action is particularly high in France; higher than in Great Britain, a traditionally inclusive country.[8] Moreover, the so-called "old" movements, and the labor movement in particular, have been more active in France and Germany than in the Netherlands and Switzerland. This would seem to confirm that neither the degree of exclusion nor the prospects for accommodation have an unequivocal effect on mobilization levels. Although exclusionary strategy heightens the costs of collective action, it also renders it in a certain way more necessary. The other side of the coin is that accommodatory strategies lessen the costs of action but also the costs of inaction.

The link between prevailing strategies and repertoires of action seems stronger: repertoires of protest are more conventional in traditionally inclusive countries. In a comparison of political repression in nineteenth-century Europe, for example, it has been noted that "those countries that were

consistently the most repressive, brutal, and obstinate in dealing with the consequences of modernization and developing working-class dissidence reaped the harvest by producing opposition that was just as rigid, brutal, and obstinate" (Goldstein 1983: 340). In general, the most radical ideologies and strategies developed in countries characterized by low parliamentarization and the political isolation of the labor movement (Bartolini 2000: 565–6). On the other hand, institutionalization of collective bargaining contributed to depoliticize conflicts on social inequality by constraining them within industrial relations (Gallie 1989). In fact, "repression stimulated working-class radicalism; whilst political relaxation and a structure of free collective bargaining encourages reformism" (Geary 1981: 179). However, individual participation in protest action, including the most extreme forms, on occasions turns out to be relatively high in traditionally inclusive countries and, vice versa, low in countries with a tradition of exclusion. For example, in a comparison of eight democracies, the Dutch had the highest propensity to participate in direct action. They also had a greater disposition than citizens in many countries with exclusionary traditions, such as Germany, to participate in radical protest: wildcat strikes, writing graffiti, refusal to pay rent or taxes, damage to property, and violence against the person.

While acknowledging a certain influence of past experiences on social movement strategies, it should be remembered that a country's "traditions" are hardly set in stone. The nineteenth-century French elites, for example, were considered open to change, while their German counterparts were hostile to any and every reform:

> Where a national bourgeoisie is weak or tied to an existing and authoritarian state, as in Russia before the First World War, or countries in which the middle class increasingly abandons liberal values and comes to support a semi-authoritarian political system, as was to some extent the case in Imperial Germany and prewar Spain, there the prospect of working-class liberalism appears to be weaker, while political radicalism on the part of labor becomes more marked. Conversely, the Republican traditions of at least some sections of the French bourgeoisie and the buoyant liberalism of the British middle class enabled a fair proportion of the workers to remain in the liberal camp.
>
> ***(Geary 1989: 2–3)***

The picture changes in the second half of the twentieth century, however. In fact, after the Second World War, the collapse of Nazism and the Allied Occupation led to a rethinking of past repressive traditions in Germany and the adoption of inclusive strategies towards the labor movement. In France, on the other hand, the absence of such a historical rupture allowed strategies of exclusion to be maintained until at least the 1960s. Similarly, it has also been noted that past

elite behavior is not enough to explain recourse to repressive strategies in relation to the antinuclear movement (Flam 1994c: 345).

In conclusion, while national strategies do have a certain influence on the repertoires of action adopted by social movements, they are not sufficient to explain the strategic choices they make. In the first place, they are not equally long-lived in every country. Second, they do not have the same effects on all movements. Third, they appear to affect some movement strategies and not others.

8.4 Allies, Opponents, and Social Movements

So far, we considered relatively constant political opportunities: both institutions and political cultures change slowly. For social movement activists these are mainly givens. However, another more dynamic set of variables – susceptible to change in the short term and the object of pressure from social movements – is also considered part of the political opportunity structure. Indeed, as already noted, among the first definitions of the political opportunity structure were those looking at changes that could cause sudden ruptures in the system. Attention has therefore concentrated on aspects such as electoral instability or elite divisions (see, for example, Piven and Cloward 1977; Jenkins 1985; Tarrow 1983, 1989a).

8.4.1 Social movements in a multi-organizational field

Social movements move in a multi-organizational field, interacting with a variety of other actors. They find both allies and opponents within the public administration, the party system, interest groups, and civil society. During a cycle of protest, social movement organizations, political parties, interest groups, and voluntary associations frequently enter into relations of conflict or cooperation both on specific issues and the more general one of the right to protest. Many actors, including institutional actors, become involved in protest campaigns on particular demands such as peace or abortion, but coalitions also form on the issue of "law and order" on the one side, and "civil rights" on the other (della Porta 1998b).

In fact, institutional factors are mediated by two intervening sets of variables: the alliance structure and the opposition structure. Considering the field of action within which social movements move, the alliance structure can be defined as composed by those political actors who support them; the opposition structure as composed by those political actors who are against them (Kriesi 1989a and 1991; Klandermans 1989b and 1990; della Porta and Rucht 1995). Alliances provide resources and political opportunities for challengers; opposi-

tion erodes them. Institutional actors (such as political parties and interest groups) and other social movements can be found on both sides. The configuration of power – that is, the distribution of power among the various actors operating within the party or interest group system – will influence the result of the conflicts (Kriesi 1989a). While it is elections that determine whether the party allies or opponents of a social movement will be in power, the attitudes of the various actors mentioned above are influenced by other factors.

When looking at the opponents of social movements, we can start observing that they can be either institutional or noninstitutional actors. In fact, the term countermovements has been coined in relation to these latter actors. Countermovements arise in reaction to the successes obtained by social movements, and the two then develop in symbiotic dependence during the course of mobilization. In general, the relationship between movements and countermovements has been defined as one of loosely coupled conflicts, in which the two sides rarely come to together face to face (Zald and Useem 1987; cf. also Lo 1982). To use Rapoport's typology (1960), conflicts between social movements and countermovements resemble debate to the extent that they are based on an attempt to persuade opponents and the authorities, and games to the extent they are based on rational calculations of costs and benefits. Sometimes, however, as was the case in Italy in the 1970s, their interaction resembles far more a battle in which the objective is to annihilate the enemy. Interactions between movement and countermovement lead to a strong sense of conflict and the prevalence of a manichean view of politics (Klandermans 1989b; della Porta 1995). Moreover, the two tend to imitate each other, reciprocally adapting particular tactics and the choice of arenas in which to act (see, for example, Rucht 1991c; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; Bernstein 1997). The presence of nonviolent countermovements chiefly affects the chances of success for social movements; the presence of violent countermovements, on the other hand, leads to radicalization of their repertoires of action.

As for the institutional opponents, it must be stated at the outset that the state cannot be identified merely as an enemy of social movements. Rather, the state is "simultaneously target, sponsor, and antagonist for social movements as well as the organizer of the political system and the arbiter of victory" (Jenkins and Klandermans 1995: 3). State agencies may be either allies or opponents: Government agencies can support or oppose movement claims, since some of the agencies might believe in movement goals and others hold opposing beliefs (Gale 1986: 205). Both can offer important resources to their respective sides. Not all public agencies are aligned, however, and, as the chapter that follows makes clear, many of them become arenas for transactions between different collective actors, social movements among them.

The greater the closure of institutional opportunity, the more important is the presence of allies for movements gaining access to the

decision-making process. Such allies come in a variety of forms. First, as noted in chapter 6, the resource-mobilization approach has emphasized the role of "reform professionals" (bureaucrats from certain public agencies, charities, religious organizations, and so on) in helping some social movements. In the United States, for example, the churches, certain foundations, and the agencies involved in federal antipoverty programs supported the civil rights movement (Morris 1984; McAdam 1982). Religious associations and third-sector groups were among the organizers of the Genoa Social Forum, and shortly before the G8 meeting many more established Catholic church institutions met to pray for a "more just" globalization.

In addition, the trade unions have often been an important ally for emerging actors, such as the student movement or the women's movement, particularly in Europe. With a wide social base and very often privileged channels of access to institutional decision-makers (both directly through the public administration and indirectly through the political parties), the trade unions can increase the mobilization capacities and chances of success for social movements. It is probable that the weaker the institutional recognition of workers' representatives in the workplace and the decision-making process, the greater will be their propensity to assume a political role, allying themselves with social movements and taking part in public protest. The more influential interest groups are, the smaller will be the space for relatively unorganized movements because "a well-resourced, coherently structured, and professionalized system of interest groups may also be able to prevent outside challengers from having access to the state. Moreover, highly institutionalized, encompassing arrangements of policy negotiations between the public administration and private interest associations will be both quite inaccessible to challengers and able to act" (Kriesi et al. 1995: 31). According to this point of view, neocorporatism – that is, a model of interest representation with monopolistic, centralized interest organizations (Schmitter 1974) that participate in public decision-making (Lehmbruch 1977) – should reduce the incidence of protest. Access to the institutional system of public decision-making would facilitate agreement between different social groups and the state without the need for noninstitutional forms of collective action. Both control over the formation of social demand (Schmitter 1981) and the capacity to satisfy that demand (Nollert 1995) would have the effect of discouraging protest. However, if a neocorporatist structure undoubtedly reduces strikes in industry,[9] its effect on protest in other sectors is far from clear. In fact, guaranteeing privileges to powerful interests could lead to rebellion by their weaker rivals and thus to the rise of powerful new movements (Brand 1985).[10] On the other hand, neocorporatism could as easily create a tendency to incorporate emerging groups within the structure of concerted policymaking. A comparison between the American and German antinuclear movements revealed that the American system, with its multiple points of access and traditionally weak

executive, favored legal strategies and pragmatic movements. The initial closure of the German state (traditionally assertive of its supremacy over civil society) towards interests that cut across its corporatist outlook, on the other hand, favored strategies of direct action (Joppke 1993). However, "once new issues and interests pass the high hurdles of party and parliament, the German polity firmly institutionalizes them" (Joppke 1993: 201).

In Seattle, as in Genoa, various unions joined the demonstrations, asking for protection for labor standards and social policies. Recent mobilizations on labor issues, in the South and the North, have indeed initiated a trend of research on "social movement unions" (see chapter 2 above). As Beverly Silver (2003) has brilliantly synthesized, in the last decades research on unions has stressed their growing weakness, attributing it either to capital hypermobility and the resulting decline in national sovereignty (e.g. Castells 1997), or to post-Fordist fragmentation of workers (e.g., Jenkins and Leicht 1997: 378–9). On the other hand, some more optimistic approaches stress the persisting role of unions, capable of taking advantage of globalization and imposing a strengthening of workers' rights in countries where capital was invested. In particular, unions appear quite active in developing countries – as Silver (2003: 164) observes, "the deep crisis into which core labor movements fell in the 1980s was not immediately replicated elsewhere. On the contrary, in the late 1980s and 1990s, major waves of labor militancy hit 'showcases' of rapid industrialization in the Second and third Worlds." As with Fordism, initially considered a source of unavoidable defeat for the working class, post-Fordism would also present both challenges and opportunities for the workers' organization. In fact, the WTO protest in Seattle has been seen as a sign of the remobilization of labor.

8.4.2 Social movements and parties

Where social movement allies are concerned, however, it is on the political parties that, especially in Europe, attention has mainly focused. Social movements' relationship with parties evolved in time: from articulating party positions to permeating parties in order to try to influence them; from co-optation to independence (Hanagan 1998a). Movements have often developed special links with a political party or party family: the labor movements rise from, or gave birth to, socialist parties; ethnic movements often refer to regionalist parties for support; ecologists tend to vote for the Greens; the pro-choice movement in the US tends to support the Democrats, while the pro-life is oriented towards the Republicans. So strict have been their reciprocal relations that "indeed in the United States and Europe, political parties and social movements have become overlapping, mutually dependent actors in shaping politics" (Goldstone 2003: 4). Past research has especially focused on new social movements, which have had, although with tensions,

the left as an ally. For example, a survey of environmental groups revealed that while only 11 percent claimed to have frequent contacts with political parties, both the greens and the old and new left were mentioned (by 21, 38, and 29 percent respectively of those interviewed) as tending to represent the movement's interests (only 2 percent mentioned conservative parties in this context) (Dalton 1995: 308). In fact, the configuration of power on the left is particularly important for social movements (Kriesi 1989a: 296). More particularly, a whole series of potential exchanges develop between social movements and left-wing parties. As mediators between civil society and the state, the parties of the left need to mobilize public opinion and voters. For this reason they are far from indifferent to social movement pressure. Indeed, the programs and membership of the institutional left, be it British Labor, German Social Democrats, French Socialists, or Italian Communists, have all been altered by interaction with social movements (see Maguire 1995; Duyvendak 1995; Koopmans 1995; Koelble 1991).

The strategy adopted by the left towards social movements has, however, not been unchanging over time and space. Hostility has sometimes prevailed, sometimes negotiation and sometimes co-optation. Recently, some left-wing parties (among them prominently British New Labor) have supported the Iraq war; others (such as the German Social Democrats) have firmly opposed it. Up to the Genoa marches, most of the European institutional left considered free-market globalization as the main and only way to fight unemployment; after Genoa some doubts emerged, for instance between the Italian Left Democrats and the French Socialists (Andretta, della Porta, Mosca, and Reiter 2002: ch. 5). What explains the strategic choices made by the parties on the left? And second, what are the consequences of their attitudes for the emergence, mobilization capacity, repertoires, and chances for success of social movements?

In attempting to answer the first question, attention has been directed to political cleavages. While some have suggested that a rigid left–right division retards the development of new social movements (Brand 1985: 319), others have highlighted the stimulus provided by strong communist parties. Among the latter, Tarrow has argued that the parties of the left, in particular the Italian Communist Party (PCI), acted as "offstage but creative prompters in the origins, the dynamics, and the ultimate institutionalization of the new movements" (1990: 254). In general the old left appears more disposed to support social movements where exclusionary strategies have impeded the narrowing of the left–right divide. In southern Europe, for instance, left-wing governments made several concessions to a left-leaning feminist movement (della Porta 2003a; Valiente 2003).

Second, the existence of party divisions within the traditional left influences attitudes to social movements. Where the left is divided between a social-democratic (or socialist) and a communist party, this increases the relevance of the working-class vote, discouraging the addressing postmaterial issues (Kriesi 1991:

18). On the contrary, the global justice movement, stressing the traditional demands of social rights and justice, seems to have been more able to influence the institutional left in countries such as Italy, France, or Spain, where the moderate left feared the competition of more radical communist or Trotskyite parties.

In fact, electoral competition is an important variable in explaining the reaction of potential allies towards social movements. The propensity to support protest has been connected with electoral instability, which renders the winning of new votes particularly important. In fact, member–challenger coalitions are most probable in closely divided and competitive political situations (Tilly 1978: 213–14). Political instability favors protest movements: "the political impact of institutional disruptions depends upon the electoral conditions. Even serious disruptions, such as industrial strikes, will force concessions only when the calculus of electoral instability favors the protestors" (Piven and Cloward 1977: 31–2). The success of the United Farm Workers in the United States, for example, has been explained by the electoral realignment which brought to power the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, particularly well disposed towards social movements (Jenkins 1985). From the 1950s on, the white, Protestant, upper middle classes and the black electorate of the big cities began to abandon the Republicans and became increasingly volatile. As patronage politics became less and less effective, the traditional constituencies of New Deal politics (blue-collar workers, white ethnics, the Jewish community, and Southerners) were also moving towards the center (Jenkins 1985: 224). It was above all electoral uncertainty that pushed the Democratic Party to work with social movements. Later on, also in Italy, as well as in Spain and France, the hope of winning the large slice of the electorate that supported the peace movements, as well as some of the many activists that had participated in the demonstration for global justice, pushed the institutional left towards more critical position on issues such as privatization of public services, deregulation of the labor market, or sending troops to Iraq.

Fourth, the position of the left towards social movements can be influenced by whether or not they are in government. Kriesi (1991: 19; see also Kriesi 1989b: 296–7) has suggested that when in opposition social democrats take advantage of the push provided by social movements; in power, on the other hand, they are forced by budgetary and other constraints to limit their openness to emerging demands. To maximize their reelection chances they must privilege those economic questions that interest their hardcore vote. Out of power, the willingness of the left to support social movements grows with its needs to mobilize people around left-wing demands. However, there is not always a perfect correspondence between participation in government and hostility towards social movements. In both Italy and Germany, for example, left-wing parties have been relatively sympathetic towards protest regardless of their "proximity" to government (della Porta and Rucht 1995). Neither does the empirical research

conducted by Kriesi and his colleagues provide unequivocal answers concerning the degree to which the left supported protest in or out of government. In fact, although in both Germany and the Netherlands the left facilitated protest action more frequently when in opposition than when in government (strongly and visibly in the first case, more weakly in the second), the exact opposite was true of France (Kriesi et al. 1995: 79). This ambiguity in the relationship between allies in power and protest is particularly true as far as movements close to the traditional left, the pacifist movement, or the movement against racism, are concerned.[11] In the United States, the frequency of student protest decreased when the president or state governors belonged to the Democratic Party, but increased with Democratic control over legislatures (van Dyke 2003).

Beyond being in government or not, the attitudes of the parties of the left towards social movements are related to a fifth variable: their openness to reform politics. According to a comparative analysis of social movements in Italy and Germany, when both the PCI and the SPD were moving towards the center between the 1970s and the 1990s, they became less available to channel new social movements' demands into the decision-making process (della Porta and Rucht 1995). Although the SPD–FDP coalition presided over by Willy Brandt in the early 1970s in Germany, which had a broad program of reforms, was open to dialogue with social movements, later on the same coalition, now led by Helmut Schmidt, was driven to moderate its program of reforms by an economic downturn, and at the same time became "cool" towards noninstitutional actors. More generally, whether in the opposition or in government, the European center-left parties since the early 1990s have tended to trust market-driven economic policies and rejected traditional Keynesian interventions. When the global justice movement emerged with its demands of more public investments, it was greeted by skepticism and open criticism by its potential allies.

It should be added that the actions of left-wing parties in government depend on their weight within the governing coalition. They are obviously freer to take decisions when governing alone. When in coalition with more moderate parties they will be forced to adopt policies less favorable towards the left-wing social movements. When governing with other parties of the left, on the other hand, they will tend to adopt attitudes closer to some new collective actors. In France, for example, the early governments under François Mitterrand's presidency (coalitions with the Communist Party and with a majority in parliament) were more open to reform than later governments involved in "cohabitation" with a right-wing parliamentary majority. Many examples can also be found from the German Länder, where Red–Green coalitions have showed more willingness to accept social movement demands than coalitions of the SPD and FDP or, even worse in this respect, coalitions of the SPD and CDU.

Some recent major changes in political parties, especially in Europe, have significantly affected their interactions with social movements. In the past, partici-

pation often developed within mass political parties, where common values permitted the formation of collective identities. Social movements, therefore, developed in strong connection with parties: the labor movement had symbiotic relationships with the socialist parties, ethnic movements with ethnic minority parties. However, especially since the 1980s, even left-wing political parties have moved from an organizational model based upon a large membership and an important role for activists, who had a widespread presence through the party ranks, to be "electoral" parties that address voters through mass media, activate sympathizers only during electoral periods, and moderate their ideology toward the center (Pizzorno 1978, 1981; Manin 1993; della Porta 2001). The weakening of the identity-building functions of political parties has instead increased the autonomous role of social movements as arenas of public debate on political issues and construction of collective identities (see also chapter 9 below).

Turning to the second question, what consequences do the attitudes of potential allies have for social movements? It is widely held that the parties of the left play an important role, easing access to the decision-making process and increasing social movements' capacity for mobilization and chances of success. When the traditional left is hostile, on the other hand, social movements are politically marginalized.

The alliance with the traditional left has, first and foremost, reinforced social movements' capacity for mobilization. It has been noted that placing oneself on the left generally correlates positively with a willingness to use protest, particularly civil disobedience (Wallace and Jenkins 1995: 126). Because "Leftism is consistently associated with left-party support" (ibid.), the position taken by left-wing parties tends to influence the levels of mobilization of their electorate, which is in general more ready to use protest than the right-wing electorate. Indeed, left-wing activists are frequently involved in social movements as well as their own political party (see, for example, Kriesi and van Praag 1987). Conversely, leaving aside the question of their openness to influence by social movements, participation by left-wing parties in government would appear to have a negative effect on collective mobilization because it seems to discourage from actual protest those who are potentially more protest-prone. In analyzing data on Germany, France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands between 1975 and 1989, and on Germany between 1950 and 1991, Koopmans and Rucht noted that right-wing protest increases under left-wing governments and vice versa. Since the right is generally less given to using protest, mobilization tends to be greater when there is a right-wing government than when there is a left-wing government (two times greater under Christian Democrat Chancellor Helmut Kohl than was the case under the Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt) (Koopmans and Rucht 1995). If the social movement literature has considered mobilization chiefly as a response to growing hopes for change (see, for example, Tarrow 1989a), these results suggest the importance of the potential risks of inaction. When faced with a government

to which they feel closer, social movements (no longer "powerless") tend to increase their use of direct pressure and reduce the use of protest. On the other hand, the risk posed by a politically opposed government leads them to consider mobilization inevitable. Not by chance, the largest peace marches on February 15, 2003, happened in those countries (such as the UK, Italy, and Spain) whose governments supported the war in Iraq. The antiwar stances of the French and German governments reduced the number of protestors in those two countries.

The attitudes of potential allies also affect the strategies of social movements themselves. First, the presence of powerful allies tends to have a moderating influence on social movement tactics. It is no accident that in the second half of the 1970s the moments of greatest political violence in Italy and Germany coincided with hostility on the part of the SPD and the PCI towards social movements (della Porta 1995; della Porta and Rucht 1995). Indeed, isolation and radicalization tend to be mutually reinforcing. The more isolated a social movement is, the greater the doubts that change can be realized in the short term, and the greater the need for ideological substitutes for missing material incentives. Thus, social movement strategies become more extreme. The more radical a movement, the greater will be the propensity of traditional left parties, scared by the risk of alienating their moderate voters, to assume a hostile attitude. The wider the base of support, on the other hand, the more the risk of losing support acts as a restraint on the use of violence.[12] It should be added that attempts at co-optation tend to transform the whole organizational and ideological structure of social movement families. In Italy, for example, between the late 1960s and the early 1980s, a tendency towards co-optation on the part of a powerful Communist Party caused an ideology and an organizational structure heavily influenced by the traditional left to prevail within the social movement sector (della Porta 1996a).

If, then, support from the parties of the left appears to influence levels of mobilization and the strategies adopted, the question relating to chances of success remains open. Despite the difficulties involved in evaluating the results obtained by social movements (to be dealt with in the next chapter), from everything said so far it is more than probable that a left-wing government would be more favorably disposed towards many of the demands put forward by the left-wing social movements than a government of the right. In particular, memories of repression experienced in the past tend to make the left more liberal in matters of public order (della Porta 1998b). The left in power, however, tends to support demands which are moderate, and on issues which are compatible with those of their traditional voters (Kriesi et al. 1995: 59).

In conclusion, the presence of powerful allies is generally a factor facilitating social movement success. In many cases alliances with the left considerably enhance the mobilizing power of protest. However, the price of this is a kind of tutelage on the part of the left that can lead, particularly when the left is in power, to a diminution in protest.

8.5 Discursive Opportunity and the Media System

The studies already cited demonstrated the explanatory power of the concept of political opportunity, but also raised some problems (see also chapter 1 above). Among them is the (unacknowledged) role of cultural variables in the perception of political opportunities and constraints, as well as in the choice of organizational models and repertoires of action. First, political opportunity approaches are criticized for failing to recognize that "cultural and strategic processes define and create the factors usually presented as 'structural'" (Goodwin and Jaspers 2004a: 27). Cultural factors filter the external reality, so that the appearance of opportunities might pass unperceived; or alternatively, activists might perceive closed opportunities as being open (Kurzman 2004). Even former proponents of the concept of political opportunity structures have recently written that "Opportunities and threats are not objective categories, but depend on the kind of collective attribution that the classical agenda limited to framing of movement goals" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001: 45).

8.5.1 Discursive opportunities

The debate, however, goes beyond the role of perceptions to address the restrictive effect that the focus on political opportunities has had on social movement studies (Goodwin and Jasper 2004b). The emphasis on the political has in particular obscured the role of discursive opportunities, such as the capacity of movements' themes to resonate with cultural values. The political opportunity structure has indeed been defined as "the playing field in which framing context occurs" (Gamson 2004: 249).

While they are also structural (in the sense that they are beyond the movement's sphere of immediate influence), discursive opportunities are distinct from political institutions (Koopmans 2004; Polletta 2004). Cultural environments define the resonance of movements' demands (Williams and Kubal 1999), with changes possible only in transitional times (Schudson 1989). The deeply embedded conception of citizenship as inclusive (that is, citizenship based on territorial criteria – "soil") or exclusive (citizenship based on the conception of *Volk*, or "blood") explains much of the mobilization of the racist as well as the antiracist movements (Koopmans and Statham 1999): the abolitionist movement succeeded when it could link its moral claims to dominant values (d'Anjou and van Male 1998); the way in which the abortion issue was discussed in Germany and the United States resonated with general themes in their national political cultures (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, and Rucht 2002); the return of public opinion toward a general support of the public sphere (versus the private sphere) helped

the development of the global justice movement (della Porta, Andretta, Mosca, and Reiter 2005).

8.5.2 Media and movements

The issue of discursive opportunities is linked to the role played by mass media as the main arena for the public expression of opinions and opinion formation. It has already been noted that social movements depend on the media to get their message across (see chapter 7 above). As Gamson (2004: 243) observes, "the mass media arena is the major site of context over meaning because all of the players in the policy process assume its pervasive influence – either it is justified or not." Control of the media and symbolic production therefore becomes both an essential premise for any attempt at political mobilization, and an autonomous source of conflict. Increasingly, control of intellectual resources, traditionally indispensable to the success of collective action, risks becoming an unattainable goal if it is not supported by access to the means of mass communication (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Wasko and Mosko 1992; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; Eyerman 1994). The more autonomous and pluralistic the media structure, the greater the possibility of access for challengers.

However, social movements have been described as "weak" players in the mass-media sphere, and the relationships between activists and journalists have been seen as competitive (Neveu 1999). The media demands of visible leaders may distort movement democracy (Gitlin 1980). General tendencies (journalistic preference for the visible and dramatic, for example, or reliance on authoritative sources of information) and specific characteristics of the media system (a greater or lesser degree of neutrality on the part of journalists, the amount of competition between the different media) both influence social movements (see, for example, Kielbowicz and Scherer 1986). Recent trends towards journalistic depoliticization and increasing commercialization (Neveu 1999) further reduce activists' access.

However, the media also offer space for the spread of movements' ideas. Movement organizations have become more skilled in influencing the media, developing a specific savoir-faire as well as a reputation as reliable sources (Schlesinger 1992). Moreover, activists also represent a target market for the media (Neveu 1999: 59): the more widespread the support for the movements, the more marketing strategies create mediatic space for their discourse, with the effect of further widening the support for the movements. This sort of virtuous circle operated, for instance, in Germany in the opposition to the Iraq war. Media can also act as mobilizers of protest, especially on "highly emotional and symbolic issues that create an atmosphere of consensus, emotion, and togetherness" (Walgraave and Manssens 2000: 235) – such as the 1996 White March in

Brussels, which mobilized 300,000 Belgians to protest against institutional misconduct in the investigation of a serial murderer who had killed several children. We can add that, although the debate on the effectiveness of media manipulation has not been conclusive (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955; Noelle-Neumann 1984; Gamson 1992b; Lenart 1993), research has repeatedly indicated that the public is not a passive receiver of news: "reading media imagery is an active process in which context, social location, and prior experience can lead to quite different decoding" (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, and Sasson 1992: 375). Activists challenge the symbolic power of the media, transgressing the borders between "media world" and "ordinary world" (Couldry 1999; chs. 7 and 8). Radical media have developed as alternative (counter-) public spheres (Downing 2001).

If attention to "counterinformation" is a constant concern for movements, recent technological developments have facilitated the development of autonomous media via the internet. The best-known alternative media is Indymedia (www.indymedia.org), defined on its homepage as "a collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, noncorporate coverage. Indymedia is a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and impassioned truth telling." The *raison d'être* of the network is the critique of the established media (Rucht 2003b) and promotion of the "democratization of information" and "citizens' media" (Cardon and Granjou 2003). Open publishing is an essential element of the Indymedia project: since there is no editorial board filtering information, everybody from independent journalists to unknown activists can instantaneously publish the news they gather on a globally accessible website (Cristante 2003; Freschi 2003). Anyone who respects a few ground rules can create a local node of Indymedia. During the Seattle protest, the Independent media center claimed to have received 1.5 million hits. Meso-level media, which circulate information among activists, have the uneasy task of reaching the mass media if they want their message to be heard outside of audiences sympathetic to the movement (Bennett 2004b; Peretti 2004).

8.6 Summary

The policing of protest, the styles of which have changed historically and spatially, influences social movement trajectories and characteristics. Coercive strategies have often produced escalation. While democratic countries move towards negotiated forms of control, recent global protests, although largely peaceful, have been met by tough policing. Forms of policing derive in part from police organizations and cultures; however, they are also sensitive to political opportunities. Under this label, diachronic, cross-national comparative research has discussed the characteristics and effects of four groups of variables relating to:

(1) political institutions; (2) political cultures; (3) the behavior of opponents of social movements; and (4) the behavior of their allies.

The institutional variables most frequently discussed have related to the formal openness of the decision-making process. Starting from the hypothesis that the greater the number of points of access the more open the system, the relevance of the distribution of power and the availability of direct democracy have been discussed. Informal characteristics and, in particular, traditional strategies of interaction with challengers were considered as well as structural characteristics. In the last decades, devolution at the subnational level and more autonomous competences of the public bureaucracies (and, in particular, the judiciary) have increased the points of access, while the growing power of multinational corporations and IGOs has made access to decision-makers more difficult. Neither of these (tendentially stable) dimensions, however, is well adapted to explaining conjunctural events such as the rise and decline of protest or the mobilizing capacity of social movements. As far as the consequences of collective action are concerned, the formal or informal openness of the decision-making system does not automatically privilege emergent demands because institutions are also potentially open to social movements' opponents. Although the effects of the stable political opportunity structure in terms of social movement success thus appear ambiguous, the effects on the strategies adopted by movements seem less equivocal. The greater the opportunities of access to the decision-making system, the more social movements tend to adopt moderate strategies and institutional channels.

The conjunctural characteristics of conflict and alliances would appear to have a significant influence on the emergence of protest and on mobilization potential. The strength of institutional opponents together with movement/countermovement interaction, influence the rise of protest and movement strategies. Alliances with the parties of the left and the trade unions have provided important resources for social movements and increased their chance of success in the past. The decline of mass parties, and with them of party activism, challenge the potential alliances between parties and social movements.

If the concept of political opportunity has assumed a central role in social movement research, little attention has been paid to subjective perceptions of reality. Recent research has begun to address the way in which cultural variables filter political opportunities, and discursive opportunities influence movements' strategies and chances of success. Pluralism of the mass media and the richness of meso-level media emerge as important conditions for the spread of movement messages.

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