SUMMER SCHOOL

METHODS FOR THE STUDY
OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND MOBILIZATION

STUDENTS' BIOS AND ABSTRACTS

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Jacobo Abellán is BA in Political Science and Public Administration from the University of Valencia and Master "Democracy and Governance" by the Autonomous University of Madrid. Training is currently a researcher in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, where is developing his doctoral thesis in the framework of research projects NEOLIBERAL_CITI and CONTESTED_CITIES.

His PhD focuses on the study of the struggle for housing in the city of Madrid in the context of the Spanish economic crisis. His main research interests are urban policies and processes related to the neoliberal city model, including resistance and conflict in urban space. He also incorporates his research contributions to the theory of democracy and political philosophy.

The housing movement in Spain: the case of the district of Carabanchel, Madrid

The economic crisis has impacted, directly, in the neighborhoods of the Spanish cities. The development of the crisis, together with the social cutbacks and the economic reforms of the last governments, has caused a spectacular increase of the unemployment, the social and laboral precariousness, the housing evictions, the spatial segregation and the poverty in many neighborhoods, leading to a huge urban crisis. At the same time, in several Spanish cities, urban movements have emerged in order to fighting the social consequences of the crisis and they have put the social question at the focus of the political discussion. These movements has put into practice collective action of civil disobedience, as squatting or stopdeshaucios (stop evictions), that are trying to discredit the current legal frame, which is considered unfair and unsocial. The economic crisis and the boom of the new grassroots come together with a political and institutional crisis, making visible, mainly, from the emergence of the 15M movement who has brought a loss of support and legitimacy of the major political parties, of the political institutions and to a lesser extent, representative democracy.

In this context, Madrid has become in a good example of the emergence of these news movements and grassroots. After the arrival of the 15M movement, in many neighborhoods in the city have surfaced assemblies and neighborhood spaces to resist the consequences of the urban crisis on issues such as housing, public services or privatization of the public space. These assemblies and collectives have been created, in their respective districts, a huge network of resistance and a neighborhood support against the economic crisis in a self-organized and independent of institution and that focuses on collective action based on civil disobedience. Of all these struggles and resistances of the network, emphasizes the struggle for the right to housing and against evictions, it has acquired its own autonomy with collective assemblies and exclusively dedicated to this purpose. In a neighborhood with a significant number of housing evictions, struggles focuses on mobilization to prevent and halt the evictions and to find an alternative housing for those who have difficulties in accessing housing. To implement this collective action strategies, comes most notably those that are committed to civil disobedience, as stopdesahucios (stop-evictions), or release / squatting in a

building owned by a financial institution to house people evicted and access problems housing.

This paper expects to visualize these new forms of urban resistance looking cushion the social impact of the crisis. In this sense, we present the case study of the neighborhood of Carabanchel, in Madrid, work class neighborhood of the suburbs and strongly beaten by the crisis. Carabanchel is an important case of neighbor resistance, as result of the emergence of the assembly in May 2011, it was created a complex and huge network of assemblies, collectives an autonomous spaces looking counteract the impact of the crisis, proposing alternatives and solutions ranging from housing to the squatting, to supply or labor with the creation of worker cooperatives. The present case study will put the focus on the main characteristics of the community resistance space created in Carabanchel in the last two year, focusing on housing struggles. We will explain the social autonomous network emerged during these last year's just like the services and the projects that the network offers, we will analyze his political organization based on direct democracy and we will study their collective action forms.

Keywords: urban crisis, housing, direct democracy, housing movement, Madrid

PRISCILLA ALAMOS

I am a PhD student in Political Sciences at Université catholique de Louvain. Currently I participate in a methods mapping survey of all courses offered by ECPR Methods School. I also participated in a mapping project of all Qualitative Comparative Analysis applications in different disciplines, and in peer reviewed journal articles, from 1988 to 2012. Conclusions are published both in Political Research Quarterly 2013, 66(1) and Revue International de Politique Comparée 2012, 14(2). I hold a M.A. degree in Social Research Methods and in International Relations from Universidad Complutense de Madrid and a M.A in Arab and Contemporary Islamic Studies from Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. I have presented papers both in BRISMES Graduate Conference in London, and SISP (Italian Congress of Political Science) in Rome, about the causes of the collective action in MENA countries. I participated as intern in the think tank Real Instituto Elcano in Madrid, researching topics related to the Euro-Mediterranean relations. In Chile, I participated in the redesign of the environmental institutionality which was aimed at designing a framework for the new Ministry of Environment. Many elements contained in the project were incorporated in the legislation in 2010. Finally, I participated in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Chile, researching on human security and preparing the (ex) Minister Folder, Soledad Alvear, to the VI Ministerial Meeting of the Human Security Network.

Causes and mechanisms of the mass mobilization
in the overthrow of authoritarian political regimes in Middle East and North Africa:
A comparative study using QCA and process-tracing technique

Recent and popular developments of the so-called "Arab Spring" experienced in the Middle East and North Africa, with massive mass collective mobilization in (and not limited to) Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria in late 2010, offer a unique opportunity to research the causes of the outbreak of mass mobilization and their role in overthrowing authoritarian political regimes. The empirical evidence leads us to the following puzzle: Why do some mass mobilizations contribute to overthrow authoritarian political regimes while others do not? Thus, this study focuses both on the period prior to the outbreak of mass mobilizations and in the process (up to the potential impact on the regimes) in order to explore its nature in the light of both empirical evidence and theories such as social movement, revolutions, contentious politics and collective action.

Because the study is causal-explanatory its aim is two-fold. Firstly, to explain how such a mass mobilizations contribute to overthrow the authoritarian regimes and secondly, to clarify what the phenomenon is (i.e. is it a revolution, a civil war, a social movement?) in the light of the theories mentioned above. Three main approaches are being used to explain the phenomena under study: Political Opportunity Structure, Resource Mobilization and Framing. However, it is needed to revisit such approaches and spreading the searching for insights to revolutions, collective action and contentious politics theories in order to develop an integrative theory on the phenomena under study.

Two main concepts are outlined in this research: "Mass mobilization" linked to collective

action and "overthrow of authoritarian regime" linked to the breakdown and collapse of the regime. Such concepts are revisited in the literature in order to explore the state of the art and developing our model. The model is outlined applying necessary and sufficient conditions and family resemblance approach (Goertz, 2005). Collecting data methods include "semi-structured interviews", "expert interviews" and systematic reviews of secondary sources such as reports of research centers in order to generate qualitative data. Case selection is done through of the Most Similar Different Outcomes design (Berg-Schlosser & De Meur, G, 2009) and by applying the principle of possibility for the negative cases (Goertz, 2005). Data analysis methods include the application both of Atlas.ti and a fuzzy set Qualitative Comparative Analysis which is suitable to investigate the combinations of conditions under which a phenomenon happen or not. As fs/QCA is a cross-case method, individual cases are also studied using "within-case" causal analysis (Mahoney & Goertz, 2005; Rihoux & Lobe, 2009) and a process-tracing methodology is applied (Bennett, 2005; Beach & Pedersen, 2013 forthcoming) to identify and test causal mechanisms in order to explain our outcome. Finally the study attempts to be a contribution to clarify what the phenomenon to be explained is as well as providing of an explanatory model on such phenomena to future research of it.

VIVIANA ASARA

Viviana is a PhD candidate at the Institute for Environmental Science and Technology of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB). She is carrying her doctoral research under the supervision of Giorgos Kallis, Joan Martinez Alier (UAB) and Barbara Muraca (University of Jena). Her PhD thesis is titled "Degrowth and democracy. The political ecology of the indignados movement". While carrying out her doctoral research, she is working as UAB coordinator for the European project "Linking Research and Policy making for managing the contradictions of Sustainable consumption and Economic Growth" (RESPONDER, http://www.scp-responder.eu/), and she is also coordinating research activities for the Spanish project BEGISUD ("Beyond GDP growth: Investigating the socio-economic conditions for a Socially Sustainable Degrowth") led by Esteve Corbera.

Viviana holds a Master's Degree in Environmental Policy from the University of Cambridge, a Master's Degree in Political Science from the University of Bologna and a Bachelor's Degree in Communication from the same University. Before her PhD she has gained some work experience at international organizations such as the UNIDO and at the Italian Mission to the International Organizations

The Indignados movement. Framing the crisis and democracy

The Indignados movement sprang up amidst wider diffused mobilizations. After the "Iceland peaceful revolution" and the emergence of the so-called Arab spring, citizens movements have swept Western countries, resonating in European squares under the "indignados" and "Occupy" umbrella terms. The indignados movement has featured the largest occupations of Spanish squares since the transition to democracy in the 70s, while assuring a support from the wider population of over 70%. It has been depicted as having been ignited as a response to the (global) economic crisis and the approaches taken by the European Union and the Spanish government to handle it, the structural adjustment measures promised by the government to the so-called Troika and involving massive cuts to educational, social and cultural programmes in a context of high unemployment. In this article it is argued that its contention goes beyond the protest against the economic crisis and the retreat of welfare state provisions. The meta-political critique of new social movements (Brandt, 1986; Offe, 1985) has been powerfully resurging under the wave of the 2007-2008 global economic crisis, assuming new important shades. This paper aims at shedding light on how the 15-M frames its perception of the crisis and the potential solutions to it in order to change a situation perceived as unjust, and how this articulation relates to conceptions of „real democracy" by the movement. The claims are not issue-based but put forward a general critique of overall society, in which protest against the retreat of the welfare state intertwines with allegedly "post-materialistic" values and visions and important forms of prefigurative politics, putting center stage a redefinition of the meaning of democracy.

In this article the indignados movement is analysed dynamically in its process of framing construction and evolution. In order to identify framing processes, intensive participant observation undertaken for over two years in Barcelona is complemented with analysis of

transcripts of 40 in-depth interviews and 4 focus groups, and documents produced by the movement. A process tracing approach is adopted to focus on the "transformative events" (McAdam and Sewel, 2001; Della Porta, 2008) of the movement more generally (state level) and specifically in Barcelona.

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REGINA BECKER

Regina Becker is currently a research fellow and PhD candidate at the Chair of Comparative Politics at the University of Munich and participates as project collaborator in the research project "The politicization of Europe – A comparative study of six West European countries, 1970-2010" that traces scope and forms of politicization processes in the context of the European Union in different arenas and in a comparative perspective. She studied sociology, political science and economics at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich and the René Descartes University in Paris. In her Diploma thesis, entitled, "Transnationalization and Protest – A study of Europeanised Protest in Germany and with German participation, 1995-2010", she combined sociological transnationalization theory with the research on protest and social movements in the context of the European integration process. She thereby traced different types of Europeanised protest events for the German case in a longitudinal perspective as an indicator of underlying transnationalization processes. In her dissertation project she aims to trace politicization processes in the protest arena in a longitudinal and country comparing perspective. Additionally, she is interested in the responsiveness of these events by particularly looking at the media attention these protest events gained.

European Protest and Responsiveness. An analysis of the German Euro crisis protests

Previous research on Europeanised protest states the rather marginal significance of Europeanised protest compared to simply national protest (Imig and Tarrow 2001). Rucht (2002) even concludes that Europeanised protest is 'a myth'. However, the wave of contentious actions in the context of the Euro crisis throughout Europe proves this, at least partially, wrong.

Numerous demonstrations took place especially in those countries most affected by the crisis. People in Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Ireland took to the streets to show their dissent about the austerity measures imposed on them by the European Union. But not only in the so called debtor countries also in the donor countries protest against the European integration project is rising. Germany is, taken in absolute terms, one of the net contributors to the EU budget. This fact, pushed by the explosiveness of the Euro crisis, is especially used by right-wing activists to mobilise against Brussels and in favour of the withdrawal from the common currency. Contrary, activists from the left are demonstrating against the hegemony of capitalism and in favour of solidarity with those most affected by the crisis. It is therefore most interesting to not only observe contentious actions in the debtor countries but also the donor countries.

One central, but less addressed question of the research on protest and social movements is which impact those influencing strategies actually had. While some focus on de facto policy outcomes, others emphasise the aim of protest to gain public attention. Previous research on

protest and social movements takes into account that one of the main challenges of claimants is the increasing importance of the public sphere (e.g. Kriesi, Tresch et al. 2007). Koopmans (2004) stresses this point by highlighting the media coverage as most important factor for protest to have influence. Beyeler (2006), for example, observes how successful social movements are by analysing their media coverage. Additionally, constraining resources especially in a transnational or European context are thought to reinforce the importance of public attention. However, these approaches have been hardly linked to the research on Europeanised protest.

To summarise, this study has two main objectives. The first aim of this paper is to trace politicization processes in the protest arena in context of the Euro crisis for the German case by applying the protest event analysis (e.g. Koopmans and Rucht 2002). However, this paper considers that one should not restrict the analysis to only examining protest events per se but to additionally trace, in line with the research on protest outcomes, the public attention respectively the responsiveness in the public sphere (the "follow-up communication") these events gain. Therefore, the second aim of this paper is to trace the responsiveness to the beforehand analysed events by applying a claims analysis (Koopmans and Statham 1999).

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MARIA TERESA CAPPIALI

Teresa Cappiali is a Phd candidate in the Department of Political Science at the Université de Montréal (Canada) since September 2010. She took her majors on Political theory and on Comparative politics and she has teaching experience as Assistant professor on Research Methods in Political Science (fall 2010 and 2012). At the moment, she is working on her dissertation with the title: How Migrants Redefine what "Integration" Means? A Study of the Ways Migrants Redefine what Civic and Political Participation means by their Discourses and Practices in the Italian Local Context (the Project has be approved in March 2013).

She received fellowships from the Ministère du Quebec Education, Loisir et Sport (2010-2013), from Department of Political Science at the Université de Montréal (2010-2014), from the the region of Sardinia (Italy) (2010-2013), and from the International Research Network and Training Group (IRTG) (2013-2016).

She is affiliated to the Centre de recherche sur les politiques et le développement social (CPDS) of the Université de Montréal and to the International Research Network and Training Group (IRTG) in the program "Diversity- Mediating Difference in Transcultural Spaces" with the partnership of the Université de Montréal (Canada), the University of Trier, and the University of Saarbrucken (Germany).

In the last year, she presented several papers in international conferences, at the Ceetum (Centre d'Études Ethniques des Universités Montréalaises), at the IMISCOE, and at the Schuman Centre at European University Institute. During the academic year 2013-2014, she will be visiting student at the University of Toronto, at the center of "ethnicity, immigration, and pluralism studies," directed by Jeffrey G. Reitz.

How do Migrants Define Political « Integration »?
A Study of the Critical Redefinition of Inclusiveness by Migrants Participating in the Italian Left

In the last decades, in Western Europe many leftist organizations involved with integration have attempted to increase their own inclusiveness by encouraging migrants' participation within their organizations. Yet, notwithstanding attempts at inclusion, most organizations, ranging from non-institutionalized to institutionalized groups, have only considered migrants as objects of specific policies and discourses rather than subjects of their own integration. This has provoked strong reactions from migrants themselves, who have questioned the pro-migrant discourses and practices of the Left and claimed their own self-determination and subjectivity. Following migrants' claims, the paper asks: How do migrants define 'integration', 'inclusiveness', and 'civic and political participation' in their own terms? To answer these questions, I explore migrants' points of view on integration issues through their practices and discourses in the Italian Left. Most of my work is based on long-term ethnographic research in four Italian cities (Reggio Emilia, Bologna, Brescia, and Bergamo). Through archival research,

in-depth interviews with key local actors with migrants and also with the help of participant observation of migrants' activities in the mainstream leftist party, trade unions, non-institutionalized leftist political organizations, social movements and in migrant associations, I hope to prove that migrants can offer alternative understandings of what 'integration' means. My research so far suggests that there is a great discrepancy between the leftist discourses and practices of inclusiveness and the more variegated understandings of what integration mean by migrants. Notwithstanding mainstream discourses that integration is a 'two-way' process, the study argues that migrants' voices are silenced by mainstream discourses and practices and that leftist parties as well as other leftist non-institutionalized organizations prefer to talk about migrants rather than with them and thus fail to dynamically redefine themselves through the inclusion of migrants' viewpoints. It also illustrates that many migrants are proactive actors and politically aware subjects and that they claim a strong will to contribute to mainstream society and to Italian politics and thus raise the theoretical question of whether their claims can be considered as a "potential for reconstructing social and political trust from below" in times where the traditional conception of representative democracy seems to have lost its legitimacy and the mistrust towards the elites seems to have gain ground with the financial crisis (della Porta 2012, 33).

ALBERTO COSSU

Alberto Cossu is a PhD Candidate is Sociology at the Graduate School in Social & Political Sciences (GSSPS) of the University of Milan. His thesis subject, under the direction of Adam Arvidsson and Roberta Sassatelli, deals with the role and influence of art and aesthetic practices on political mobilization and, more broadly, on the making of political cultures.

His research interests include public sphere theory, social movements, radical citizenship theories, historical avant-gardes and the political economy of creative industries. He is currently a Teaching Assistant within the Department of Social & Political Sciences of the University of Milan for the courses: Political Sociology (Prof. Mauro Barisione), Analysis of Public Opinion (Prof. Barisione), New Media & Communication (Prof. Arvidsson).

In April 2011 he graduated in Theory of Communication (MA) from the University of Siena where he discussed the thesis "Italian Political Blogs in Prospect: A Study of the Democratic Potential of the On-line Public Sphere" under the direction of Davide Sparti.

He co-founded one of the main Italian cultural blogs: "Il lavoro culturale" (www.lavoroculturale.org).

Mobilizing Art: A Theoretical Inquiry on the Role of Aesthetics in Social Movements

In May 2012 a skyscraper was occupied in Milan by a group of artists/art workers which gathered around "Macao". Along with spaces, they claimed a new role for art and culture in society. Macao is only one case in a wave of the "artistic" mobilization started in April 2011 in Rome which later spread throughout Italy. The paper I propose wants to investigate how the creative imageries related to such issues have been deployed in terms of spatial, performative and visual production within the hybrid spaces opened and inhabited by Macao – physic spaces constitutively linked with the immaterial information fluxes and digital social platforms. Given the early stage of my research, and the limited amount of systematically gathered empirical data, I'd like to propose here a reflection around some key theoretical points which I deem relevant for the understanding of the process of aestheticization of public space.

The point I would like to stress stems from the peculiar nature of the mobilization itself, that is, a mobilization of artists who articulate their instances with their own artistic mediums in communicatively hybrid environments which are not necessarily linguistic. This simple fact by itself poses an interesting dilemma to the Habermasian, language-driven, theory of public sphere. In fact, according to him, we can qualify a democratizing process only if, in a public space, the exchanges between the participants (virtually everyone, given the inherent openness of a "true" public space) are linguistically mediated. Language and the associated type of communication are a guarantee for the possibility of agreement itself and the locus for the foundation of what he defines as a communicative rationality. So, what happens when artists participate to the public debate using their codes and their own "languages"? Should they be normatively condemned outside the democratic club? Or, as I intend to posit, shouldn't we open the Habermasian cage to avoid a simplistic dichotomy where language is

the only vehicle of rationality and all the rest is irrational?

A first way out could be to consider how the aesthetic experience is not just a moment of ephemeral togetherness – as many cultural social movements' theorists tend to depict the carnivalesque moments which typically take place in public demonstration – or a crucial instrument to recruit and mobilize – as claimed by several resource-mobilization theorists. My main claim is that, within the Italian artistic mobilization, the aesthetic, in its various forms, could very well be the key to understand the socialization of a cause which allows to go beyond any technological determinism and optimism which is now mainstream in much of the recent research on social movements and new media studies. Furthermore, it could provide the imaginative framework where the ever evolving forms of citizenship could find their nurture.

JOOST DE MOOR

Joost de Moor started working as a PhD candidate under supervision of Prof. Marc Hooghe and Dr. Sofie Marien at the Center for Citizenship and Democracy of the University of Leuven in September 2012, after graduating as an anthropologist from the same university. His previous research experience had been mainly ethnographic, focusing already on the topic of social movements, with a special focus on the squatting movement. Currently, his research focus is on environmental movements and on activists' subjective evaluations of political opportunity structures, investigating its role as a determinant for political action. Methodologically, his ethnographic background remains important, however, working on a mixed-methods design, qualitative interviews and survey research have become important tools to his research as well. In the next years of his PhD, fieldwork that is currently being conducted within the Belgian environmental movement will be expanded to the Netherlands and the UK.
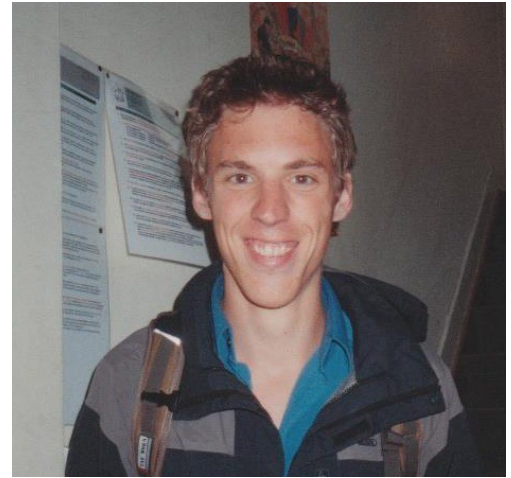
The internal and external motivations of lifestyle activist.
An in-depth analysis of how political contexts affects activists'
motivations for participation in lifestyle movements

Within the literature on civic engagement, various meanings have been given to citizens' participation in lifestyle movements, as this has been defined both as a case of citizens' disengagement from the political system (Eliasoph, 2001), and as a new form of political participation (Stolle & Hooghe, 2011): On the one hand, lifestyle movements are described as self-help organizations in which individuals participate in order to support their and other members' lifestyles, thereby promoting mainly internal motivations, while disregarding collective goods or public policies (Muggleton, 2000). On the other hand, participation in lifestyle movements is also described as externally motivated, as activists seek to promote lifestyle change as a means to changing society. Here, lifestyle change is either found to be a strategy for social change developed to avoid institutionalized politics (Snow, 2004), or as a complementary strategy to more policy-oriented repertoires (Van Dyke, Soule, & Taylor, 2004). In short, participation in lifestyle movements shows significant variations concerning participants' internal or external motivations for doing so, which determines its meaning as a form of civic engagement.

This paper investigates why such widely diverging motives exist for citizens' participation in lifestyle movements. Focusing on the environmental movement, this article investigates why for some participants lifestyle movements are exclusively internally motivated, whereas others perceive them as a strategy for promoting social change. Moreover, this paper studies why some participate exclusively to promote lifestyle change, whereas others do this in a complementary relation with more policy-oriented activism. In attempting to explain these differences, this paper builds on the political opportunity structure approach, which proposes that variations between participants' motivations and strategies for activism can be explained by what opportunities they perceive for effective participation within their political environment

(Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1995; Tarrow, 1996). Thus, it is investigated whether differences between lifestyle movement participants' motivations can be explained by inquiring how they perceive the opportunities within their political environment, and how this affects their sense of efficacy concerning particular political strategies. Thereby, this study not only contributes to our understanding of lifestyle politics, but also to the link of macro-level political structures, and micro-level political behavior (Opp, 2009).

In order to do so, a mixed-method case-study was conducted within a Belgian environmental movement organization, called VELT, which statutorily sets out both to promote an environmental-friendly lifestyle as well as to affect policy making. On the one hand, in order to understand how its members give meaning to the motivation for and efficacy of their participation, qualitative interviews and participant observation are conducted. On the other hand, these interviews and observations are complimented by a quantitative evaluation of the generalizability of these qualitative findings, for which a member-survey was conducted. Consequently, this study will contribute to our understanding of the heterogeneity of activists' motivations for their engagement in lifestyle movements, while it inquires how this is affected by their perception of the political opportunity structure.

YOUSSEF EL CHAZLI

Youssef El-Chazli is a graduate assistant at the Institute of Political and International Studies of the University of Lausanne. He grew up in Alexandria, Egypt. After studying Law (Cairo University), Middle Eastern Studies (B.A. Sciences Po Paris) and earning a Masters degree in International Relations (Sciences Po Paris), he enrolled in a dual Phd program in both the University of Lausanne and the University of Paris-1 Panthéon Sorbonne. His doctoral research focuses on the Egyptian contentious politics, and more specifcially on revolutionary dynamics in the city of Alexandria. His research interests also includes the arts of protest and resistance to political, social and cultural domination (radical political groups, alternative art, etc.). He is a member of the Centre de recherche sur l'action politique de l'Université de Lausanne (CRAPUL) as well as the Centre européen de sociologie et de science politique (CESSP).

Emerging dispositions? Analysing Individual Perceptions During "Transformative Events"

In a strange paradox, classical studies in sociology of revolutions rarely took interest in the revolutionary processes themselves (the "event"). In other words, authors would tend to focus on causes (profound or immediate) of the « Revolutions », or would evaluate their results and consequences on the social, economic and political spheres (Bennai-Chraïbi, Fillieule, 2012). Very little attention was given to the political crises (Dobry, 1986) and how these rather peculiar events could durably transform social structures (Sewell, 1996).

Nevertheless, in the recent years, the sociology of collective action as well as the sociology of revolutions, which was revisited in the wake of the "Arab Spring", have been more and more attentive to the intrinsic proprieties of events, and more specifically, to the micro-foundations of collective action. This renewed attention expressed itself in the study of individual participation to political crises and individual perceptions of these events (Bennani-Chraïbi, Fillieule, 2012).

In this perspective, my proposal is based on a theoretical hypothesis, a methodological orientation and a certain type of empirical data. I argue that events like revolutions need to be studied as much at the micro-sociological level of individuals as at the meso and the macro levels. To develop our understanding of these phenomena, it is crucial that we follow the changing perceptions of the situation by the individuals taking part in these collective actions, and how these perceptions facilitate or on the contrary slow down participation. In the same fashion as Timothy Tackett's study of the French Revolution, the idea is to understand how individuals (political activists as well as ordinary citizens) become revolutionaries during a "transformative event" (Sewell, 1996). To do so, I analyse Facebook "statuses" as day-to-day expression of stances, opinions and feelings in regard to the on going events. This data is then to be cross-correlated with biographical information.

The case study for this paper is the "18 day uprising" that sparked the Egyptian "revolutionary situation" (Tilly, 1995) based on Facebook updates I collected, as well as interviews conducted in the aftermath of February 2011.

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NAJAT EL HANI

My name is Najat el Hani, a 26 years old MA in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the VU University in Amsterdam and BSc. In Social Work at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences. During my functioning as an international project leader at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences I have created a deep interest for the Middle East and North African region with a main focus on Morocco. My fascination in studying social mobilizations however did not start after the Tunisian and Egyptian regimes fell and uprisings throughout the Arab region occurred. In lineage with my educational trajectory I am researching the Moroccan 20 February movement since April 2012, during which I conducted a three months' anthropological fieldwork period in Rabat. Building on professional experience with youngsters I mainly specify on youth mobilizations and their digital repertoires of alternative resistance styles. In alternation with official documenting, I like to blog about my experiences in the field. Interested? Take a look at najatfreedom.blogspot.com

Activists do not fall from the sky
The globalization of on- and offline activism and human security
within Rabat's 20 February Movement

The late 2010 Tunisian revolution has influenced a wave of socio-political movements throughout the Middle East and North African region, overthrowing ruling regimes in the aim to end dictatorships and strive for democracy. These happenings have internationally been portrayed as the Arab Spring; ending the 'winter' of suppression and aiming for a 'spring' of development. The Moroccan uprisings however have not resulted in a collapse of the regime. Instead it has resulted in a top- down redraft of the constitution in July 2011, inserted as a manner to weaken the movement. In comparison to other Arab countries, Morocco has (inter)nationally been portrayed as an Arab democracy, but should the top-down reforms really be perceived as such? Anthropological research from January to April 2013 among the 20 February movement in Rabat has shown that activists are still physically violated and imprisoned after legalizing the freedom of speech. In reaction activists remain in dialogue by practicing global influenced counter messages within the on- and offline domains. Within my paper I will discuss how youth participants of the Moroccan 20 February movement in Rabat practice on- and offline activism, and how their agency is connected to globalization processes and human security.

I argue that the Moroccan Spring must not be perceived as a democracy, but as one which has created ongoing (digital) domains to dialogue with the state on democracy. Building on material derived from the field the paper will provide three ethnographic chapters that aim to underline this argument. The first chapter will describe who the 20 February movement is and which on- and offline activities they practice. Important facets such as weekly gatherings and demonstrations will show how the movement puts national issues on the agenda while strategically using the internet. The second chapter discusses how the movement is globally influenced by various forms of activism that (digitally) manifest through art, music, cinema and street mobilization. In addition, this chapter discusses how economic influences from

institutions such as the World Bank are perceived among youth participants. The final chapter will discuss how participants' activism has resulted in a wave of on- and offline insecurities as state suppressions seem to caption both digital and street domains. On the other hand I will describe how activists are able to provide legal, mental and financial sources of security within the movement. Throughout I will demonstrate how Rabat's 20 February Movement has resulted in a new wave of civic activism which provides participants a broader and safer domain of movement then public uprisings in general. The strategic use of cyber activism provides domains for existence as Moroccan state repressions remain to be practiced. Contributing to the Arab Spring debate I argue that the 20 February movement is not an exception but one that has created various repertoires that enable (digital) dialogues with the state.

MARIA-THERESE GUSTAFFSON

Maria-Therese Gustafsson is a Ph. Candidate at the Department of Political Science, Stockholm University since 2009. She received her master degree at the same institution in 2008. Her research interests and current research project explore issues relating to citizenship, democracy and social conflicts, with an emphasis on civil society.

In her on-going dissertation project with the working title "Democratizing Development? Conflict Regulation in the Peruvian mining sector under a Post-corporatist citizenship regime", she analyzes the influence of indigenous communities on mining projects. Through a comparison of two mining localities, the study demonstrates how locally specific patterns of mobilization in some cases become connected to broader demands on the expansion of rights and political inclusion. In other cases, privatized forms of conflict regulation, in which corporations play central roles are reinforced. An important explanation to the different patterns of mobilization in the two cases is the uneven reach of the state, which has generated regionally specific forms of state-society relations and opened up for local autonomy and informal power dynamics in some regions.

She teaches courses on Comparative Politics and "State and Democratization in the Third World".

Social conflicts and demands for the radicalization of democracy in the context of the uneven reach of the state

In the early 1990's, economic and political reforms substantially altered rights, access to resources, interest representation and intermediation of indigenous-peasants in Latin America. In Peru, these reforms also triggered a rapid expansion of mining, with the result of widespread social conflicts concerning political and social claims and rights of indigenous peoples. Scholars have mostly used actor-oriented explanations focused primarily on the actions of the corporations for analysing the emerging patterns of mobilization.[1] However, there are significant differences regarding how indigenous communities define their interests and mobilize in relation to mining projects. Some communities demand benefits provided directly by the corporation, while others seek influence over decision-making processes of the mining projects.

In this paper I argue that mobilizational patterns only partly may be explained as strategic calculations in relation to corporate actions or governmental policies. The actions must be analyzed in the context of structural changes in state-society relations. I conceptualize the shifting state-society relations in terms of a shift from a corporatist to a neopluralist[2] citizenship regime. Notwithstanding, due to the unevenly distributed capacity of the state in

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1Laplante, Lisa & Spears Suzanne (2008) "Out of the conflict zone: The case for Community Consent Processes in the Extractive Sector". In *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal,* Vol. 11.

2Oxhorn, Philip (2011) *Sustaining Civil Society – Economic Change, Democracy, and the Social Construction of Citizenship in Latin America.* The Pennsylvania State University Press.

some regions local autonomy and more informal power dynamics have emerged.[3] Diane Davis argues that the distance to the state (in terms of class, geography, culture and institutions) is an important explanatory factor for differing patterns of mobilization. Groups considerably distanced from the state are more likely to pursue more radical demands and call into question procedures for decision-making, while groups closer to the state are more likely to use formal structures for demand-making and focus their on concrete policies.[4]

In Peru, specific forms of state-society relations have been developed over time at the regional level, ranging from relative autonomy to co-optation. Indigenous communities in the Southern highland have historically been more fragmented and dependent on external actors (national peasant organizations and/or the government), whereas in the Northern region more independent forms of organizations that defend their autonomy have emerged.[5]

The paper draws on case studies in two mining localities that illustrate these historical, regional differences. The Rio Blanco-project, situated in the Northern highlands, strongly organized communities have rejected project and defended their autonomy. In the case of the Bambas-case, the fragmented community organizations have primarily engaged in demand-making to the corporation. The empirical analysis suggests that differing historical patterns of state-society relations and interest representation are essential for understanding community organizations' relative capacity to form alliances, articulate demands and pursue collective interests in relation to mining projects.

3Cf. O'Donnell, Guillermo (1993) On the State, Democratization and some Conceptual Problems (A Latin American View with Glances at some Post-Communist Countries). Working Paper, Kellogg Institute, Notre Dame University. Yashar, Deborah (2005) Contesting citizenship in Latin America: The rise of indigenous movements and the postliberal challenge. Cambridge University Press. New York.

4Davis, Diane (1999) "The power of distance: Re-theorizing social movements in Latin America". Page 619-620.

5Paredes, Maritza (2012) "Indigenous Politics and the Legacy of the Left". In *Fractured Politics- Peruvian Democracy Past and Present.* Ed: Crabtree, John. Institute for the Study of the Americas.

JULIA HOFMANN

I am a first year graduate student at the University of Linz sociology department. Some of my current research interests are sociology of work and organisations, social movement analysis and sociology of Europeanization. Half a year ago I started to work on my PhD project which is settled in between of these research fields. In concrete I'm interested in the question why (or why not) trade unions take part in and/or mobilize for transnational, paneuropean demonstrations/protest movements.

I was born in Vienna (Austria) and graduated from High School in 2005. After a short time off (during this period I travelled around South-East Asia and studied a little bit of philosophy) I decided to study sociology at the University of Vienna in October 2006. The main reason for this decision was Bourdieu's book "La misère du monde" which I got as a present for Christmas 2005. During my studies I thus concentrated on questions of social inequality, the distribution of power and influence and protest movements. I received my M.A. (in German "Magistra") in 2011 writing a thesis about Austrian workers' councils' perceptions of the economic crisis and their (un-)willingness to protest. From 2011 to 2013 I worked as a University Assistant at the University of Vienna where I mainly learned to write project proposals. Since January 2013 I'm working at the University of Linz, trying to get my PhD project running. My main advisors are Susanne Pernicka (trade union-research), Hilde Weiss (social inequality and social justice).

Transnational Trade Union Action

In my PhD project I occupy myself with the reasons why (or why not) trade unions take part in and/or mobilize for transnational, paneuropean demonstrations/protest movements.

We know from literature that there are a lot of obstacles for cross-border trade union action: Within the European Union (1) there are big inequalities between rich and poor countries which lead to contradicting interests of trade unions (Ebbinghaus and Visser 1996). (2) There are also different union cultures and institutional legacies which lead to different trade union identities and strategies (Frege and Kelly 2004). (3) Moreover the transnationalisation of markets is successfully implemented while political regulatory structures still remain on the behalf of the nation states. Therefore trade unions orientate more on national structures than on the European level (Dörre 1997).

At the same time we know that there have been several transnational, paneuropean protest movements in which trade unions participated (e.g. the mobilizations against the Bolkestein Directive in 2006 or the coordinated strikes at General Motors between 2001-2007) (Gajewska 2008). However it is still unclear why and under which circumstances national trade unions take the decision to participate in transnational collective action.

I try to analyse these reasons using the example of the so-called "European Days of Action (EDA)" during the times of the financial and socio-economic crisis (2008-today). These EDA's

- proclaimed by the European Trade Union Confederation - are large-scale mobilisations which are held decentralised across Europe. Since the outbreak of the crisis in Europe five such EDA's were organised (in which 11 to 26 national trade unions of the EU-27 countries participated). By using methods of quantitative analysis I try to find out if the above named obstacles (like institutional legacies, the strength of the union, social and regional disparities or different Varieties of Capitalism) can explain the national trade unions' participation in and mobilization for the EDA's.

One of my research hypotheses is that the above-named "objective" reasons for political participation are not sufficient as we need to add the element of "values, culture and ideology" to the analysis of political participation (Gajewska 2008). Therefore I expect the quantitative analysis to show me only some patterns, leaving a lot of questions open. According to this expectation I want to add a qualitative analysis in my PhD project, in which I

would like to examine in more detail different cases. Interviews with national trade union representatives and activists shall give me a deeper insight in the organisational decisions for (not) taking part.

MALIN HOLM

I graduated from Uppsala University in 2010, with a master's degree in Political Science. My studies also included one year on master level in International Relations and Comparative Politics at Sciences Po, Paris, and fieldwork in Hungary for my bachelor thesis and in Uganda for my master thesis. In my master thesis I examined the effects of electoral gender quotas on women's political representation in Uganda, mainly by interviewing Ugandan parliamentarians. Before entering the PhD programme in Uppsala I also worked in several research projects at the Department of Government, which concerned women's political representation globally and the (un)successful promotion of gender policy in Sweden. In addition, I wrote a research report for the Swedish Inheritance Fund Commission where I investigated how their funding of civil society projects affected the civil society organisations concerned. Since September 2011 I am enrolled in the PhD programme at the Department of Government, Uppsala University. My dissertation project focuses on political representation in and by civil society, with a specific focus on how claims and representatives are constructed as legitimate in the public spheres and how new media may alter such processes.

Understanding the Success of Online Opposition:
the Swedish Antifeminist Movement in New Media

Have new media facilitated the mobilization of counter movements, and opened up for new and extended possibilities for attacking historically marginalized groups such as women, LGBT-persons and people of color? If so, in what way? Previous research on social movement organization and mobilization through new media, such as social media (Facebook, Twitter), debate forums etc., often focus on 'progressive' movements aiming at social change such as the environmental movement, and anti-capitalist protest movements such as Put People First (PPF), Occupy Wall Street (and beyond) or global justice movements. This follows a larger bias in contemporary research on how and when historically marginalized groups may organize and have political influence which primarily have focused on the actors within these groups and how their strategies have affected their possibility to have political influence, as well as the presence of possible allies. To get a more comprehensive understanding of the success and failure of feminist struggles, we however also need to understand their adversaries.

Sweden is (not at least by itself) often portrayed as 'one of the most gender equal countries in the world', and it has been popular to forward gender equal or feminist issues in the public debate. However, during the last years we have seen a growing Swedish antifeminist movement online, as well as several internet-based 'hate-campaigns' against Swedish artists, authors, journalists and researchers who have been identified as publically participating in the Swedish feminist movement or simply dealing with feminist issues. In addition, some of the claims of the antifeminist movement have now been accepted as legitimate at a high political

level. This study examines the net-based Swedish antifeminist movement and campaigns to understand how new media, in the form of social media, blogs, Internet forums etc., has provided new possibilities/incentives for groups, whose claims previously have been discursively marginalized in the public debate, to organize and voice their claims. To get a more comprehensive picture of the anti-feminist movement online, the actors and the online debate will be mapped in the first part of the study. This will take the form of a combination of a quantitative and qualitative network analysis, where I by searching through the blogs have tried to understand the development of the movement over time concerning for example numbers of actors, central actors, as well as their internal connections, motivation for participation and strategies for political influence. Secondly, it is examined how the growing blogosphere relates to the debate in the more traditional media, to understand how the previously illegitimate claims of the antifeminists could gain a wider visibility and acceptance in more hegemonic public spheres.

EVA KLAMBAUER

In 2012, I graduated from the University of Vienna with degrees in Political Science and Sociology. For my BA-thesis in Political Science, I analysed the policy-making process of the Prostitution Act in Vienna drawing on the theoretical framework of intersectionality. Thereafter, I went to the University of Cambridge to do an MPhil in Politics. For my Master's thesis, I worked on the diffusion of non-violent protest practices among democratic movements. Specifically, I investigated the impact of a Serbia-based organization on democratic youth movements in Ukraine, Georgia and Egypt. For my PhD, I intend on pursuing this research interest further and taking it to a comparative level.

Protesting on Behalf? Abolitionist anti-prostitution campaigns
by the pop-feminist group FEMEN between emancipatory claims,
patronizing narratives and contested symbolism

The protests of the Ukrainian pop-feminist group FEMEN have received much attention in the past years. Provocative and radical slogans, well-staged street performances and their hallmark – bare breasts – have led to a high degree of resonance, but also critique from various sides. FEMEN activists, who call themselves 'new feminists' and 'sextremists', define the female body as a weapon that shall be used to achieve freedom for women. In recent years and to some extent due to the need of FEMEN activists to flee from the Ukraine, branches in Brazil, France and Germany have been established, as well as a training-centre in Paris. Especially the German FEMEN branch has addressed the issue of human trafficking, forced prostitution and sexwork. This paper investigates FEMEN's narrative about prostitution and sexwork, identifies ambiguities and contradictions and explains how its position can be understood in the specific context of the movement's origins. It also explores the characteristics of this protest on behalf of a marginalized and precarious group and discusses the element of patronization that takes away agency from sexworkes and prostitutes in FEMEN's protest. Moreover, the specific practices of protest and in particular the claim that women's* bodies can and should be used as a weapon in political struggles as well as the use Nazi symbolism during protests are analyzed. Finally, this paper discusses the transnational diffusion dynamics of FEMEN's protest practices as well as specific narratives.

MARI KUUKANNEN

Mari Kuukkanen is a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Social Research at the University of Helsinki. Her dissertation deals with contemporary anarchist politics in Finland. Although anarchism has been an important framework for radical activism in Finland for two decades, it has received scant scholarly attention. On the other hand, the international anarchist studies scholarship that has emerged around the same time is rather theory-driven, whereas empirically grounded, sociological analyses of anarchist politics are more rare. The dissertation aims, for its part, to fill these gaps and shed more light on the complexities of anarchist politics.

Investigating social movement dynamics with multi-sited ethnography:
a case study of anarchist involvement in a Finnish anti-nuclear movement

Due to the heightened globalization in the past decades, ethnographic investigation has increasingly become multi-sited, as many social processes span over regional and national boundaries. In social movement studies, the transnationally networked character of contemporary movements have made multi-sited fieldwork almost a necessity. However, as has been argued in the literature concerning multi-sited ethnography, the method should not be equated with multi-country research. Instead, multi-sited ethnography can be seen more generally as an approach that questions the idea of bounded fields and that draws attention to the linkages and differences of dispersed field sites. When applied to social movement studies, expanding the ethnographic investigation from immediate movement sites to sites where the movement participants also act politically, it is possible to get a better understanding of the dynamics in the movement in question.

In my own research on contemporary anarchist politics in Finland, I have utilized multi-sited ethnography in the sense that I have observed both explicitly anarchist sites, such as anarchist gatherings and festivals, and movements in which anarchists act without revealing their political identification, due to the negative connotations of anarchism. I have found this multi-sited approach useful, because it has enabled the comparison between these sites and made it possible to analyze anarchist involvement and influence in movements they participate in. In my case study of a Finnish anti-nuclear movement, the anarchist participants have borne a significant influence on four components of the movement: the preferred tactic; meeting techniques and decision-making patterns; relationship to other actors; and goal-building and promotional strategy.

Theoretically, I have found the concept of 'group style' (Eliasoph & Lichterman 2003) applicable in my study. The concept is designated for the analysis of participation in groups, with the emphasis on cultural patterns of participation. In other words, instead of simply analyzing the identity of a certain group, the group style approach aims to raise the level of generalization by investigating how cultural representations are mediated by the group's style and how this results in culturally patterned styles of participation. When entering a group, a person tries to key herself into the style at play, drawing from the typifications she has learned from previous experiences of participation elsewhere. When studying social movements with multi-sited ethnography, this approach gives theoretical backbone for understanding the interaction and possible conflicts of different participant groups within the movement. The conflicts can not simply be reduced to differences in identity or strategic preferences but attention should also be given to the diverse styles of doing politics and the cultural codes

they mediate. Furthermore, as the setting constrains the action within it, actors cannot straightforwardly apply the same style from setting to setting. Hence, in my own case study, I also try to show how anarchists need to adjust their action when they move from anarchist sites to movements with diverse set of participants.

CINDY MORILLAS

I am interested in social movement studies since the beginning of my university studies in Sociology and Economics which led me to obtain a professional Master in "Social and Solidarity Economics" at Lyon II University (France) in 2009. My master thesis was on "The Cameroon Student's Rights Association (CSRA) and the reinforcement of student power of action. Critical analysis of the empowerment concept and of the potential of social change held by CSRA". After this experience, I pursued my researches on African social movements by moving toward the research Master of Political Science "Politics and development in African and Developing Countries" I attained in 2010 at the Institute of Political Science of Bordeaux (IPSB). My second master thesis focused on the "Analysis of the political relationship of the Cameroonian university and of the Cameroon Student's Rights Association".

As a young researcher in political science, at the research center "Africas In the World" of the IPSB, doctoral school ED SP2, I have been working on my PhD thesis dealing with "Political sociology of student activism in Cameroon since 1990's" for three years − including a two-years teaching experience – using a fellowship from the Ministry of Research and Higher Education. My research interests focus on student movements, activism, politicization, political regimes, African studies and qualitative methods.

Interviewing contentious and conservative student activists in Cameroon

Dealing with methodological issues in the study of social movements is quite complex due to the diversity of actors and repertoires of collective actions involved. My paper highlights the methodological, pragmatic, epistemological and ethical issues I faced while collecting biographies of contentious and conservative student activists in Cameroon for my PhD thesis. My doctoral research aims to explain activism in a situation of sociopolitical and economic constraints from the case of student activism in Cameroon, between 1990 to 2012, while using a comprehensive and constructivist approach and tools of social movements' analysis.

In Cameroon, student unions do not officially exist. Nevertheless, student movements and organizations have been active on the public scene since 1990's. To counter student movements, worldwide political authorities frequently resort to repression. The intensity changes according to the nature of the political regime (Taylor, 1975; Wright, 2001; Récappé, 2008). In Cameroon, at least six students have been killed during student movements since 1990, the two last ones in 2006. Why and how do students become activists in their universities despite these constraints? What are the motivations of their ideological commitment and how does it change? What are dynamics of Cameroonian student activism?

The paper starts by presenting two main methodological choices. One is based on three levels of comparison: (1) ideologically, between involvements in contentious and conservative student movements and organizations, (2) diachronically, from 1990 to 2012, (3) geographically, in five Cameroonian university towns. The other method relies on the use of biographies that appeared heuristic in several contexts in understanding the dynamics of

activism (Pudal, 1989; Brodiez, 2004; Dechezelles, 2006; Rizet-Savoi, 2006; Luck, 2008).

Then, the paper focuses on biographies. It analyzes constraints and opportunities encountered and how different interview situations were managed according to the configuration of sociological characteristics of the respondents and me, a young woman and French PhD candidate. In this regard, I rely on 85 biographical interviews of contentious and conservative student leaders, which were obtained during my nine-month fieldwork in Cameroon between 2009 and 2012.

Finally, I show how the fieldwork helped me to understand the impacts of micro, meso and macro factors on the entry into activism and on the choice of contentious or conservative activism. I particularly underline the effects of interview situations on the proceedings and content of in-depth interviews. I also underline the contribution of informative interviews (with teachers, academic authorities), observations of student mobilizations and archives (journalistic, institutional, personal and collective) to match up with orally reconstructed testimonies, thus strengthening the possibility to go beyond subjectivities.

My research's results are the following. Firstly, there are similar mechanisms leading to either contentious or conservative activism which may explain activist' careers. Secondly, a strong interaction links these mechanisms with combinations of micro (individuals), meso (organizations) and macro (social structures) factors (Sawicki & Siméant, 2009). Thirdly, political issues play a decisive role in the student activist choices despite the visible wish of authorities for an apolitical university (cf. Konings, 2002 and 2009).

CHANDRA RUSSO

Chandra Russo is a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her research explores contests over collective and national identity with a particular focus on the role of emotions and embodiment. Through an ethnographic examination of citizen protest to U.S. security regimes in three instances: 1) the School of the Americas Watch vigil; 2) the Migrant Trail Walk; and 3) hunger strikes to close the Guantanamo Bay detention center, her research addresses a few questions. First, why do activists who do not stand to benefit materially from the changes they seek to affect put their bodies on the line for the aggrieved? Second, how do those with race, class, and citizenship privilege negotiate the troubling but necessary impetus to act on behalf of transnational others who are tortured, detained, murdered and exposed to life imperiling conditions; those who to a great extent can no longer act for and by themselves? Finally, what actions and claims can U.S. citizens make, and to what ends, under neoliberalism, egregious state violence, and the expanding politics of U.S. exceptionalism? Through an account of political identity that is attentive to emotions and embodiment this research expands on ideas about how political selves are fashioned and how competing claims come to resonate with various publics

Embodied Emotions:
Allies Forging Collective Identity on the Migrant Trail

Social movement scholars have long argued for the importance of collective identity (Taylor and Whittier 1992; Polletta and Jasper 2001) and have shown that social movement adherents must negotiate complexity and contradictions in order to establish a sense of "we" (Stryker, Owens and White 2000; Einwohner, Reger and Myers 2008). However, few have explored how allies, defined here as "activists working for the benefit of a group to which they are outsiders" (Myers 2008: 167), engage in this "identity work." Allies have played a significant role in social movements throughout U.S. history, from the abolition of slavery to contemporary marriage equality struggles (Marx and Useem 1971; Ghaziani 2011). Because their distinct identity position brings benefits as well as challenges to the movements they join, exploring how allies forge collective identity is of importance to scholars and activists alike. This article examines this question through a case study of the Migrant Trail, an annual protest event during which activists spend a week walking 75 miles in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands to call attention to and oppose migrant deaths. It is a tactic of the larger border justice movement, which seeks to prevent migrant deaths and change policies of increased border militarization. Undocumented migrants, the border justice movement's direct beneficiaries, cannot participate in this walk because of the great risk they would incur travelling through an area rife with roaming border patrol, check points and vigilantes (Nevins, 2010; Magaña, 2008). Thus, participants in the walk are social movement allies.

The Migrant Trail is a deeply emotion-laden, physically demanding engagement. While the walk receives limited media publicity, participants share their experiences when they return to

their home communities. In this way, the Migrant Trail is important to the cultural work of changing societal attitudes, meanings and values (Johnston and Klandermans 1995). However, one of the walk's most important purposes, if not its most explicit one, is that it offers allies the embodied and emotional resources necessary to forge collective identity with movement beneficiaries and each other. The Migrant Trail, then, is an ideal case study to add to the burgeoning scholarship on the role of emotions in social movements (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2000; Jasper 2011) as well as begin to theorize the neglected realm of embodiment in social movement research.

In this paper, I outline the collective identity challenges faced by allies and argue for the importance of emotions and embodiment as resources allies draw upon to do identity work. I then provide an overview of the research methods and analysis and offer historical context for the Migrant Trail as a case. Finally, I discuss three key mechanisms by which allies draw upon their embodied and emotional experiences in order to forge and maintain collective identity during and after the walk.

JORGE SAAVEDRA

First year student in the Mphil/Phd in Media and Communications at the Goldsmiths College, University of London. BA in Social Communication (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile) and MA in Political Communication (Universidad de Chile). Part of the academic staff of the Diploma in Cultural Management at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile.

Since I graduated from my BA, I have worked in newspapers in Chile, as journalist, also in the Chilean National Council of Culture and Arts and as researcher in issues of culture. I also have been part of social organizations in Chile and member of the student's union when I was in the BA.

I also have published the book Historia social de los teatros en Chile: Melipilla en el Siglo XX. (Social history of theatres in Chile: Melipilla in the 20th century). 330 pages. Santiago de Chile: Chancacazo, 2012; and the edition of the 2012 catalogue of Sala de Carga, Chilean contemporary art gallery located in a shipping container, where I also take part.

Finding methods, in the study of the Chilean student movement.

The purpose of this paper is to present the methodological approach that I am developing to convey my doctoral research, which is about the political activity and communicational practices performed by the student's movement in Chile during 2011, regarding aspects of voice, participation and political legitimacy, as topics that are crucial in order to understand the present relation between state, citizenry and media.

The research is situated in contemporary Chile, in the context of a national public sphere characterized by the dominance of a political class, concentrated media ownership, neoliberal democracy, the denial of dissident voices, and where struggles of voice, recognition and participation are in the core of contemporary uprisings, challenging the hegemonic public sphere, by contesting it and creating counter public spheres. The student movement of 2011 is the paramount of these uprisings and constitutes the object of this research.

Acknowledging the latter, this paper will focus on the design of a methodological approach for the understanding of voice, recognition and participation in the context were this movement arose and existed. The main question is about the characteristics and purpose of the mediated communication practices performed by the Chilean student movement during 2011, its implications for the Chilean mainstream public sphere in terms of voice, political participation and legitimacy, and the consequences for the relationship between state, citizenry and media.

Derived from the main question, the methodological design has specific aims that narrow the focus. These questions are about a) the shape and purpose of radical political activity and mediated communication performed by the Chilean student movement; b) how did the participants in the Chilean social movements conceived themselves as citizens and why did they take particular forms of action in terms of mediated practice; c) how was the student movement understood and represented by the mainstream media and in what ways did this confer political legitimacy on both political elites and activists? d) What can this tell us

between the relationship between mediated practice and political participation? and e) what can this tell us about the relationship between mediated practice and political participation?

These subquestions will be carried out through methods to collect data that include in depth interviews, focus groups and media analysis. These methodological tools will be applied in a sample composed by some objects and subjects that were relevant actors during 2011 in the context of the social movement. The sample will include a) members of the student's movement, including presidents of student´s federations, rectors, union leaders, NGO´s leaders and grassroots members; b) members of the mainstream politics including ministers, members of the parliament and government offices chiefs; c) members of mainstream media, including editors and journalists, and d) mainstream media (radio, TV and newspapers).

To analyse data, the methodological design considers a framework analysis to index the information in four categories: Action, voice, political participation and legitimacy, every one with their correspondent subcategories. Ordered in a chart, the processed data will be able to be interpreted, and let me map the nature of phenomena and give answers to the sub questions and main question of the research.

MARIE SKOCZYLAS

Marie Skoczylas is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, focusing on social movements. She is currently gathering research for her dissertation on the recent wave of contention in response to inequality and austerity, examining the use of prefigurative practices and horizontal organizing structures by participants of the Occupy movement in the United States. Her Master's research explored the women's liberation movement in Western Pennsylvania in the 1970s, comparing narratives of the Pittsburgh movement to dominant movement narratives of larger urban areas. She teaches courses on the sociology of family, deviance and social control, and globalization. Her other areas of interest include oral history and grounded theory methodologies, and feminist, queer, and anarchist theories and practices.

Occupying Social Movement Understandings and Outcomes

Occupy Wall Street began on September 17, 2011, when hundreds of people critical of the current political and economic system in the U.S. and inspired by the Arab Spring and European anti-austerity protests occupied a park in the financial district in New York City. Over the next several weeks, Occupy groups formed across the U.S. and around the world as tens of thousands of people joined the movement. Participants questioned the legitimacy of existing institutions, and sought to create a new movement based on non-hierarchical relationships and direct democracy. "We are the 99%" became a mantra of the Occupy movement, intended to attract wide participation and project a sense of unity. However, the general public never learned how the Occupy movement intended to alter economic injustice. Moreover, participants in Occupy groups struggled with making the horizontal structures work, and most occupations were evicted by winter 2012, foreclosing the possibility of using these spaces as laboratories for further social experimentation with small-scale solutions to inequality. However, the model continues to inspire protest forms in the U.S. and elsewhere.

My paper focuses on Occupy Pittsburgh. Framed by the media as a peaceful experiment, relatively free from state repression, Pittsburgh provides a case in which participants were able to operate offensively, outside of the constant fear and crises that plagued occupations in some cities. I present a preliminary analysis of the research I have collected thus far. First, I analyze participants' goals and their perceptions of obstacles, impacts, and outcomes, to present a multi-layered conception of the importance of Occupy to its participants. I then examine the relationship between participants' espoused political beliefs and their activities throughout the occupation. How is theory practiced in the mobilization context? Finally, I consider tactical strengths and weaknesses to assess their viability.

I discuss my research strategy as a mixed methods approach. I began by drawing from the grounded theory tradition to develop concepts that would emerge from 30 in-depth interviews. Using an inductive coding process I compared participants' perceptions and identified emergent themes and patterns. Some of the varying understandings of concepts I explore in this paper include: participatory democracy, horizontality, direct action, autonomy, political

identity, personal transformation, occupation as a tactic, and prefiguration as a strategy.

Next, I compared participants' political identities and lived experiences to scholarly works on political beliefs. I consider, for example, how the actions and positions held by anarchist participants correspond to the conceptions of anarchism put forth by contemporary theorists.

Finally, to assess whether participants' objectives were achieved, I compared the actors' articulated goals with supplemental data. My findings suggest that participants aimed to establish a negative public opinion of a bank headquartered in Pittsburgh, force the bank to halt mortgage foreclosures, and stimulate movement-building around labor organizing and efforts to fund public transportation. To determine success, I drew from multiple sources including newspaper articles and editorials, bank press releases, and movement statements to the public. This comparison illuminates the viability of Occupy approaches.

MORITZ SOMMER

I am currently enrolled in the Research Training Program in Social Science (M.A.) at Humboldt University Berlin, preparing for subsequent PhD-studies. Holding B.A. degrees in European Studies from the University of Münster and the University of Enschede (NL), I completed a M.Sc. in Political Sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 2012. In my dissertation, I applied a post-structuralist conceptual framework to make sense of the public discourses in the aftermath of the 2011 riots in England. I am an active scholar of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and I am affiliated with the new Institute for Protest and Social Movement Studies (http://protestinstitut.eu/) at Technical University Berlin. Since 2013, I am engaged as a research assistant at the chair for the Sociology of European Societies at Free University Berlin (Prof. Dr. Roose) and I am working for a research project on democratic symbolism and populism at the chair for political theory at Humboldt University.

My main research interests lie in the field of political sociology, social theory and social movement / protest studies. In this context, I am especially interested in the dynamic interaction between protest and (governmental) power structures, in particular, protest policing and repression.

The discursive government of protest

2011 and 2012 have widely been labeled as years of worldwide dissent. While large parts of the world seemed to live through new spirits of protest and resistance, the picture in Germany was ambiguous:

On the one hand, environmentally motivated protests experienced an unexpected re-emergence after the Fukushima catastrophe and enraged citizens forcefully challenged infrastructural large-scale projects. On the other hand, genuine socio-economic protests remained comparatively weak. The current forms of austerity politics, social cuts and the undisputed saving paradigm encounter little opposition, neither in parliament nor on the streets. This is despite the fact that subjective feelings of injustice and collective perceptions of rising inequality all generate a climate seemingly favorable for mass protest.

The weakness of trade-unions, the comparatively positive situation on the job market and the national protest culture all play a role. This paper emphasizes a different factor, that of political discourse:

Discourses represent power dispositions in a society; they shape subjectivities and knowledge and structure limits of the thinkable (Foucault). Connecting social movement studies and governmentality studies the paper aims to illuminate how power structures and dissent are interconnected rather than opposed. While much of the traditional social movement studies focus on actor centric perspectives, the governmentality approach links the macro-dimension of the crisis discourse and the micro-dimension of subjective perceptions of

critique, protest and connected values such as (individualized) responsibility.

The perspective helps to bring capitalism back into social movement studies (Goodwin 2009): The tendencies of depoliticization inherent to the post-democratic austerity discourse can be connected to the transformative practices of neoliberalism that build a central research focus of contemporary governmentality studies. From this perspective, neoliberalism creates "enterprising selves" (Rose 1999), activated to take responsibility for their own well-being. Rather than the opposite of (neoliberal) power relations, autonomy and agency "lie at the heart of […] disciplinary control" (McNay 2009). This practice depoliticizes social problems by shifting them to the realm of the individual subject. In turn, the relocation of responsibility outside of the political potentially undermines the legitimacy of social critique and protest. Connecting these insights, central questions are: How does the discursive construction of the current crisis shape the understanding and (self)-perception of critique and protest and how does this understanding affect mobilization potential (and protest forms)? What is publicly and individually conceived as legitimate/illegitimate, political/apolitical, radical/moderate form of protest and what are 'good' and 'bad' protesters?

The paper presents theoretical insight and contextualizes the Foucauldian reading of protest and power within the social movement literature. It then suggests initial methodological approaches and possibilities to operationalize the complex macro-micro link described. While a first step focuses on the analysis of political (austerity) discourses, the following assesses its impacts on subjective attitudes (e.g. through interviews among activists and non-activists). The challenge is to find indicators that help to detect parallels between the macro-dimension of crisis discourse and the micro-dimension of ways of thought, knowledge and internalized values regarding the legitimacy of protest and critique.

RYAN WELCH

Ryan Welch is a PhD candidate in the Political Science Department at Florida State University. Before settling into Political Science research, he studied flies and trapping mechanisms as an Entomologist.

Broadly, his research interests are in the subfields of International Relations and Comparative Politics, concentrating on the topics of human rights, institutions, international law, and contentious politics. His dissertation (which is still being fleshed out) will add to the existing legal and sociological research on national human rights institutions (NHRIs). He will use various statistical methods to test theories on the role that NHRIs play in the international human rights legal regime and how/whether they are able to restrain their governments from committing human rights violations.

Can We Take Their Word for It?
Assessing the Validity of Survey Data for Political Dissent Research

Citizens use political dissent to enact public policy changes in countries. It is especially important for citizens with the (actual or perceived) inability to directly influence policy (Machado et al. 2011). In fact, some claim dissent is crucial for legitimizing sovereignty and the state (Habermas 1985). Given its importance as a non-formal political strategy, it is not surprising that scholars have been studying the process from Hobbes until the present (e.g. Hobbes 1985; Klandermans 1983, 1984; Machiavelli 1985; Murdie and Bhasin 2011; Opp 1982, 1988, 1994, 1998). One common way of determining what factors influence its outbreak is to use individual data from surveys (e.g. Opp 1994; Machado et al. 2011). While this approach allows the researcher to test micro-level mechanisms, it leaves out an important part of the theoretical process – the realization of the actual event. In other words, researchers have been content to test their theories using survey participants' word rather than the actual action. This is troubling, as is explicitly admitted by Opp (1994, 109): "Asking questions about past attitudes, behaviors, or circumstances may yield particular problems of validity...Interviewees may even lie to interviewers because they do not want to reveal behavior that is now regarded as undesirable." Social desirability bias could result from two processes. When a protest has succeeded, people may answer that they participated (whether due to mistaken memory or outright dishonesty). It is also the case, that if a protest has failed, the regime is still in place or more willing to crack down on dissenters, and people will be reluctant to admit to demonstrating against that regime. Can people's memories and words be trusted as a source of data when studying political dissent? I use the World Values Survey and Social Conflict in Africa Database (SCAD) (Hendrix and Salehyan 2013) to find correlations between peoples' words and their actions. Specifically, I explore data from Africa between the years 1990 and 2008. Using statistical analyses that take individual and country level factors into account, I find that there is a strong correlation between what people say they do and what actually happens in a country -- the countries that contain people that admit

to participating in political dissent do in fact experience more political dissent. This strong correlation suggests that survey data is a reliable indicator for the actual dissent that occurs. This is good news for researchers that wish to lean on survey data to explore the determinants of social movements. The optimism expressed at least holds for African research (with caveats explored in the paper). Replication for other regions should be done to gain further confidence for survey researchers studying political organization and dissent.