

We are the people!

Confronting the austerity state

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- *A demonstration* is “any temporary occupation by a number of people of an open space, public or private, which directly or indirectly includes the expression of political opinions” (Fillieule 2012).

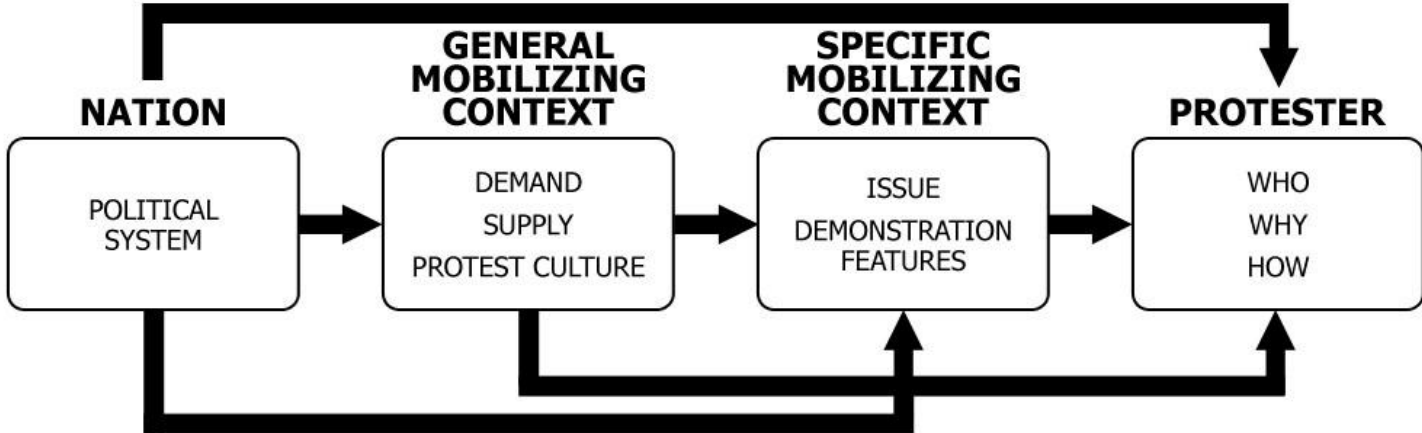
Anti-austerity demonstrations are demonstrations of people whose material interests are threatened by austerity measures taken by their government.

Pro-democracy demonstrations are demonstrations against the political mismanagement of the crisis calling the government's legitimacy into question

Caught in the Act of Protest: Contextualizing Contestation(CCC)

- Comparative study of street demonstrations held between 2009 and 2012 in 8 countries (Spain, Belgium, UK, NL, Switzerland, Sweden, later extended with Italy and Czech Republic)
- Standardized procedures
- Face-to-face interviews (100-200)
- Take-home questionnaires (500-1000)
- Sampling (pointers & interviewers)
- > 80 demonstrations >15.000 respondents
- Response rates: f2f: >90% & take home: 31%

www.protestsurvey.eu



- 12 Anti-austerity demonstrations:
 - U.K. 3; Belgium: 4; Spain: 4; Italy: 1
- 9 Pro-democracy demonstrations
 - U.K.: 3; Belgium: 2; Spain: 1; Italy: 3

Anti-Austerity Demonstrations	Pro-Democracy Demonstrations
<p>Jobs for young people and the unemployed</p> <p>Against government's cutting measures</p> <p>The account of the crisis must be paid by the banks, not by the workers</p> <p>Against the cuts on higher education</p> <p>Against the cuts on public services</p> <p>Insecurity of employment and welfare cuts</p> <p>Raise revenues, not austerity measures</p>	<p>A fairer voting system which gives the British people proper representation</p> <p>A new government must be formed as soon as possible</p> <p>Empower citizens in decision making policies</p> <p>A new policy that primes general interest and not that of a minority</p> <p>We are not good in the hands of politicians and bankers!</p> <p>Achieving social justice and real democracy</p> <p>A future free from austerity measures</p> <p>Building Europe from below; Joining forces at a European level against the policies imposed by the EU institutions</p> <p>Against greed and corruption, resistance to global capitalism</p>

Table 3 Country and demonstration			
	Anti-austerity	Pro-democracy	Total
United Kingdom	456	687	1143
Belgium	639	567	1206
Spain	721	350	1071
Italy	235	540	775
Total	2051	2144	4195

Who took part?

The demographics of contention

How are demonstrators socially and politically embedded?

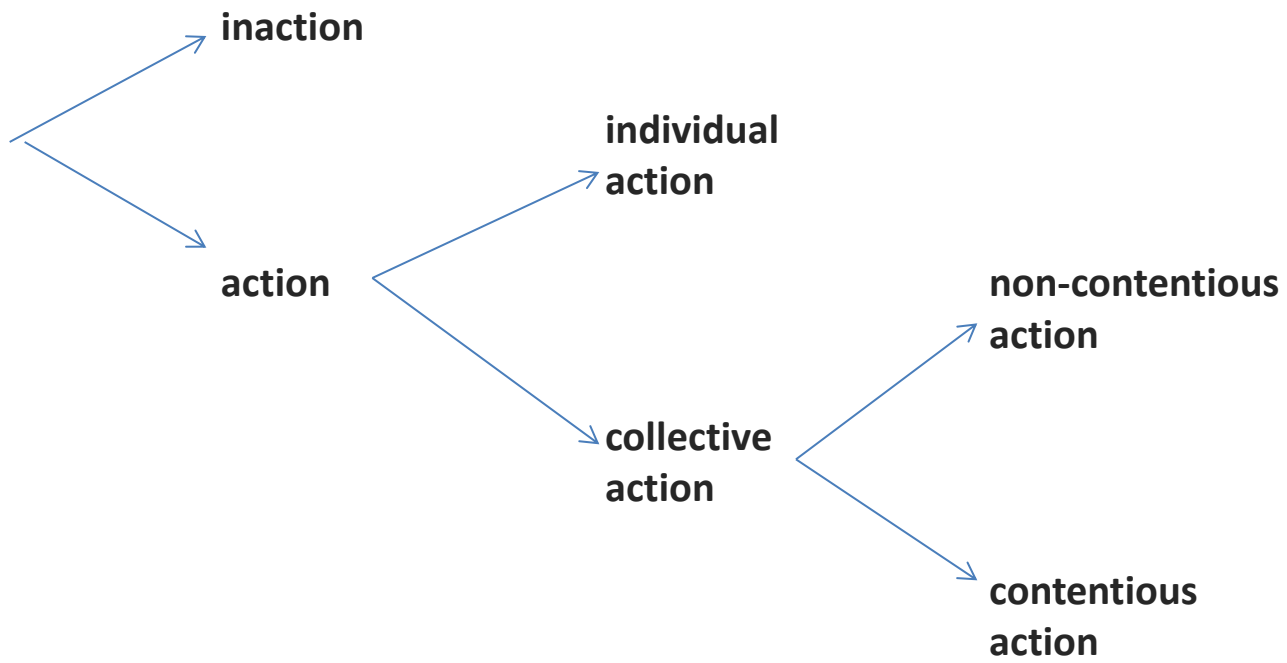
The networks of contention

How were demonstrators mobilized?

Collective versus connective action

Why did people take to the streets?

Anti-austerity versus Pro-democracy



dynamics of mobilization

dynamics of participation

MOBILIZING CONTEXT

- **DEMAND**
- **SUPPLY**
- **MOBILIZATION**

MOTIVATION

- **INSTRUMENTALITY**
- **IDENTITY**
- **IDEOLOGY**
- **EMOTIONS**

The demand-side of participation:

requires studies of such processes as socialization, grievance formation, causal attribution and the formation and politicization of collective identity.

The supply-side of participation:

concerns such matters as action repertoires, the effectiveness of social movements, the ideologies movements stand for, the organizations involved.

Mobilization is the process that links demand and supply: the marketing mechanism of the social movement domain, the study of mobilization concerns such matters as the effectiveness of (persuasive) communication, the impact of communication channels, and the influence of social networks.

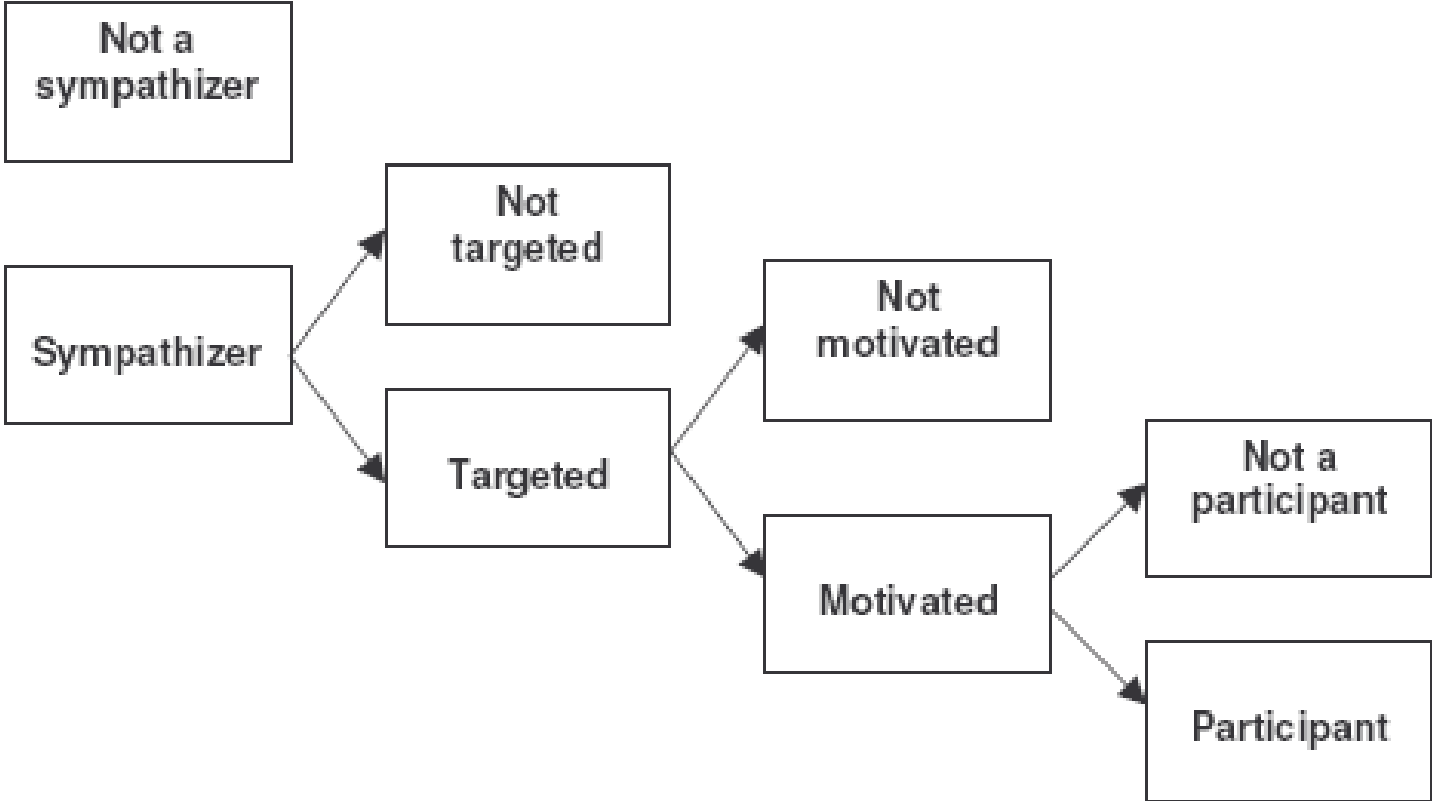
CONSENSUS MOBILIZATION

CONVINCING: DISSEMINATION OF THE MOVEMENT'S VIEW

ACTION MOBILIZATION

ACTIVATING: TURNING SYMPATHIZERS INTO PARTICIPANTS

ACTION MOBILIZATION



MOTIVATION

Instrumentality refers to movement participation as an attempt to influence the social and political environment (free rider problem)

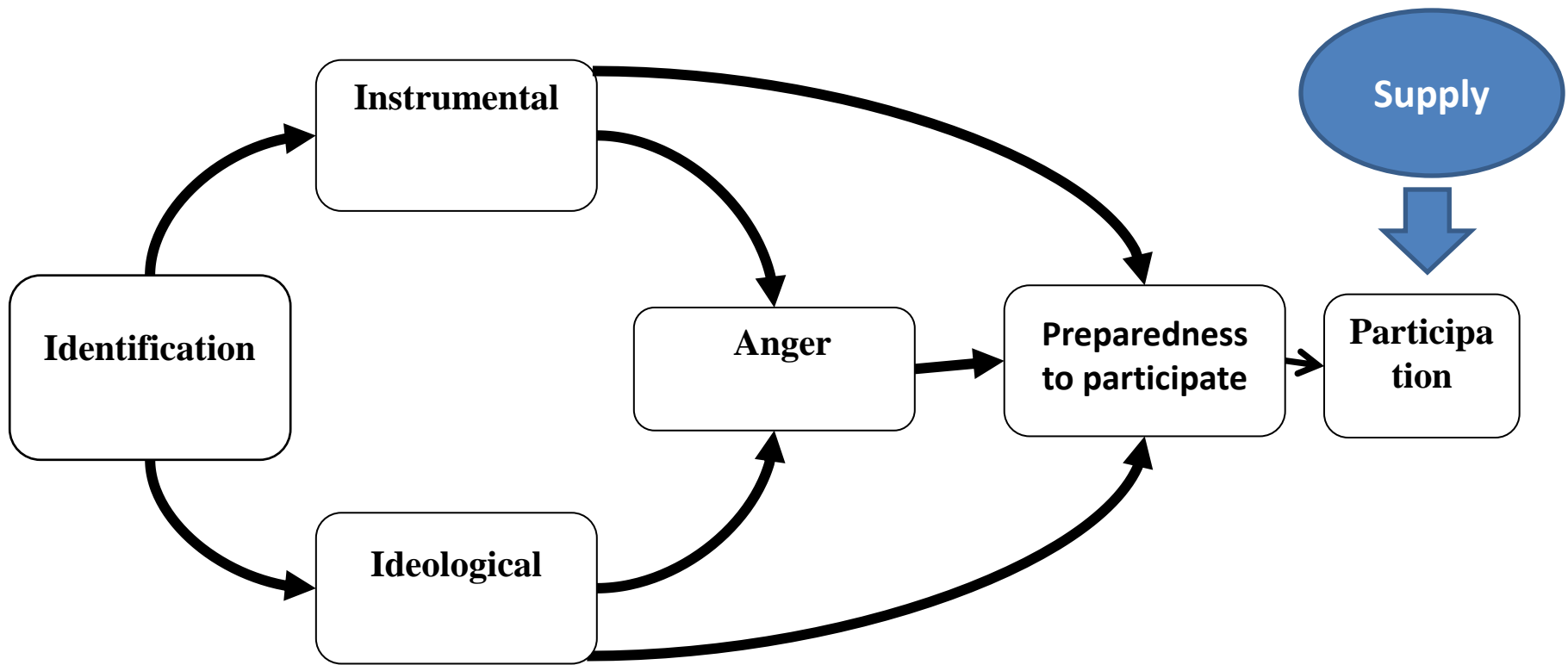
Identity refers to movement participation as a manifestation of identification with a group (inner felt social obligation)

Ideology refers to movement participation as a search for meaning and an expression of one's views (inner felt moral obligation)

EMOTIONS

ANGER = APPROACH

FEAR = AVOIDANCE



Who took part?

The demographics of contention

Table 4 Demographics			
	Anti-austerity	Pro-democracy	Significance
Female	44.8%	47.3%	$\chi^2(1)=2.56^*$
Employment status:			
Full-time	57.1%	39.7%	$\chi^2(1)=126.8^{***}$
Part-time	14.0%	9.7%	$\chi^2(1)=17.8^{***}$
Self-employed	3.1%	9.7%	$\chi^2(1)=73.8^{***}$
Unemployed	5.5%	7.3%	$\chi^2(1)=5.77^{**}$
Student	10.1%	13.7%	$\chi^2(1)=12.4^{***}$
Year born	1967 (13.3)	1968 (16.1)	$F(2)=8.08^{**}$
Education	5.3 (1.6)	6.1 (1.5)	$F(2)=212.3^{***}$

How are demonstrators socially and politically embedded?
The networks of contention

Table 5 Social and political embeddedness			
	Anti-austerity	Pro-democracy	Significance
Involvement in organizations	2.4 (2.2)	2.2 (2.2)	F(1)=6.68**
Voted last elections (no)	10.8%	13.4%	$\chi^2 = 6.17^{**}$
Novice demonstrator	12.4%	24.4%	$\chi^2 = 99.33^{***}$
Political behavior	4.0 (1.9)	3.8 (1.9)	F(1)=5.9*
Talking politics	3.7 (.84)	3.9 (.82)	F(1)=19.3***
Left-right self-placement (1=left-10=right)	2.5 (2.4)	2.8 (2.4)	F(1)=16.64***
n	1905	1975	3880

How were demonstrators mobilized?

Collective versus connective action

Table 6 Communication channels		
	Anti-austerity	Pro-democracy
Affiliated to the organizers	69.6%	24.4%
Mass media		
Radio/television	24.7%	18.5%
Newspapers	25.8%	22.9%
Interpersonal relations		
Family	10.9%	13.9%
Acquaintances	20.6%	28.5%
Organizational networks		
Work, school	28.1%	8.5%
An organization	48.4%	22.2%
Website, mailing lists	34.5%	26.9%
Advertisements, flyers, posters	31.7%	12.5%
The Internet		
Social networks (facebook, twitter)	13.8%	37.6%
Online media	19.1%	32.7%

Why did people take to the streets?

Anti-austerity versus Pro-democracy

Table 7 Confidence in socio-political institutions: Mean and standard deviations			
	Anti-austerity	Pro-democracy	Significance
Satisfaction democracy (0-10)	4.0 (2.6)	3.7 (2.5)	F(1)=15.66***
Political cynicism	3.1 (1.0)	3.0 (1.0)	F(1)=4.45*
Trust in political institutions	2.3 (.80)	2.3 (.84)	F(1)=3.20 ^{ns}
Trust in judicial system	2.9 (1.0)	3.1 (1.0)	F(1)=27.50***
Trust in trade unions	3.4 (1.0)	2.7 (1.0)	F(1)=543.85***
n	1882	1964	3846

Table 8 Motivation to action: Means and standard deviations			
	Anti-austerity	Pro-democracy	Significance
Ideological motivation (2-10)	8.9 (1.2)	8.8 (1.2)	F(1)=4.39*
Instrumental motivation (2-10)	8.7 (1.4)	7.8 (1.7)	F(1)=230.34***
Identification w. other participants	4.2 (.80)	3.9 (.90)	F(1)= 81.18***
Identification w. the organizers	3.9 (1.0)	3.6 (1.1)	F(1)=45.38***
Anger	4.3 (.90)	4.3 (.90)	F(1)=2.42 ^{ns}
Worry	4.3 (.90)	4.0 (1.0)	F(1)=84.44***
n	1655	1645	3300

Table 9 Stepwise logistic regression		
	Correct classifications	Nagelkerke's R Square
Null-model	50.4%	-
Demographics	61.2%	.07
Social and political embeddedness	62.3%	.11
Confidence in socio-political institutions	69.7%	.27
Motivation	72.8%	.34

Table 10 Logistics regression (AA=0; PD=1)

	B	SE	Wald
Year born	.01	.00	5.83**
Education	.16	.03	31.89***
Talking politics	.20	.05	14.83***
Trust in political institutions	.45	.05	44.20***
Trust in unions	-.86	.05	298.76***
Trust in judicial system	.27	.05	34.57***
Satisfaction democracy	-.12	.02	31.70***
Ideological motives	.25	.04	41.33***
Instrumental motives	-.32	.03	111.11***
Identification w. other participants	-.25	.06	17.69***
Identification w. organizers	.09	.05	4.13*
Worry	-.26	.05	32.16***

Table 11a PD-demonstrators by country	U.K.	Belgium	Spain	Italy	F (3)
Trust in political institutions	2.5 (.79)	2.8 (.76)	1.8 (.63)	2.0 (.73)	127.17***
Trust in judicial system	3.4 (.94)	3.2 (.97)	2.3 (.95)	3.2 (1.0)	84.03***
Trust in unions	2.9 (.88)	3.0 (1.1)	1.9 (.87)	2.6 (.94)	86.83***
Satisfaction w. democracy	3.9 (2.4)	5.0 (2.5)	2.2 (1.8)	3.1 (2.2)	95.88***

Table 11b AA-demonstrators by country	U.K.	Belgium	Spain	Italy	F (3)
Trust in political institutions	2.3 (.77)	2.5 (.78)	2.2 (.88)	1.8 (.58)	34.73***
Trust in judicial system	3.2 (.95)	3.0 (1.0)	2.5 (1.0)	3.6 (.93)	71.95***
Trust in unions	3.4 (.86)	3.9 (.77)	3.1 (1.0)	3.2 (.89)	76.33***
Satisfaction w. democracy	4.0 (2.6)	4.9 (2.3)	3.9 (2.6)	2.4 (2.0)	41.76***

Conclusions

- The first systematic comparison of participants in anti-austerity and pro-democracy demonstrations
- The comparison is interesting as both are reactions to the austerity state: challenge of specific measures taken by the austerity state (AA) and challenge of the austerity state per sé (PD)

- AA-demonstrators are more often male, less educated, older, and have a less precarious employment status
- PD-demonstrators are more often female, educated, younger, and have more often a precarious employment status

- Both types of demonstrators are politically active and leaning to the political left. However, AA-participants are the more active and the more leftist of the two.
- AA-demonstrators are more embedded in the multi-organizational fields of their society, while the PD-demonstrators are more embedded in loosely coupled and virtual networks.
- More often than AA-demonstrators PD-demonstrators are novices who take part in a demonstration for the first time in their lives.

- Our findings indicate the relevance of the distinction between collective and connective action.
- The qualification of ‘facebook’ revolt is for PD-protests certainly partially appropriate.
- Yet, mobilization without organization might be too strong a statement. Obviously, a significant part of the mobilization process passes off via organizations also in the case of PD.

- The starkest differences between the two types of demonstrators we observed in the confidence in socio-political institutions.
- As one would imagine we found important country-effects in this regard. Spain and Italy are two countries with very low levels of trust in institutions and satisfaction with democracy.

- PD-demonstrators are primarily ideologically and far less instrumentally motivated than AA-demonstrators.
- Both types of participants are really angry.
- AA-demonstrators display strong worries as well. Although worry fits better in the fear and concern angle associated with non-participation, it is in the context of AA understandably a protest trigger. After all, these people's social and material security is threatened.

- Are we witnessing the emergence of a new type of protest? Difficult to say.
- What we have labeled PD-demonstrations others baptized Occupy-type demonstrations. Defined as new by many a movement scholar.
- Perhaps more interesting, it concerns two different reactions to austerity states. While AA-demonstrations challenge the austerity measures taken by the state, PD-demonstrations challenge the state that is taking these measures.

Thank you for your attention