

**Political Sociology**

**Tutorial 5 | Protest**





## Activists



## Organizations

## Symbolic gestures



## Demonstrations

**Individual**  
**Mohamed Bouazizi**

**Collective**  
**Tunisian Revolution**

**Transnational**  
**'Arab Spring'**

**Tunisia, 2010**

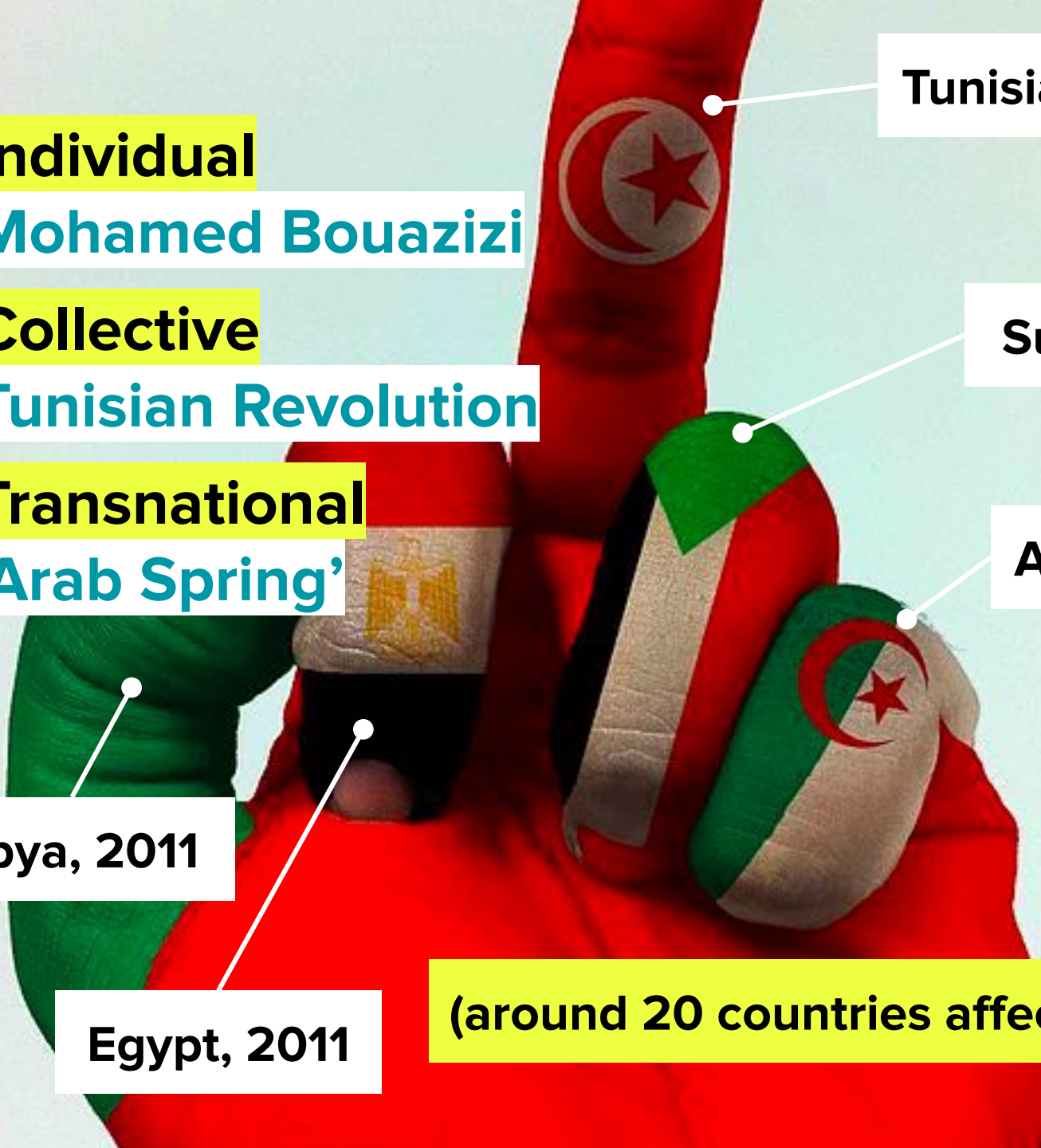
**Sudan, 2011**

**Algeria, 2010**

**Libya, 2011**

**Egypt, 2011**

**(around 20 countries affected in total)**





Sélim Smaoui

Les occupations de place ont été accueillies par des dithyrambes enchantées comme par des verdicts cyniques prétendant que rien ne s'était passé. Se mettant à distance de ces deux caricatures, Sélim Smaoui a choisi, par une observation ethnographique, de prendre ce mode d'action au sérieux en raison de l'une de ses principales potentialités : celle de faciliter l'enrôlement des novices du militantisme dans le giron de la lutte politique. Ce livre est bâti sur la base de témoignages recueillis lors d'une immersion quotidienne menée par Sélim Smaoui Place de la République au printemps 2016 et Plaça Catalunya (Barcelone) en 2011.

Quels enseignements tirer de ces mouvements qui ne réclament pas directement le pouvoir, dont les revendications sont diffuses et où les militants chevronnés côtoient les novices ? C'est précisément à ces derniers, et particulièrement à l'irruption de l'engagement dans leur quotidien, que Sélim Smaoui a consacré cet ouvrage.



13,90 euros  
www.editionstextuel.com  
ISBN : 978-2-84597-591-0

textuel

Faites place Sélim Smaoui

# Faites place

Novices en lutte

PETITE  
ENCYCLOPÉDIE  
CRITIQUE

textuel





### Evolution du nombre de manifestants En milliers



# Example research questions

- **How does protest build up**

- Resources e.g. money, expertise
- Leadership e.g. activists, organisations
- Symbols e.g. imagery, events

- **How does protest expand**

- Politicization partisan involvement
- Nationalization nationwide issue expansion
- Diffusion transnational imitation





المساواة في الميراث... حق هوش مزية  
Equality is my right, this is why I fight

الاتلاف المدني  
من أجل الحريات الفردية

المساواة في الميراث  
حق هوش مزية

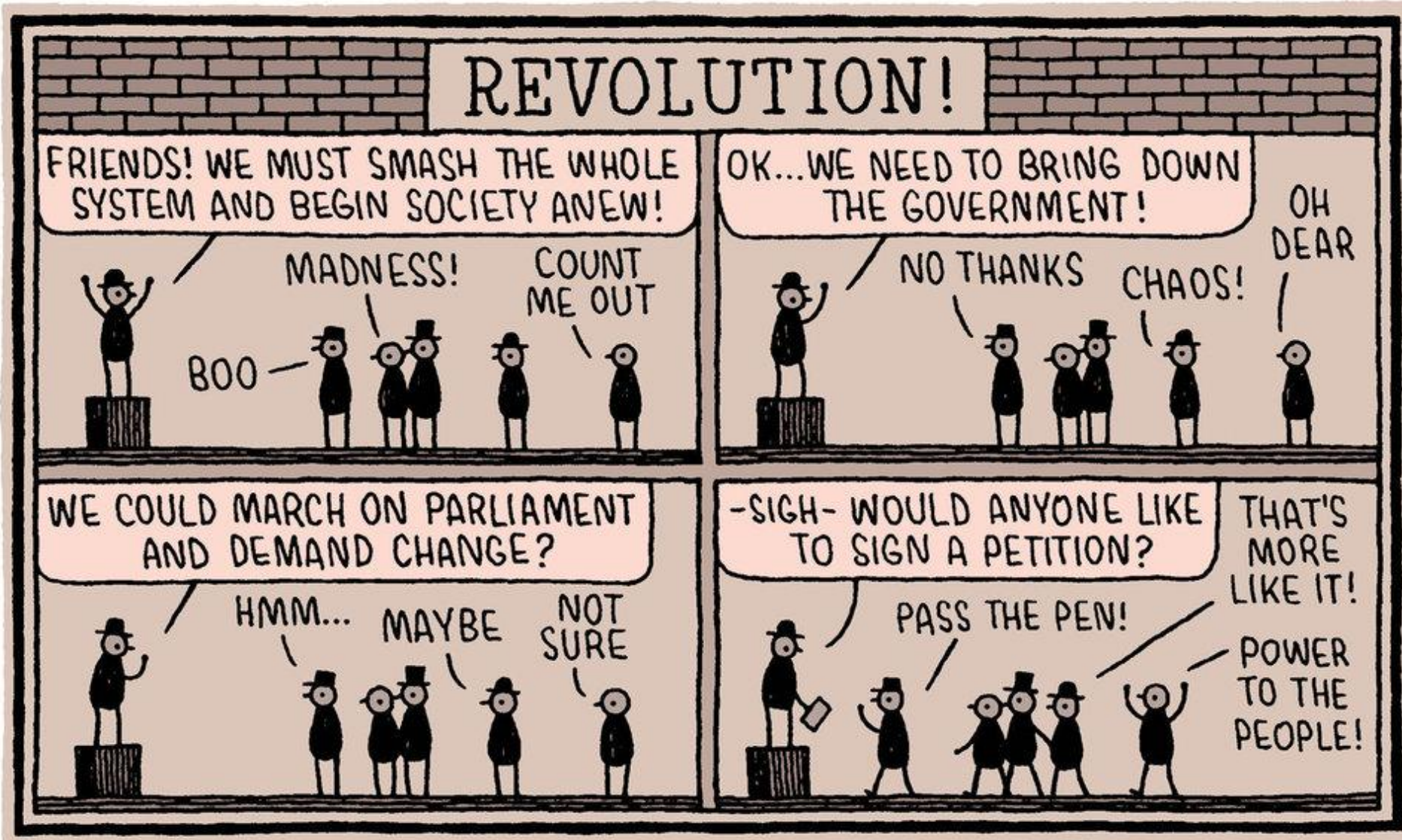
المساواة في الميراث  
حق هوش مزية

المساواة في الميراث  
حق هوش مزية

المساواة في الميراث  
حق هوش مزية

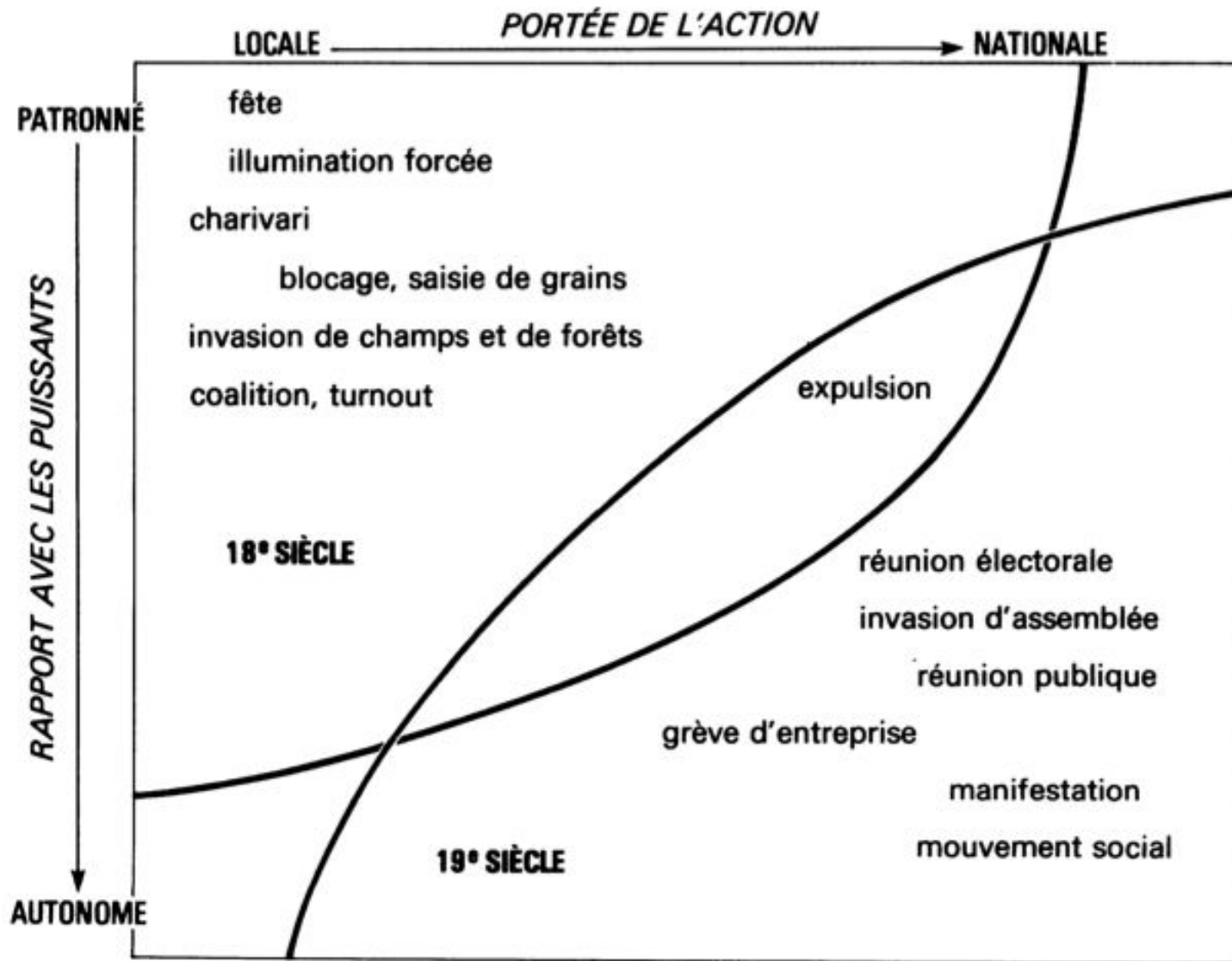


# Historical v. strategic choices in movement tactics





# Nationalized repertoires of contention (Tilly 1984)





# De la capote géante au faux mariage gay... quand Act Up était activiste

16/05/2017



**Innovation and disruption**





ONE AIDS DEATH EVERY HALF HOUR

42,476

FDA: STOP BLOCKING AIDS TREATMENT







Facebook

#jan25



THE EGYPTIAN  
SOCIAL NETWORK

شاس  
بوك



Le Monde **Afrique** • ALGÉRIE

# Dans la contestation en Algérie, les youtubeurs réapparaissent



DZjoker CADRE يد ديزاد جوكر ضد العهدة الخامسة



Watch later



Share



0:51 / 1:54



YouTube





ils  
CAR NOUS VOULONS DÉTRUIRE LE POUVOIR, CEUX  
QUI LE DÉTIENNENT, ET CEUX QUI LE DÉFENDENT !

## ÉCHAUFFEMENTS

Tout comme aller citoyennement tous les cinq ans déposer son bulletin dans l'urne est une tradition chez certains, il y a une tradition qui perdure, c'est celle de l'attaque contre le triste cirque électoral. En voici un échantillon :

• **Talence** : L'espace Médoquine où était attendu Emmanuel Macron le 9 mars a été vandalisé dans la nuit. Plusieurs vitres, notamment à l'entrée du bâtiment, ont été détruites. Les dégâts sont importants, et des inscriptions ont été apposées sur les murs de la salle de spectacle.

• **Alençon** : Le 18 mars, à la permanence du Front National, la vitrine a été brisée à l'aide d'une barrière métallique, habituellement utilisée pour « contenir la foule » et le local a été « gravement endommagé » par un incendie.

• **Grenoble** : La permanence du parti Les Républicains a reçu une petite visite nocturne le 21 mars. Les vitres de sa devanture ont été et le matériel informatique dégradés et des

Material violence





**Symbolic violence**













VIVE La COMMUNE du Tertre

Force  
ACTION  
Révolution  
Sociologique

Oh non!  
Je suis découverte!  
:c

OMITE  
AUTONOME  
DE PSYCHO  
N GARDE LE CAP



Frontières:  
cimetières

LA FACE EST UN  
LIEU ANTIFA

FAC  
FEMINISTE

'A SÉLECTION  
C'EST PÔ  
JUSTE!

NIQUE  
LA BAC!

VIVE LE VENT  
VIVE LE VENT  
VIVE LE VANDALISME

PAS  
CONTENT

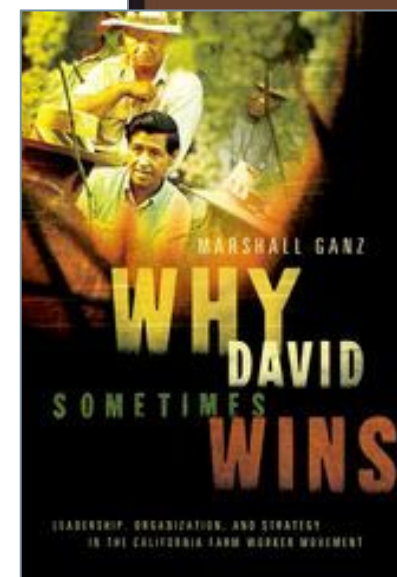
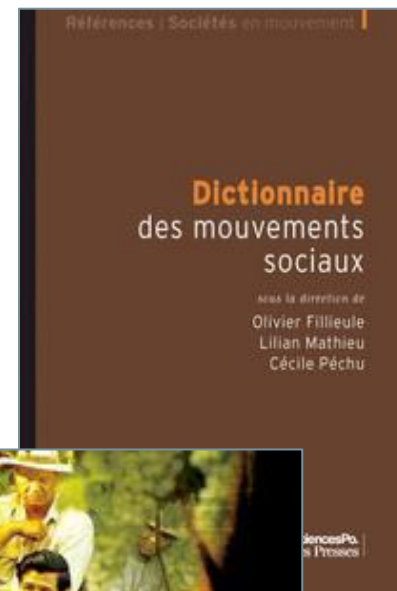
Les flics ne sont  
Pas nos fils!  
les pufes

BUTE LE PATRIARCAT



# Models of collective action

- Is protest ever a **rational** behaviour?
  - **Free-riding** on public goods (Olson 1971)
  - Cascade effects and **tipping points**
- Can protest ever be **effective** without
  - Inspirational **leaders**?
  - Some form of **emotional appeal**?
  - **Collective identity formation**?
  - Actual **successful claims**?





## **ACTION FORMS, REPERTOIRES, AND CYCLES OF PROTEST**

# Reading 5

November 30, 1999. Seattle, a city which, thanks to Microsoft, has become emblematic of the New Economy, saw some 50,000 demonstrators protest against the third WTO conference assembled to launch the Millennium Round, a new series of negotiations aimed at increasing market liberalization, in particular of investment and public services. The protest had been called for a few months before in Geneva by a committee of organizations from various backgrounds that had already (successfully) mobilized to prevent the signing of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). As with the MAI, the WTO negotiations were criticized for restricting individual states' power to intervene on social and environmental issues in the name of free trade. No fewer than 1,387 groups (including NGOs, trade unions, environmentalists, and a number of religious organizations of various affiliations) signed the call to demonstrate against the Millennium Round. Thousands of meetings in many countries and a global information campaign were organized to prepare for the protests. The demonstrators marched to slogans such as "the world is not for sale"; "No Globalization Without Participation"; "We Are Citizens, Not Only Consumers"; "WTO = Capitalism without Conscience"; "Trade: Clean, Green and Fair."

From the morning of the very first day, a series of sit-ins, coordinated by the Direct Action Network (DAN), stopped most of the 3,000 delegates from 135 countries from reaching the inaugural ceremony. Organized into "affinity groups" only loosely linked with each other, some 10,000 demonstrators sat tied together in chains on the ground, using so-called "lock down" and "tripod" techniques that made the work of the police in removing the blockages more difficult (Smith 2000). When the police arrived to clear the streets leading to the summit, the demonstrators made no move to resist but applied the tactics they had learned during courses

# Definitions of protest

- Way to **participate in politics**  
along following the news, discussing, attending meetings
- Way to **pressure a government**  
along voting, military intervention, diplomacy
- Way to **influence decision-makers**  
through indirect persuasion
- An expression of **modern, national politics**  
(nationalization, mass education and communications)  
→ Varying **repertoires** of protest



# Categories of protest

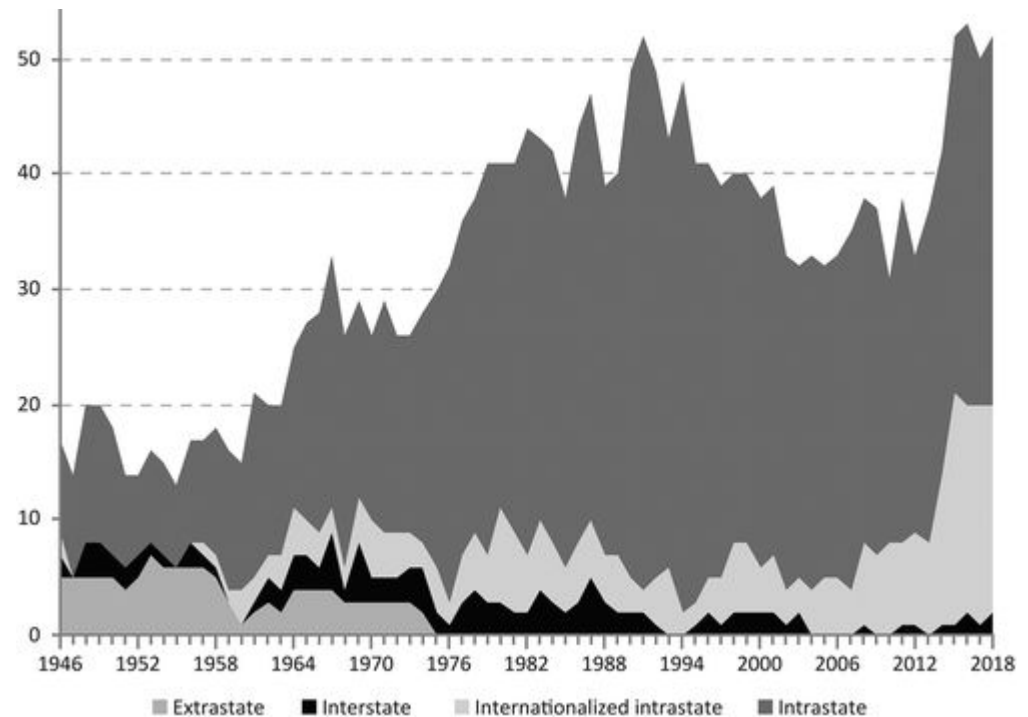
- **Thresholds** on the conventionality continuum
  - Unconventional (e.g. petitions)
  - Direct action (e.g. boycotts)
  - Illegality (e.g. occupations)
  - Violent (e.g. hostages)
- **Logics** (as well as emotions and values) of protest
  - Numerical strength  $\approx$  magnitude of dissent
  - Material disruption (violence, boycotts)
  - Bearing witness (e.g. civil disobedience)

# Contemporary issues in mobilization

- Cross-national **diffusion** (imitation, transfer)
- **Cycles** (waves, campaigns) of protest / conflict

The text you read was published in 2006.

What would you add to this section of it today?



State-based armed conflict by type, 1946–2018



A stylized illustration of a crowd of people with their hands raised, set against a solid orange background. The figures are rendered in dark brown and black tones, creating a high-contrast, graphic effect. The overall composition is centered around the word 'QUESTIONS' in large, white, bold, sans-serif capital letters.

# QUESTIONS



**10 minute break**





# Midterm exam grades



WWW.PHDCOMICS.COM

JORGE CHAM © 2008



# Overall performance

- **Multiple-choice questions** (all students)
  - Average at **7.32** out of 10
  - Range from **3** to **10**
- **Short essay** (tutorial groups 1 and 3)
  - Average at **6.8** out of 10
  - Range from **5.1** to **8**
- **No grades below 10 on exam** (tutorial groups 1 and 3)
- **Feedback** to follow by email (tutorial groups 1 and 3)



# Grading criteria on short essay question

- **Academic English**

(including properly cited sources)

- **Dimensions of power** and their differences

(with an emphasis on the latter)

- **Authors** and **examples**

(see e.g. Clemens 2016 ch. 1)

- **Contextual information**

(theoretical background)

**required for  
high grades**



# Presentation workshop





# Meta-reading of della Porta and Diani (2006)

*Elements in red are relevant to your presentations*

- The text is a **textbook chapter**
  - Terminology (**definitions**)
  - Classifications (**typologies**)
- **Examples** are **comparable case studies**
- **References** cover several decades
  - Insights from different **authors, approaches, disciplines**
  - Complementary and competing **theoretical frameworks**

## Theories of collective action (Clemens 2006, ch. 6)

- **Emotions and interests** (e.g. opposition to colonialism) are rarely sufficient on their own for mobilization to occur
- **Resource mobilization** (McCarthy and Zald 1977) — dissent never in short supply, unlike financial and organizational resources (e.g. meeting spaces, recruitment ties)
- **Political opportunities** (e.g. elections, dominant frames) and decision-making opportunity structures (Kitschelt 1986)
- **Patterns of (de)mobilization** (socialization, preference formation, careers trajectories, constrained choices)



## For your presentations (and for your sources)

- What kind of a **case study** are you offering?  
(what is the class of cases in which your topic fits)
- What **research question** are you trying to answer?  
(what is the empirical problem under examination)
- What **theoretical framework** are you applying?  
(what is the generic solution to your empirical problem)
- Do the facts **confirm or contradict** the theory?

## # Tracklist for Tutorial 5



- **The Rolling Stones, “Street Fighting Man” (1968)**

*Hey! Think the time is right for a palace revolution  
But where I live the game to play is compromise solution*

- **The Wailers, “Get Up, Stand Up” (1973)**

*Get up, stand up, stand up for your rights  
Get up, stand up, don't give up the fight*

- **Jeff Mills and the Montpellier Philharmonic Orchestra,  
“The March” (2005)**

*(instrumental)*