Linking context and movement coalitions: the case of the Czech anti-war protest cooperation 2002-2009

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General goals

- Conceptual exploration of the relationship between social movements´ cooperation strategies and their political context, but also empirical measurement of the intensity and impact of some of the mechanisms linking them

Particular goals

- How particular constellations of the external threat and the domestic political opportunities affect the formation of protest coalitions within the field of Czech anti-war activism?
- Tracing two processes of domestic coalition trans-/formation,
- Identification of transmitting mechanisms,
- Evaluation of the intensity of the relational mechanisms, and
- Assessesment of the impact of both processes on the diversity and intensity of protest cooperation in the given period.

SMs in multi-level polity

- Some SMs remain embedded within their local or national context, and internalize supra-national political processes and events [Risse-Kappen 1995; Imig, Tarrow 1999; Tarrow 2005: 32-34].
- One of the paths of how international politics shapes mobilization on the domestic level are “international triggering events” (ITEs) that rather unexpectedly affect the development of social movements [Carmin and Hicks 2002: 307; Gerhards, Rucht 1992; Kriesi at al. 1995; della Porta, Kriesi 1999: 8].
- The shift towards a subjectivist account of political opportunities [Kurzman 1996; Meyer, Minkoff 2004],

Coalition formation of SMs

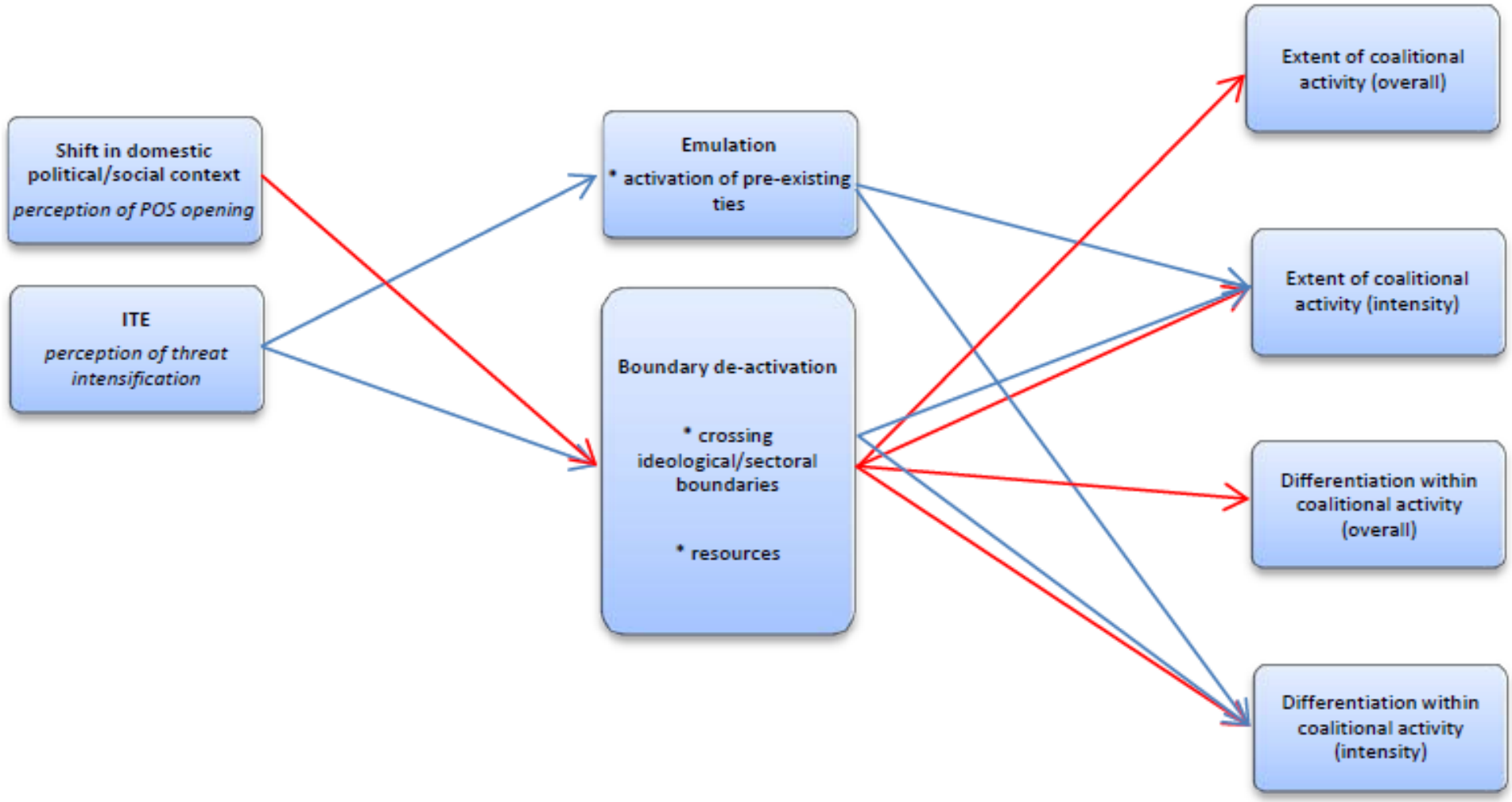
- The role of threat and opportunities has enjoyed a wide attention in the study of social movement interactions [e.g. McCammon, Campbell 2002; Meyer, Corrigall-Brown 2005; Reese 2005; Staggenborg 1986; Van Dyke, Soule 2002; Van Dyke 2003].
- Three important endogenous factors leading to the formation of coalition has been identified: pre-existing ties, ideology, and resources [Van Dyke, McCammon 2010].

Mechanisms of coalition formation

- Two key mechanisms
- First, the use of pre-existing ties may be understood as the opposite of the mechanism of defection, and I therefore call it *emulation*. This consists of repeating a performance; for example, forming a protest coalition here similar to one observed in another setting [cf. Tilly, Tarrow 2007: 215].
- On the other hand, the roles of ideology and of resources in coalition formation may be depicted as two different logics constituting a single *boundary activation/deactivation* mechanism, one instrumental and one of identity (see above).

Linking context and protest cooperation

Environmental, cognitive and relational mechanisms



Data and method

- Semi-structured interviews with 2 key representatives of anti-war coalitions representing two key ideological platforms (anarchist and Trotskyite)
- protest event analysis (PEA Czech)
- triangulation of several resources.
- period under study (September 2002 - April 2009).
- 287 protest events were listed
- attributes recorded: location, time, organizing and participating groups, repertoire, number of individual participants (computed as an average of all the available values), and the main claim of the event

Data and method

- The overall period of anti-war protests was divided into three periods/cycles according to the change in the configuration of the political context: September 2002 – November 2003 (12 protest events), January 2003 – June 2006 (82 protest events), August 2006 – April 2009 (193 protest events).

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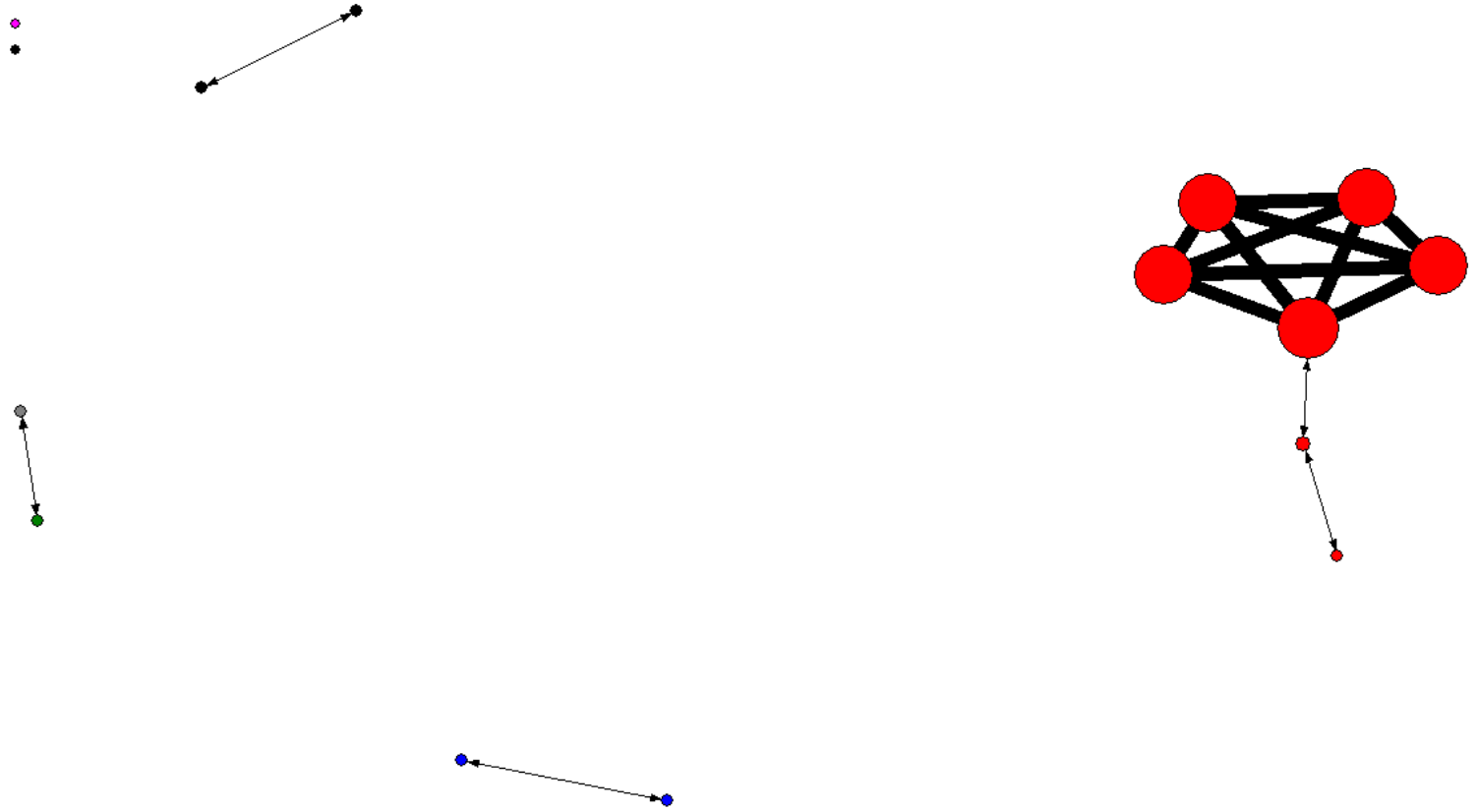
Data and method

- Identification and measuring of relational mechanisms and emulation is based both on the interviews with activists, and on social network analysis (SNA)
- The tie between SMOs is treated as undirected as anti-war actors did not take part at the event without the consent of other organizing or participating actor.
- The original 2-mode affiliation network created from the protest event data for each of the three periods under study was transformed into a one-mode valued directed network.
- The value of the tie equals the number of joint co-occurrences of two groups at the event.
- Two key forms of impact on the coalition formation and transformation process on the overall network structure are measured - the diversity of coalition activity is measured as the density of binary cooperation networks; the intensity of a coalition’s activity is measured as the density of valued cooperation networks

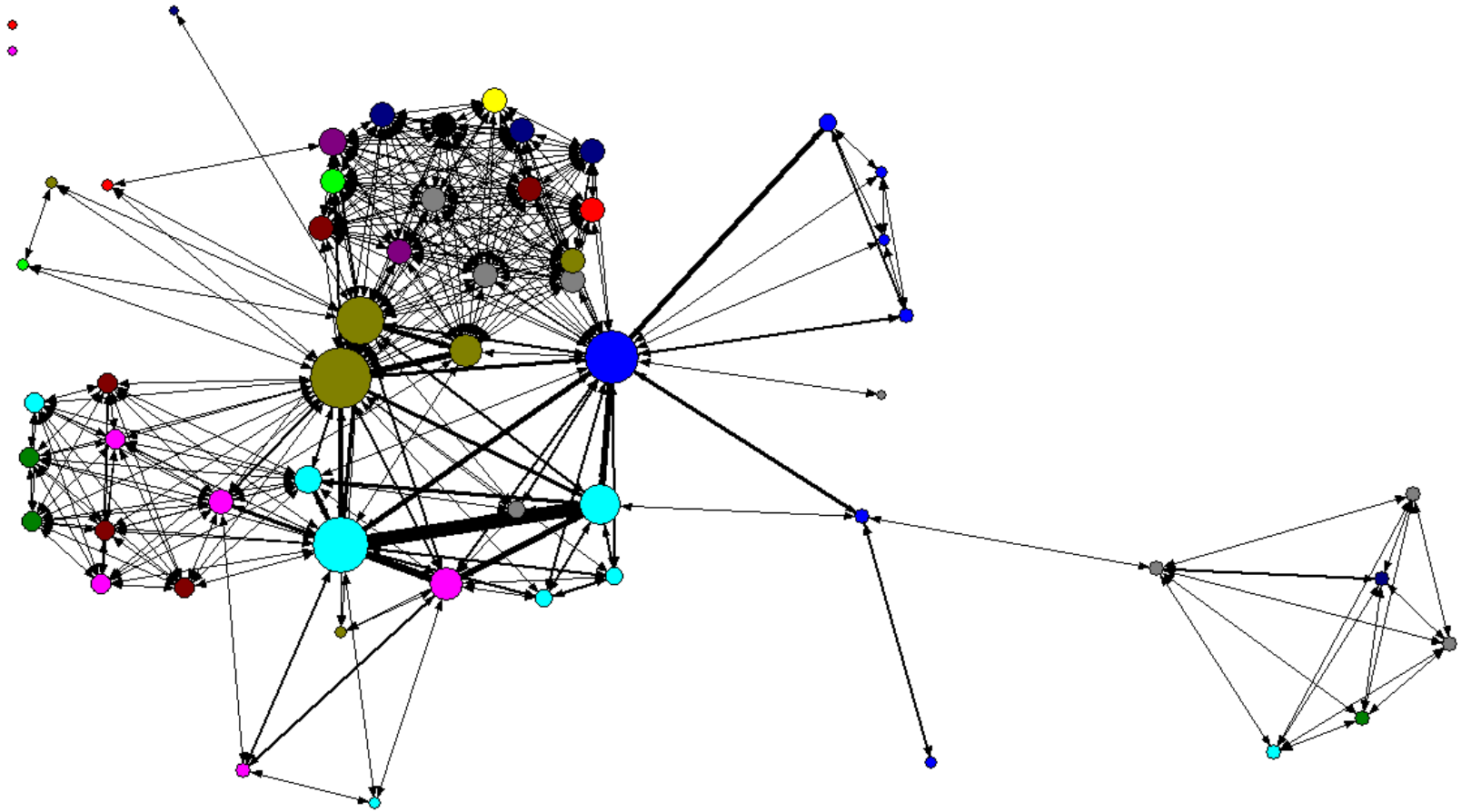
Data and method

- The presence and intensity of the role of ideology in boundary de-/activation is measured through the application of a **constant homophily blockmodel** on three protest cooperation networks. The groups were identified based on their sectoral/ideological belongings (5, 14 and 15 sectors were differentiated within three cooperation networks), and the proposition that all groups share preference for within-group ties was tested.
- The comparative role of resources in coalition formation was assessed through a **linear regression model** explaining the number of ties between SMOs while controlling for the ideology of the SMOs. Only SMOs that participated both in the first and the second (9 SMOs), and in the second and the third campaigns (24 actors), were included in this analysis.
- The presence and intensity of the emulation mechanism, or the activation of pre-existing ties, are measured as the correlation between valued networks consisting of actors that remained active both in the first and second period, and both in the second and third period. The **method of QAP correlation** was used to assess both the value of the similarity between compared networks, and to estimate whether this similarity is likely to have occurred by chance.

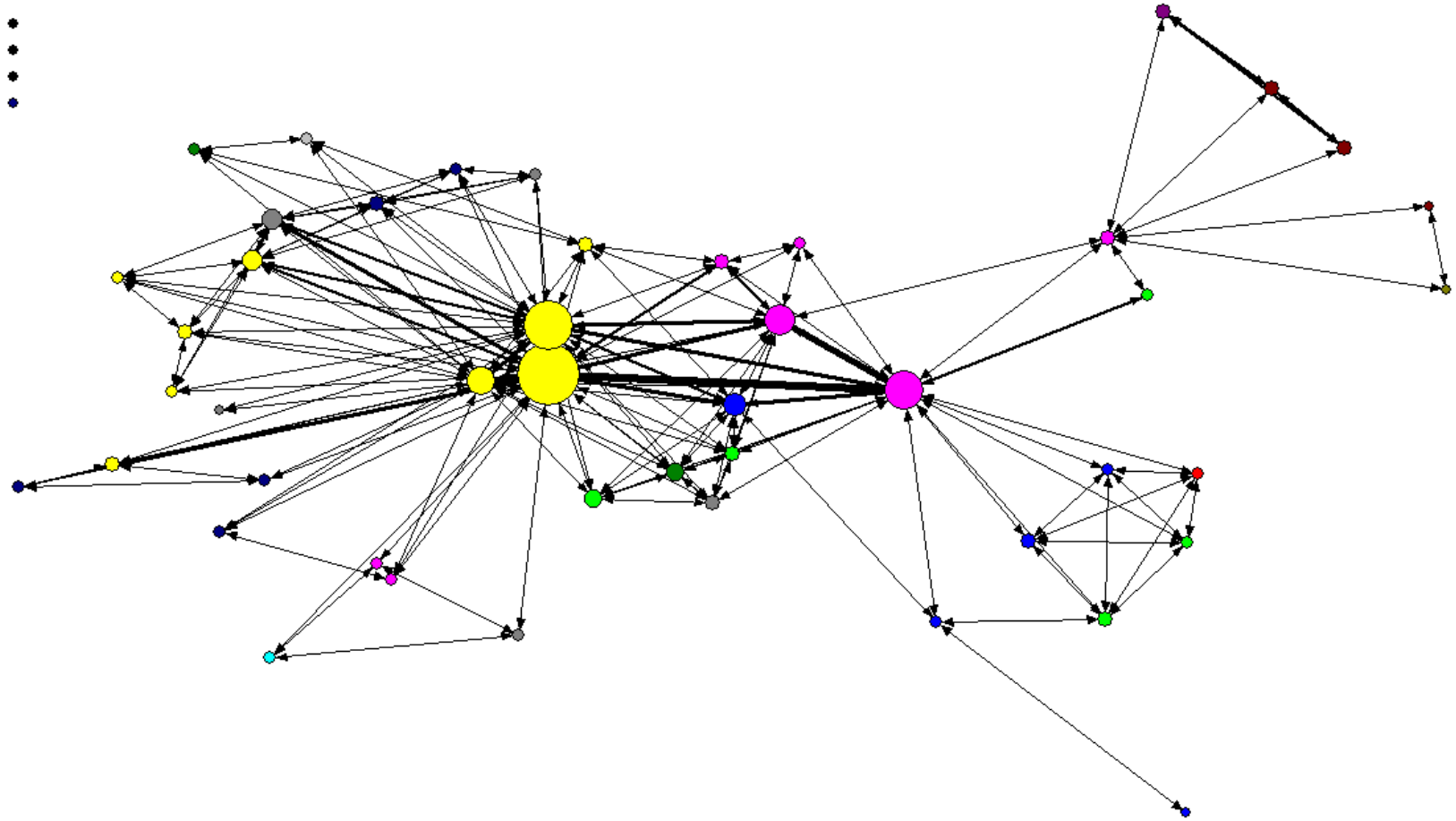
Protest cooperation 2002



Protest cooperation 2003-2006



Protest cooperation 2006-2009



Boundary de-/activation

Constant homophily model

	2002	2003-2006	2006-2009
N	16	57	54
Intercept (unstd.)	0	0,201	0,208
In-group (unstd.)	0,607***	0,218***	0,283***
In-group (std.)	0,736***	0,138***	0,179***
Adj. R-Sqr	0,542***	0,019***	0,032***

Source: PEA Czech
Note: p-values determined by permutation tests (5000 iterations)

Role of resources

OLS Regression

	2003-2006		2006-2009	
	Beta	Std. Beta	Beta	Std. Beta
resources	0,329	5,831	0,063	0,014
controls for sector/ideology affiliation				
Intercept	-599,56	0	228,051	0
Anarchist	597,762	8,541	-209,270	-0,215
Trotskyites	676,605	9,172	568,186	0,519
Marxists			-232,033	-0,177
Social Democrats			-199,367	-0,110
Human Rights			-217,719	-0,120
Environmentalists			108,468	0,122
Trade unions			-217,501	-0,120
Religious			562,119	0,513
Minorities			-224,213	-0,171
Adj R-sqr	0,609		0,573	

Source: PEA Czech

Note: p-values determined by permutation tests (10000 iterations). All values are significant at the p .001 level.

Emulation mechanism

QAP correlation

	2003	2006
N	9	24
Observed value	0,074	0,423
Significance	0,27	0,001

Source: PEA Czech
Note: p-values determined by permutation tests (5000 iterations)

Impact on intensity/diversity of cooperation

Density

	2002	2003-2006	2006-2009
Overall density (binary)	0,142	0,217	0,23
Overall density (valued)	0,475	0,354	3,171

Two major paths to protest cooperation transformation