Introduction

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In Latin America, on the African continent, in Asia, and in the Northern Hemisphere, movements have struggled for societal change. Once the changes begin to materialize, the movements that fought for them face the question of how to proceed. Quite often there is little room for maneuvering because the constituency abandons the movement or the leadership takes governmental responsibilities on itself. In those situations we see movement organizations struggle with the new reality. Decline, radicalization, and revitalization are possible outcomes.

This book brings together essays on how social movement organizations act in the context of the democratic transition they have been fighting for. It compares movement dynamics in these circumstances and develops theoretical frameworks for the study of movements in times of democratic transition. The plan for this book originated at a workshop held in November 2008 in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Contributors include participants at the workshop and other scholars from South Africa, Central Europe, and Latin America.

Decline

One trajectory of movements in times of democratic transition is decline. Why would a democratic transition lead to the decline of a movement? One obvious reason is success or failure. Success decreases the demand for movement activity; even partial success reduces the urgency of the movement's cause. As a consequence, the motivation of individual citizens to take part in movement activity declines. Failure implies that the supply of movement activity is flawed

or not effective. Why would someone continue to be involved in activities that appear to be ineffective? Because both demand and supply are needed for protest to materialize, movement activity declines when either side is deemed insufficient.

Radicalization

Decline is not the only trajectory a movement can take in response to societal transition. Hanspeter Kriesi and colleagues (1995) distinguish in addition to decline (or "involution," as they call it) three more trajectories: radicalization, institutionalization, and commercialization. Radicalization of a movement usually results in decline as well, because more-moderate supporters can no longer identify with the radicalized movement. Institutionalization and commercialization arguably mean the end of movement activity. The movement has become part of the political or governmental establishment or turned into a commercial enterprise.

Revitalization

Although the literature frequently refers to decline as a movement's fate, we also see a revitalization of the movement sector in response to democratic transition. Indeed, some old movements die, but new movements come into existence. In some countries, such as Brazil and South Africa, the movement sector seems to grow rather than dwindle.

Abeyance

When a movement declines, that does not necessarily mean it disappears altogether. Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor (1987) note that pockets of movement activity continue to exist in so-called abeyance structures. Groups of movement activists, who continue to meet, keep the remainders of the movement alive. It is not unlikely that these pockets become the kernels for starting points of a new cycle of the same or a new movement.

Disengagement

At the individual level, movement decline or demobilization has the appearance of disengagement. Previously active individuals decide to quit active involvement and give up movement activity. Disengagement results from declining levels of satisfaction and commitment. Satisfaction is related to the extent to which movement activity satisfies motives to participate, be they instrumental, identity, or ideological motives. *Commitment* refers to the individual's level of identification with the movement, the expectation that the movement will continue to satisfy the motives to participate, and perceived alternative ways

to satisfy the motives. Dissatisfaction and low levels of commitment can coexist without making a person quit. Although disengagement does not necessarily imply movement decline—movements may successfully replenish their numbers when participants quit—movement decline does necessarily imply disengagement.

The Book

The book contains edited, peer-reviewed papers from Latin America, South Africa, and Central Europe preceded by three theoretical contributions. The regional sections each begin with a short introduction by an expert on the region.

Part I contains three chapters on theory relevant in the context of democratic transition. In "Mobilizing for Democracy" Federico Rossi and Donatella della Porta observe that political scientists have paid little attention to the role of social movements in processes of democratization, while social movement scholars have given short shrift to processes of democratization. The authors discuss three perspectives on democratization—structural, historical, and transitional—and formulate an answer to the question of what has been the role of social movements, trade unions, advocacy networks, and cycles of protest in democratization processes. They conclude that their role tends to vary with the different stages of democratization. Olivier Fillieule in "Disengagement from Radical Organizations" elaborates on yet another relevant aspect of the fate of movements in times of democratic transition: disengagement and, consequently, decline. He argues strongly for research on people's life course and the justifications they give for their actions as a means to investigate the complex interplay of factors at micro, meso, and macro levels. But not every activist career ends in disengagement. Alison Crossley and Verta Taylor's "Abeyance Cycles in Social Movements" takes up Taylor's classic argument about movements in abeyance. They show that a movement does not necessarily disappear when it declines. Building on material on feminist mobilization among college-age students during a period of abeyance for the U.S. women's movement, the authors show how the abeyance formulation helps in understanding the complex role of movements during periods of democratic transition.

The four chapters on Latin America in Part II all concern transitions to democracy of authoritarian or dictatorial regimes. Sebastián Pereyra in "Strategies and Mobilization Cycles of the Human Rights Movement in the Democratic Transition in Argentina" describes how that movement, crucial in the struggles against the military dictatorship, gradually institutionalized during the transition to democracy. He shows how human rights organizations became legitimate political players. At the same time, the movement reformulated and widened its demands to encompass recent institutional human rights violations. North of Argentina, in Brazil, the land reform movement Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra (MST; Landless Rural Workers' Movement) tries to accommodate successive regime changes. Camila Penna in "Social Movement Activity

in the Transition to Partido dos Trabalhadores Government" describes how the land reform movement coped with the transition to the government of the Partido dos Trabalhadores led by Lula da Silva. Although not exactly a transition to democracy, it is a transition to a regime that is closely affiliated with the MST. From the standpoint of the movement sector, the transition to the Partido dos Trabalhadores government was unprecedented in Brazilian politics. Four years later a similar transition took place in Bolivia when Evo Morales and his Movimiento al Socialismo took office. Ton Salman in "A Democracy for 'Us'—or for All?" analyzes the ambivalence of social movements when parties akin to them win an election. He illustrates how ideological affinities and shared causes are troubled by the responsibilities of the now-governing standard-bearer. Farther north, in Central America, between 1980 and 2010 a whole region transitioned to democracy. Paul Almeida in "Democratization and the Revitalization of Popular Movements in Central America" describes the two waves of protest that accompanied the transition. The first wave occurred when the region was still characterized by authoritarian regimes; the second took place in a more democratic context. Interestingly, Almeida also highlights the revitalization of movements as the movement sectors in each country adjusted to the new political economic context of democratization.

South Africa is the exemplar of a peaceful transition to democracy. It also proved false the theories holding that movement activity declines during democratic transitions. In his introduction to Part III Stephen Ellis observes that the country was home to a bewildering number of political and social movements articulating grievances of one or another sort. The three chapters in this section all underscore that observation. Ineke van Kessel discusses the demise of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the most representative movement organization in South Africa's history, in "The United Democratic Front and Its Legacy after South Africa's Transition to Democracy." Soon after the African National Congress (ANC) was unbanned, the UDF disbanded itself. Some of its organizations went back to their core business, other member movements merged with branches of the ANC, and dozens of organizations ceased to exist. Van Kessel shows how during the honeymoon years of Nelson Mandela's presidency the relationship between the state and civil society was largely collaborative but that in recent years civil society organizations increasingly began to protest against the ANC because it failed to deliver a better life for all. This is exactly what Bert Klandermans found in surveys conducted in South Africa around the time of the first two democratic elections (1994 and 1999). In "Movement Politics and Party Politics in Times of Democratic Transition" he compares engagement in party politics and movement politics between 1994 and 2000. Data collected among random samples of the population tell us that many continued to be actively involved in movement politics. Unlike what is suggested in the literature, the engagement in party politics did cause a decline in movement politics. Indeed, in the election year 1999 the proportion of the citizens who were involved in both movement politics and party politics increased significantly.

Steven Robins and Christopher Colvin bring the argument down to the ground level of citizens in neighborhoods of Cape Town. Community-based activism in South Africa continues to be dynamic and animated, as their chapter, "Social Movements after Apartheid," illustrates. The authors provide figures that suggest that social activism and community protest are not only alive and well after apartheid but on the upsurge. They refer to the emergence of numerous new social movements, focusing on one, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), which during the years of the Thabo Mbeki administration struggled for provision of HIV treatment. The chapter examines the ways TAC and its partner organizations have navigated the postapartheid political landscape.

Meanwhile, in Eastern and Central Europe, former communist countries were experiencing democratization trajectories that impress the observer as more chaotic than those in Latin America and South Africa because of the complexities of attempts by the population to come to terms with the legacy of the communist systems. The two chapters on Poland and the one on Hungary each document processes of institutionalization. In Hungary the former protest organization Fidesz evolved into a conservative, extreme-right party. In Poland two important movement organizations, the labor movement and the farmers' movement, institutionalized into interest organizations, negotiating interests of their constituencies rather than striving for broader political goals. In "From Anticommunist Dissident Movement to Governing Party," Máté Szabó documents the transformation of Fidesz in Hungary. He demonstrates how the experience of being outlawed in the communist system produced long-lasting effects on the leading activists of Fidesz. Describing the transformation of the labor unions in Poland in "From Total Movement to Interest Group," Michał Wenzel similarly alludes to political division, in both elites and masses, between former Solidarity members and former members and supporters of the Communist Party and its allies. Grzegorz Forys and Krzysztof Gorlach, discussing the fate of the Polish farmers' movement in "Defending Interests," draw attention to the creation by the political and economic changes of a visible division between those who took advantage of the completed transformation and those who mostly paid for it, including traditional rural farmers.

Coda

The chapters in this volume evidence that movement organizations have no single trajectory in times of democratic transition. Cessation, continuation, institutionalization, revitalization, and abeyance are all routes movements can take. Obviously, it matters where the political system comes from. Postcommunist societies have different problems to cope with than do postauthoritarian societies. Movements that have long fought the ancien régime must solve different problems than newly formed movements, and movements that take office face again other problems. Rossi and della Porta notice that scholars of democratic transitions neglect movements as actors, while students of social

movements neglect processes of democratization. Echoing their observation I call for research of movements in times of democratic transition. This book is meant to stimulate such research.

REFERENCES

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