

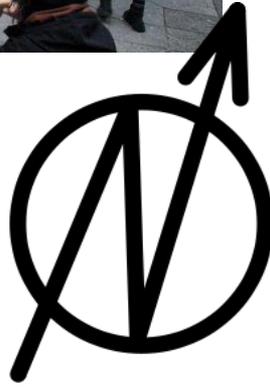
Radical Social Movements in Western Europe: a configurational analysis

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Introduction



Little comparative research on radical social movements (RSMs), but it was an important topic in social sciences between 1968-1990

- Radicalization of the working class (Calhoun, 1982; Gallie, 1983; Lipset, 1983)
- Middle class radicalization (Bagguley, 1995; Parkin, 1968)
- New social movements (Kriesi et al, 1995; Touraine 1981)

After 1991, interest moved to areas such as far-right parties/movements, populisms, political violence, global justice movements. More recently RSMs in the context of anti-austerity protests

RSMs definitions:

Instrumental vs countercultural movements (Pizzorno 1978)

Families of movements (Della Porta & Rucht 1995)

Movement industries (McCarthy & Zald 1977)

Mainstream approach: RSMs as by-products of cycles of protest, spinoffs of larger movements

What RSMs are? Positional definition

Agenda → drastic, elite affecting changes.

Repertory → unconventional, disobedience

Identity → countercultural

How contexts can be related to RSMs strength or weakness?

Relative deprivation theory → grievances: -youth unemployment
-housing stress

Resource mobilization theory → resources: -leftist communities

Political opportunity structure (POS) → opportunities and threats:
-openness of political systems
-responsiveness
-polarization

Dimension/ condition	Indicators (2000-2008)
Grievance	-Youth unemployment rate
Grievance	-Housing –home ownership
Resources	-Left community
Openness	-Electoral systems -Number of elected representatives
Responsiveness	-Government effectiveness -Public spending (local authority)
Threats	-vote of far-right parties
Dependent Var.	-Survey of experts (Delphi method)

Methods. Sample 52 cities, 12 countries, Western Europe

Qualitative Comparative Analysis- fuzzy sets (fsQCA)

Configurational → combinations of variables

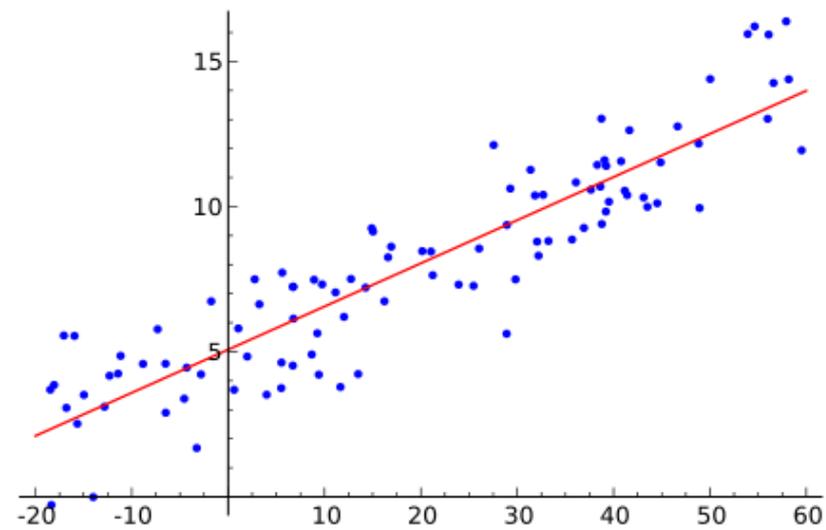
- The role of a variable depends on the value of another variable(s)
- presence / absence relates to the dependent variable
- fuzzy sets: degrees of membership to sets of cases with certain characteristics

Truth table → 2^k possible combinations of conditions

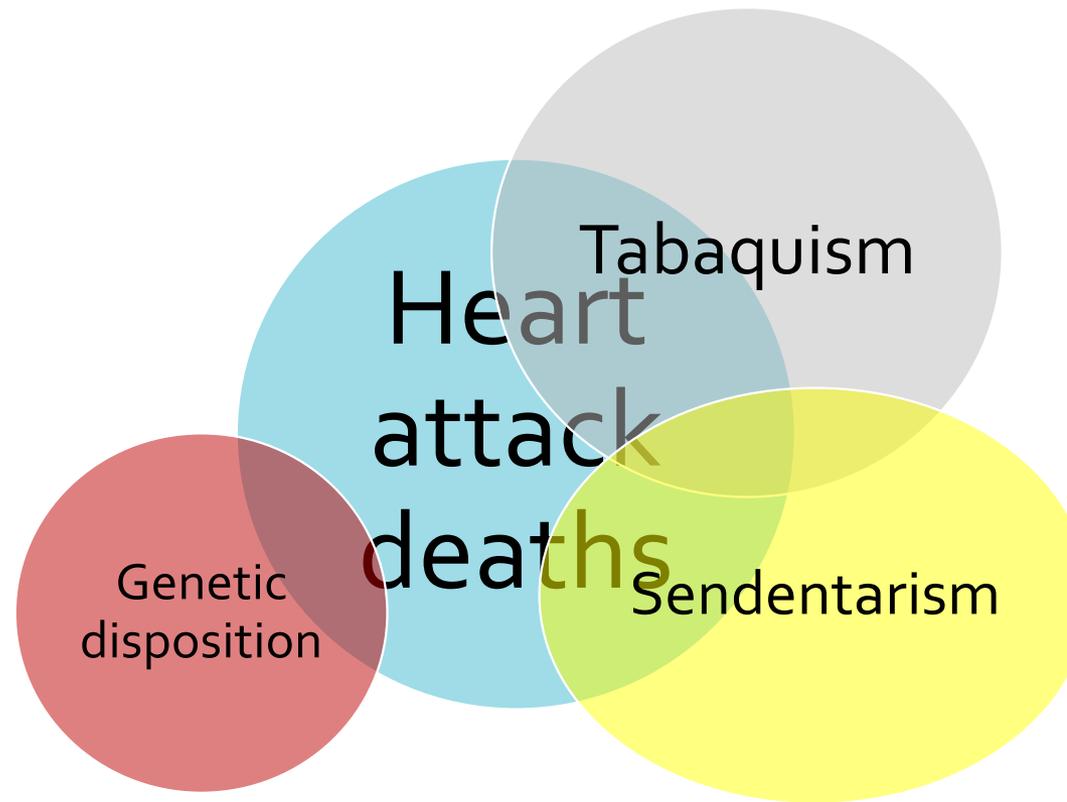
Set theoretical → causes are subsets or supersets of outcomes

- Necessary and sufficient conditions

Difference between statistical methods and QCA



statistics



configurational
methods

Analysis

TABLE 4. Parsimonious Solution (outcome: strong squatters movements)

	Combinations	Cases	Cov.	Con.
f6.	FRIGHT* jobless	Zurich, Copenhagen, Milan , Rotterdam, Oslo, Genève, Bologna, Leeds	.31	.75
f7.	FRIGHT*owners*leftcommunity	Zurich, Lyon , Rotterdam	.17	.88
f8.	JOBLESS* openness*LEFTCOMMUNITY	Madrid, Barcelona, Rome, Turin, Berlin, Paris, Athens , Málaga, Valencia	.29	.93
f9.	LEFTCOMMUNITY* OWNERS*JOBLESS	Madrid, Barcelona, Rome, Turin, London, Athens , Valencia, Málaga, Córdoba, Florence, Catania	.19	.75

- Frequency cut-off = 1; consistency cut-off = 0.83. Uppercase characters indicate presence of the characteristic; lowercases indicate absence. Symbol * indicates logical connector “and”. Cities in **bold** refer to cases with high scores in the outcome.

- Cov.: coverage; Con.: consistency.

FRIGHT*[jobless+(owners*leftcommunity)]

LEFTCOMMUNITY*JOBLESS*(openness+OWNERS)

Analysis

TABLE 5. Intermediate Solution. Outcome: non-existent movements

	Combinations	Cases	Cov.	Con.
f10.	fright*jobless	Bochum, Stockholm, Duisburg, Bielefeld, Gothenburg, Hannover, Munich, Portsmouth, Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Mannheim, Dusseldorf, Stuttgart, Cologne, Amsterdam, The Hague, Bristol, Manchester	.55	.79
f11.	JOBLESS*RESPONSIVE*leftcommunity	Coventry, Wirral, Helsinki, Liverpool, Birmingham	.24	.86

- Frequency cut-off = 1; consistency cut-off = 0.85 (next highest consistency score = 0.78). Uppercase characters indicate presence of the characteristic; lowercases indicate absence. Symbol * indicates logical connector “and”. Cities in **bold** refer to cases with high scores in the outcome (non-existent movements).
 - Cov.: coverage; Con.: consistency.

Conclusions

Interplay of grievances, resources and political institutions configure **two major contexts/patterns** that explain differences of strength of squatters' movements

1. Polarization → it can counteract the lack of significant resources and higher grievances. Northern Europe

2. Political cultures and grievances → necessary conditions that interact with closed or unresponsive institutions. Southern Europe

Socioeconomic characteristics of local societies do not produce radical movements alone. Political factors are required (either resources or polarization)

Conclusions

Some cities fit in more than one pattern, or appear in “non-expected” combinations of conditions. For example:

Milan: can be explained both by the Northern European or the Southern European patterns.

Milan and Lyon: cities of Mediterranean countries that *behave* as those of Northern Europe

Berlin and London: have a clearly southern pattern, with strong leftist communities and grievances. (also, but partially Copenhagen)

Large cities are more likely to have distinctive sociopolitical features, despite being located in rather moderate countries