
Political Mobilization and Action Repertoire of Czech Social Movements: Opportunities and Resources

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Main Questions

- What is the strategic repertoire of Czech social movement organizations?
 - What accounts for the strategies of Czech activist groups?
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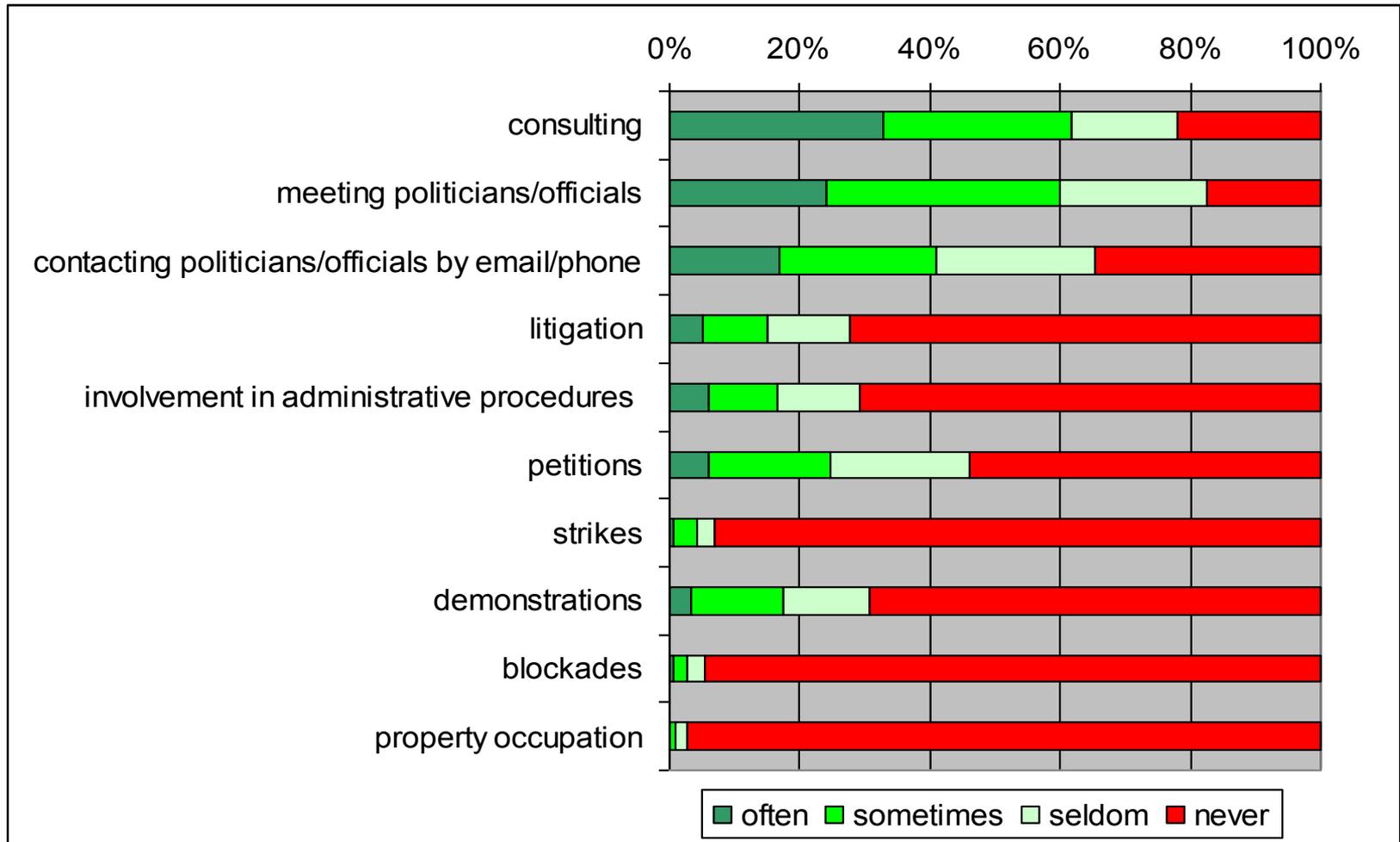
Data: Czech SMOs Survey

- snow-ball sampling (some sectors supplemented by expert knowledge), N=220, 70 % response rate
 - key informant face-to-face interviewing using a standardized questionnaire, October 2007 – January 2009
 - sectors: environmental, women's rights, gay and lesbian, civil rights, developmental, agrarian, social services, radical Left groups, and trade unions
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Action Repertoire

- „a limited set of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a deliberate process of choice“ (Tilly 1995: 42) = *strategies*
 - Are they conventional or protest-based?
 - Do they rely on wide participation or not?
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Repertoire of Czech Social Movement Organizations



Source: Czech SMOs Survey

Action Repertoire: Description

- Czech activist groups rely on non-protest strategies such as meeting politicians/officials; protest types are used less often than non-protest strategies.
 - At the same time, the most often utilized strategies do not need wide participation to be realized. They seem to rely on specialized advocacy capacities rather than mass mobilization – „*transaction instead of mobilization*“ (see Petrova and Tarrow 2007, Císař 2010).
 - Do these activities represent a single dimension?
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Types of Action Repertoire

	1	2	3	4
consulting	0.760	0.034	-0.053	-0.091
meeting politicians/officials	0.836	0.078	-0.055	0.037
contacting politicians/officials by email/phone	0.801	-0.056	0.116	-0.021
litigation	0.048	0.802	0.243	0.060
involvement in administrative procedures	0.022	0.910	-0.129	0.028
petitions	0.189	0.078	0.645	0.145
strikes	-0.148	0.122	0.826	-0.208
demonstrations	0.103	-0.160	0.794	0.263
blockades	-0.079	0.005	0.262	0.730
property occupation	-0.029	0.087	-0.158	0.937

Note: Entries are loadings from direct oblimin solution of principal component analysis.
Loadings larger than 0.6 are in red.

Source: Czech SMOs Survey.

Four Types Interpreted

1. Lobbying – individual activity, no need for collective action, targeted, non-public
 2. Litigation – use of legal instruments for advocacy purposes, specialized, individual activity, no need for collective action, targeted, public
 3. Protest – collective action, both targeted and non-targeted, public
 4. Radical protest – disruptive collective action, targeted, public
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Theories of Political Mobilization

- Resource mobilization theory – mobilization determined by the availability of various types of resources (Zald, Jenkins, Edwards, McCarthy)
 - material resources
 - human resources
 - Political opportunity structure argument/political process model – mobilization determined by the configuration of political institutions (Tilly, McAdam, Tarrow, Kriesi, Kitchelt, Kurzman)
 - perceptions of political institutions
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Explanatory Model of Action Repertoire (OLS regression)

	Lobbying		Litigation		Protest		Radical protest	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Constant	2,369		1,402		1,706		1,039	
RESOURCES								
Grants – Czech public institutions (%)	-0,008	-0,220			-0,009	-0,368		
Grants – foreign public institutions (%)					-0,009	-0,147		
Grants EU (%)					-0,006	-0,253		
Grants – foundations (%)			0,014	0,252				
Revenues from service provision (%)	-0,010	-0,141			-0,009	-0,173		
Income 2006					-0,001	-0,412		
Flexible money (%)	-0,008	-0,327						
Individual donations – occasional (%)							0,002	0,127
Individual donations – regular (%)							0,012	0,316
Number of employees								
Number of individual members								
					0,008	0,236		
					0,001	0,458		
OPPORTUNITIES								
Open opportunities	0,292	0,166			-0,200	-0,156		
ORIENTATION TOWARDS POLITICS								
Goal to change law	0,688	0,312			0,326	0,207		
Adj R2	0,265		0,059		0,373		0,112	

Source: Czech SMOs Survey.

Main Findings I.

- Lobbying – flexible funding decreases lobbying, the same applies to grants from Czech public institutions and revenues from service provision. Orientation towards politics and open opportunities are positively related to lobbying.
 - Litigation – explained variance really low (political mobilization theory does not explain this type; in need of additional theories/variables).
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Main Findings II.

- Protest – grant funding negatively related to protest, the same applies to service provision and the size of budget (very important factor). Also, open opportunities negatively related to protest. The most important predictor of protest is the number of individual members. Number of employees and orientation towards politics are also positively related to protest.
 - Radical protest – individual donations are predictors of radical protest.
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Summary

- Protest and lobbying explained fairly well by political mobilization theory: protest decreases with the increasing dependence of SMOs on external sources of funding.
 - Membership (number of individual members) increases protest (the most important factor). Also, closed opportunities and political orientation positively related to protest. Those, who perceive opportunities closed, opt for protest strategies.
 - On the other hand, open opportunities lead to lobbying, the same applies to political orientation. Dependence on local grants as well as flexible funding decrease lobbying.
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