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# FROM CONTENTION TO DEMOCRACY

Edited by  
Marco G. Giugni  
Doug McAdam  
and  
Charles Tilly

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# Contents

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**Abbreviations**

AC	Civic Assembly
AD	Democratic Alliance
APD	Association de la Paix par le Droit
CFDT	Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CTC	Copper Workers' Confédération
DDC	Directorate of Development and Cooperation
EU	European Union
FAC	Aid and Cooperation Fund
FEN	Fédération de l'Éducation Nationale
FoR	Fellowship of Reconciliation
FPMR	Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Fund
ILP	Independent Labour Party
LICP	Ligue Internationale des Combattants de la Paix
LNU	League of Nations Union
MDB	Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
MDP	Popular Democratic Movement
MIR	Movement of the Revolutionary Left
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Alliance
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NMWM	No More War Movement
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
NUWW	National Union for Women Workers
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCCh	Communist Party (Chile)
PPU	Peace Pledge Union
PSCh	Socialist Party (Chile)
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SDP	Social Democratic Party
SFSF	Svenska Freds-och Skiljedomsföreningen

SMO	social movement organization
SNES	Syndicat National de l'Education Secondaire
SNESup	Syndicat National de l'Education Supérieure
SNI	Syndicat National des Instituteurs
SPE	Swiss Society for the Protection of the Environment
TSMO	transnational social movement organization
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UER	Unité d'Enseignement et de Recherche
UCS	Union of Concerned Scientists
UNEF	Union Nationale des Etudiants de France
WCG	Women's Cooperative Guild
WLL	Women's Labour League
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union
WTUL	Women's Trade Union League
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

## Preface

Social movements sometimes fizzle, sometimes make marginal differences to politics as usual, but sometimes produce substantial social change. When, how, and why? Students of social movements have concentrated so heavily on where social movements come from, who takes part, and how participation affects their individual lives that we have little systematic understanding of social movements' impacts on the world at large. Considering that social movement activists spend much of their effort trying to change the world, our ignorance is a surprise and a shame.

*From Contention to Democracy* begins the work of reducing collective ignorance on social movement outcomes, especially outcomes that affect the degree and character of democracy in a polity. Rather than detailed studies of particular movements and their outcomes, it concentrates on theoretical problems and research opportunities. We asked a dozen social movement theorists to reflect explicitly on the relationship between movements and social change processes. We asked them to focus on how movements influence those processes instead of how social change influences or generates social movements, which more often preoccupies specialists in the subject. Our authors have taken their responsibilities seriously. They have challenged students of social movements to rethink their subject.

This volume has a twin sister. In fact, our original idea was to pull together a series of essays—both theoretical and empirical—on the consequences of social movements. The colleagues and friends whom we invited to write took up the challenge so enthusiastically that we ended up with too many good chapters for a single volume. Hence we decided to produce two books instead of one. The present one is mostly concerned with broader issues such as the incorporation of movements in the polity, existing institutions, or the cultural definition of society, including the ways in which such movements can lead to a transformation of social and political structures and contribute to the democratization of society.

Thus, theoretical issues are at the core of this volume. The other book (soon to be published by the University of Minnesota Press) is more specifically focused on the various types of consequences of social movements and brings more empirical material to the discussion. Together, the two books provide a good picture of the current state of affairs with regard to the study of the consequences of social movements, a field which is still characterized by a lack of systematic research.

Before going fully into the discussion of the role of social movements for change, we wish to make several acknowledgments, starting with all the authors who have accepted our invitation to write a chapter and who have skillfully provided the material for the book. Then we would like to thank those who have made the publication of this volume possible at Rowman & Littlefield: Dean Birkenkamp, Vice President and Executive Editor, who has believed in our project since the first time he saw a sketchy outline; Rebecca Hoogs, Editorial Assistant, who has been constantly in touch during the earlier stages and provided warm encouragement and helpful advice; Dorothy Bradley, Production Editor, who has managed to get the manuscript as quickly as possible through the production process; and Carol Bloom, who put her copyediting skills to the book's benefit. We also acknowledge *Comparative Political Studies* for granting permission to reprint chapter 2 by Sidney Tarrow. Finally, Marco Giugni is particularly grateful to the Swiss National Science Foundation for a research fellowship that allowed him to conduct research abroad and to work on this project.

## Introduction

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### Social Movements and Change Incorporation, Transformation, and Democratization

Marco G. Giugni

There is no clear-cut definition of social change. Generally speaking, it is:

relatively wide and non-temporary, though not irreversible, variation or difference or alteration in the properties, in the state, or in the structure of the social organization of a given society, that is, in the relations between the major social systems that form it—be they related to the economic, political, state, religious, or family spheres or within one of such systems or in one or more institutions among those linked to it, observable at a certain moment with respect to a previous one, considering the identity of the unity to which one refers and the variables taken into account to single out the variation. (Gallino 1993, 437)<sup>1</sup>

Given this broad definition, the importance of inquiring into the impact of social movements on change lies, not only in the lack of systematic studies in the present state of affairs, but above all in the variety of social aspects that movements can potentially modify, thus contributing to the development of contemporary societies. Theoretical work on the impact of social movements, and more generally of contention, on social, political, and cultural systems would unveil the mechanisms that can lead to such impact. However, the assumption that social movements affect the society in such a significant fashion to transform it must be not only theoretically addressed, but also empirically confirmed, unless it is to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

As several authors have pointed out, the study of the consequences of social movements is a tricky task (Berkowitz 1974; Gurr 1980a; Rucht 1992). The same holds true for their impact on social change. Most important, the dimensions of change are many and variegated. Furthermore, it