PERFORMING CITIZENSHIP

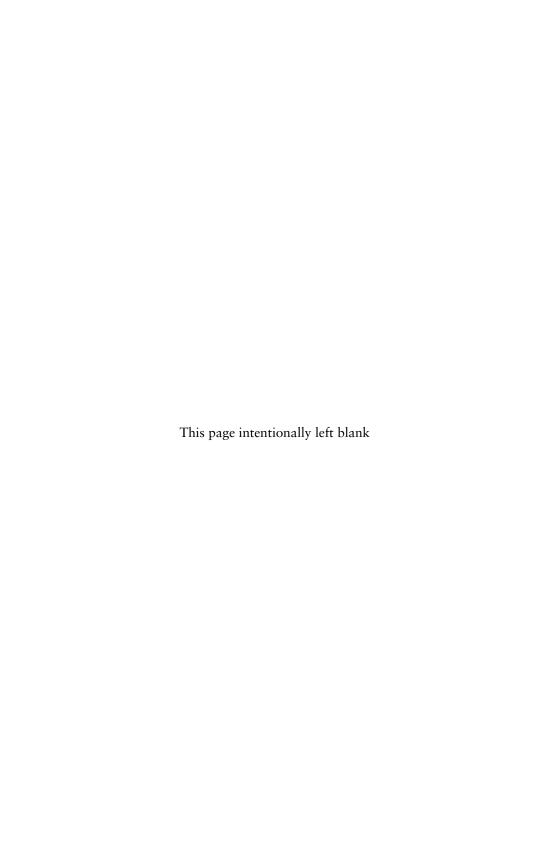## SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE GLOBE

Edited by Inbal Ofer and Tamar Groves

'In a fascinating set of case studies, ranging from Israel to China, from Latin America to Japan, Inbal Ofer, Tamar Groves and their co-authors offer an insightful account of how the boundaries between the private and the public sphere and the very notion of citizenship are being rede-fined. Their book represents a distinctive contribution to the burgeoning literature on the recent waves of global protest.'

Mario Diani, University of Trento and ICREA-UPF Barcelona

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Performing Citizenship

In this book, Inbal Ofer and Tamar Groves explore the effects of social movements' activism on the changing practices and conceptions of citizenship. Presenting empirically rich case studies from Latin America, Asia, and Europe, leading experts analyze the ways in which the shifting balance of power between nation-state, economy, and civil society over the past half century affected social movements in their choice of addressees and repertoires of action. Divided into two parts, the first part focuses on citizenship as a form of political and cultural participation. It explores the ways in which social movements' activism prompted a critical re-evaluation of two central questions: Who can be considered a citizen? And what forms of political and cultural participation effectively enable citizens to exercise their rights? The second part focuses on citizenship as a form of community building. It addresses the ways in which activism fosters new forms of advocacy and communication, leading to the emergence of new communities and assigning qualities of fraternity to the status of citizenship.

Written for scholars who study social movements, citizenship, and the relationship between the state and civil society over the past half century, this book provides a fresh insight on the nature of citizenship; increasingly framing the condition of being a citizen in terms of performance and on-going practices, rather than simply in relation to the attainment of a formal status.

Inbal Ofer is a Senior Lecturer in Modern European History at the Open University of Israel. She specializes in twentieth-century Spanish history. Her work focuses on issues of migration and urban history, gender and political mobilization.

Tamar Groves is a Lecturer at Extremadura University, Spain. She specializes in the history of education, social and political mobilization and scientific culture. She currently works on women, science and higher education in Europe from the Second World War to the present.

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Democracy is being rethought almost everywhere today: with the widespread questioning of the rationalist assumptions of classical liberalism, and the implications this has for representational competition; with the Arab Spring, destabilizing many assumptions about the geographic spread of democracy; with the deficits of democracy apparent in the Euro-zone crisis, especially as it affects Greece and Italy; with democracy increasingly understood as a process of social empowerment and equalization, blurring the lines of division between formal and informal spheres; and with growing demands for democracy to be reformulated to include the needs of those currently marginalized or even to include the representation of non-human forms of life with whom we share our planet.

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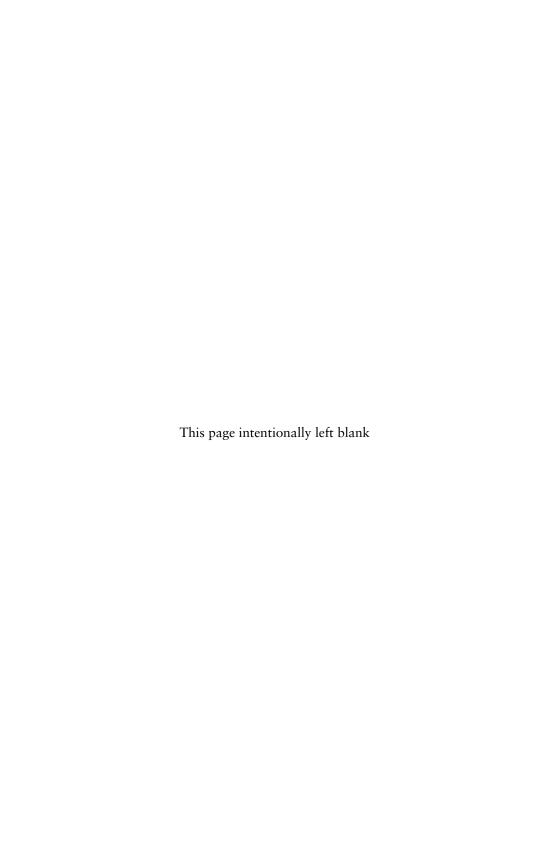
1. Nations and Democracy
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Performing Citizenship
Social Movements across the Globe

Edited by
Inbal Ofer and Tamar Groves

Contents

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Introduction

Performing Citizenship: Social Movements across the Globe[1]

Tamar Groves and Inbal Ofer

The worldwide mobilizations against austerity measures and for participatory and deliberative democracy, which opened the twenty-first century, gave the feeling that something was changing across the globe. Their massive scale, duration, and manifest connections with various initiatives from different corners of the world gave a global air to this type of movement. New forms of organization, novel collective actions, and the manifested capacity to connect local and national struggles under the umbrella of a global call for justice seemed to imply the emergence, not only of new actors, but also of new spaces for civic action. While the first decade of the twenty-first century, from the "battle of Seattle" in November 1999 to the "Arab Spring" in 2010, has been certainly exciting in terms of social mobilization, it also presents many links to earlier cycles in the dynamics of contention, which emerged since the late 1960s (Tarrow 1997).

Two far-reaching changes are specifically associated with the waves of protest originating four decades ago. In the industrial society, political action was mostly defined on the national scale. Traditionally, political conflict was associated with the working class and with defined political ideologies. The emergence of the postindustrial society and the dominance of symbolic production that characterizes it brought about new struggles for recognition and legitimacy. These struggles are increasingly tied to issues that relate to quality of life rather than simply to economic gains and to political status (Della Porta and Diani 2006). Consequently, the quality of citizenship itself is increasingly evaluated according to the ability of a given society to provide individuals and groups with symbolic/cultural recognition alongside political rights and material gains.

At the same time, processes of globalization, which began in the 1970s, progressively undermined the exclusive role of nation-states in granting the benefits associated with the status of citizenship and in governing the division of goods within national economies. By the 1980s the existing configuration between the state, civil society, and the economy was

challenged by market penetration in the form of diverse neoliberal policies. Whereas the expressions of neoliberal policies vary greatly across national contexts, by and large such policies constrained the resources available to states by restricting the tax base while systematically reducing public services in order to balance government budgets. However, our contention is that alongside their adverse affects globalization processes also introduced new actors into the struggle for civic equality and new opportunities for mobilization. Non-state actors constitute nowadays a crucial factor in the internationalization of the campaign against neoliberalism and for the institution of more participatory and deliberative democratic regimes. Economic globalization, as a project, unintentionally led to the formation of an oppositional project, a project that is based on a shared identity among groups whose actions, while largely uncoordinated, help advance a vision of global democracy and universal human rights (Smith 2012).

Within the new structure of opportunities, post-1968, social movements are especially important agents in the negotiation of the understanding of citizenship. Social movements not only generate new discourses on the meaning of citizenship; they also engage in practices of communication, consensual decision-making, and the division of communal goods that offer new possible models of governance. Consequently, as many authors point out, social movements advance diversified notions of citizenship: cosmopolitan citizenship, aboriginal citizenship, or sexual citizenship (Isin and Wood 1999). As Turner (2001) argues, it is clear that the old causal mechanisms of Marshallian citizenship—class conflict and mobilization for warfare—have been replaced by new causal processes that are more closely connected with social movements, status contradictions, and identity.

Under these circumstances we feel that it is important to historicize the emergence and evolution of new social movements while at the same time to pay attention to the structure of the neoliberal regimes that provide the context for their operation (Brenner, Peck, and Theodore 2010). The papers presented in this volume explore the ways in which the processes of change over the past half century affected social movements in their choice of addressees and repertoires of action. Adopting a case-based approach, the volume emphasizes the experience of mobilizing and being a citizen. The authors look at how collective action interacts continuously with everyday practices, re-affirming choices concerning rights and lifestyles within specific organizational, legislative, and political contexts. Moreover, as these issues have implications for the relationships between individuals, communities, and the state, the authors of the chapters reflect on the ways in which differing patterns of social movements' activism facilitate certain understandings of citizenship.

Whereas some of the case studies (such as the ones discussed by Simon Avenell and Guiomar Rovira) point to activism that is more clearly contextualized internationally, others (such as the ones discussed by Pamela Radcliff and by Zeev Rozenhek and Michael Shalev) focus on forms of activism that operate on local or national levels and are only partially affected by global influences. However, as this book illustrates, the local, national, and transnational aspects of social struggles cannot be easily separated. While the different cases included in this volume manifest various degrees of integration in global social mobilizations, they all highlight the importance of locally acquired forms of action and their resonance within the national context of protest. In this respect they critically engage with the concept of "generative practices" introduced by Kim Voss and Michelle Williams (2012). Voss and Williams point to a shift from national oppositional politics to local building of alternatives. As these authors argue, whereas the shift towards developing alternatives in and through institutions in civil society has been one of the most important developments in recent movements, many analysts of transnational movements have overlooked its significance.

The perspective of the current volume, which looks at changes of the concept of citizenship through the prism of social movements' activism, gels with recent debates on citizenship in which scholars are called to take account of the historical and social conditions that foment patterns of active and efficient social participation (Turner 1990). Citizenship is currently perceived as a process and researchers study the meanings, norms, and contents that it acquires through struggles (Yalcin-Heckmann 2011). Some concentrate on the more traditional struggles around social rights focused on the state. Others look at new struggles in which identity plays an important role and the state is not the exclusive addressee (Kabeer 2005). However, a common direction is to identify citizenship with claiming rights, which implies a re-definition of what citizenship should be (Agboninfo and Hintjens 2007).

Citizenship studies have flourished since the 1990s, as the ideas of justice and community membership are very appealing to contemporary political thinking (Kymlicka and Norman 2000). However, there is not much empirical research on the comparative conditions of citizenship formation (Turner 2006). This volume, therefore, seeks to bring together case studies of social movements and citizen formation since 1968 up to the present and contextualize the specific historical and social conditions for these movements' emergence and their impact on the quality and definition of citizenship. The authors use different theoretical references and have distinct methodological concerns. However, they all engage in empiric research trying to explore the interactions between social movements' activism and the changing practices and conceptions of citizenship.

Citizenship as Participation

In this first section of the book the authors explore how in the process of struggling towards specific goals new practices and identities are forged and then interpreted in terms of effective participation. Social movements' collective activism can be divided into organizing, mobilizing, and networking (Voss and Williams 2012). Organizing refers to building participation and institutional capacity at the local level. Mobilizing focuses on the advancement of oppositional politics directed usually at the state in order to achieve goals. And networking centers on creating linkages among different groups, which is becoming more and more a global issue. These three types of activism are not mutually exclusive and their relative degrees vary according to specific historical contexts. The authors of this part of the book, while aware of wider contexts, focus mainly on the first two types of collective actions. They look at how the repertoires of action of social movements are aimed at the state in order to achieve specific goals, but at the same time they explore the attempts to transform everyday practices in order to build alternatives on the local level.

The first chapter of the book, titled "Social Movements, Democratic Transition, and Citizenship: Spain in the 1970s," deals with social mobilization in Spain during the late Franco regime. It thus represents an early stage in the cycle of protests that concerns us. The structure of political opportunities, which Spanish activists were faced with at that stage, was radically different from the other two cases comprising the first section. Radcliff shows how local struggles that began under a dictatorial regime by addressing the pressing needs of daily life ended up merging into a collective "citizen movement." In the early years social mobilization in Spain was carried out on the local level by different kinds of associations that were dedicated to solving everyday problems such as running water, health services, or education. This stage of organization was characterized by a participative and communitarian mode of action, and citizenship was based more on performance than on legal status. In the mid-1970s, when the price of social mobilization in Spain was reduced due to the aging and then death of the dictator, the local manifestations of unrest merged into the citizen movement that declared an open offensive on the state, demanding democratization. However, the model of liberal democracy that was finally established in Spain was not the one demanded by the citizens' movement. While the desired model was forged during the experience of mass assemblies, consensual decision-making and citizens' engagement in policy-making processes, the 1978 constitution clearly confirmed a liberal state in Spain.

The cases of social movements and the Pink tied governments in Latin America in the beginning of the twenty-first century is radically different. In the second chapter of this book, titled "Pink Tide Governments, Radical Social Movements, and the Practice of Citizenship in

Twenty-First-Century Latin America," Paul Haber studies social movements which have theoretically gained the state. The leaders of the three cases he presents—Ecuador, Bolivia, and Brazil—reached power with an anti-neoliberal agenda and were supported by social movements. One of their declared aims has been to build the state so it can manage the economy in the public interest and establish a more respectful relationship with nature. These two issues reflect the interests of marginalized indigenous communities and their social mobilization for their rights and identity. However, it seems that many of the social movements that once supported these leaders pulled back their support or at least adopted an ambivalent position towards them, due to their incapacity or unwillingness to provide what they had promised. As a result Haber points out the growing importance of transformative movements that endeavor to create radically different realities within their organizational environments. In the midst of national efforts to advance social citizenship, both on the discursive and political level, we see an increase of generative movements less focused on the state and more on building alternative sub-national forms of participation as islands of resistance. These islands of resistance are best exemplified in the redistribution of communal goods and the extraction of natural resources in ways that take into account the needs of nature itself and not only of the communities that use it or of the state that profits from it.

The case of the Israeli 2011 summer of unrest represents a different configuration of the relationship between social movements and the state and as a result has different implications for the notion of citizenship. Zeev Rozenhek and Michael Shalev's chapter, titled "Between Inclusionary Demands and Sociopolitical Divides: The Israeli 2011 Summer of Discontent," argues that "the people demand social justice" mobilization in Israel was an attempt to build an inclusive identity that would rise above societal divisions and reformulate the meaning of citizenship. The protest was launched by young, educated, left-wing and secular Tel Avivians but made broad and inclusive demands for a universal welfare system. The clear addressee of this mobilization was the state and its unjust distributive policies. During the months of mobilization there were efforts to create an alternative social platform that would bridge some of the political, social, and cultural divisions that characterizes Israeli society. There was an open call for everyone to become "new Israelis" and to participate in the local tent camps that emerged all over the country. However, this attempt for building an alternative failed. According to the authors, the protest leaders and activists framed their demands as rights based on the middle class's contribution to society. So while the attempts to articulate and perform an all-embracing Israeli collective identity were genuine, they were also part of the middle-class effort to regain a leading position in society. In Israel, social divisions run deep with different sectors having irreconcilable lifestyles. Even when they all call for social