Radicalization and deradicalization in transnational social movements: a relative and multi-level model of repertoire change

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INTERNATIONALE DISSIDENZ

1. Introduction

Social movements are collectives that use a distinctive combination of tactics and strategies for claim-making. These tactics have widely been described as repertoires. Repertoires of contention constitute a distinctive constellation of tactics developed over time and used by protest groups to act collectively in order to make claims on individuals and groups (Tilly, 1978; 1995; Tarrow, 1998; Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). The theatrical metaphor of the concept suggests that we are talking about "established ways in which pairs of actors make and receive claims bearing on each other's interests" (Tilly, 1995: 43). The concept of repertoires hence entails certain continuities: Repertoires refer to a recurrent and predictable toolkit of specific protest tactics. Nonetheless, repertoires of action have been observed to change. Sometimes changes are small and slow; sometimes they are fast and broad.

When and how such changes occur remains understudied: why do activists prefer particular methods of protest at a particular time? Which factors contribute to changes in strategies? Why do some innovations stick and others do not?

This conceptual paper proposes a relative and multi-level approach to analysing changes in repertoires with a focus on transnational activism. This approach aims to address shortcomings in existing research on radicalization and social movement repertoires: On the one hand, the recent radicalization scholarship's focus on violence and its ensuing tendency to neglect processes of deradicalization. On the other hand, we aim to broaden existing explanations of repertoire change in social movements in order to include factors at local, national, and transnational levels of activism. Accordingly, this paper proposes a relative approach that defines radicalization and deradicalization as a) processes of change relative to existing repertoires, which do not necessarily include violence, and b) as processes crucially shaped by the interplay of factors and interactions at the local, national, and transnational levels. To this end, we draw on and discuss norm diffusion theories from International Relations.

In developing this approach, we will largely focus on the radicalization and deradicalization of means rather than of goals. While we consider both dimensions in the context of our current research project on radicalization and deradicalization in the Global Justice Movement,[1] we will concentrate on one side of the coin in this paper due to the paper's limited

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[1] A three-year project funded by the German Research Foundation: "No Alternatives? Protest in the Alter-Globalisation Movement between Opposition and Dissidence". PI: Prof. Dr. Nicole Deitelhoff.

space and in order to ensure conceptual clarity. The underlying assumption here is that while a movement's goals certainly shape its collective actions, goals and tactics are not necessarily congruent: one may change while the other does not.

In the following, we will proceed in two steps. First, we will discuss approaches to repertoire change in terms of radicalization and deradicalization and argue that in order to make these concepts fruitful for explaining repertoire-changes in social movements, it is helpful to go beyond the focus on violence and radicalization. Second, we outline our concept of repertoire change detailing the different factors and processes influencing repertoire change and discussing how each factor may work differently on the local, national, and transnational levels. We will argue that repertoire change is crucially influenced by the specific constellations of local, national and transnational contexts. We illustrate these points with examples from the Global Justice Movement (GJM).

2. A RELATIVE CONCEPT OF RADICALIZATION AND DERADICALIZATION: MOVES ON A CONTINUUM

Changes in repertoires have often been described in terms of radicalization and deradicalization. In particular, the term radicalization has experienced an outstanding boom in recent years. As Sedgwick (2010: 480) shows with a longitudinal comparison of annual English-language press articles, the number of articles using the term 'radicalization' went up from under 200 in 1999 to nearly 1.800 in 2007. A similar development took place in academic publications with studies on radicalization increasing significantly. Crucially influenced by the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001, much of this literature was developed in the fields of terrorism and war studies. Against this background, the recent study of radicalization has a strong emphasis on violence. Social movement scholars have been noticeably influenced by this emphasis on violence – with two consequences: Firstly, the scholarly community has increasingly focused on processes of radicalization, while neglecting the factors and processes that lead to a movement's deradicalization. Secondly, a 'radical' repertoire has been equated with political violence. In the following we will argue that in order to make the concepts of radicalization and deradicalization fruitful for explaining repertoire-changes in social movements, it is helpful to go beyond these limitations and define them in broader and relative terms. This entails identifying violence as a possible

but not necessary element of radicalization and conceptualising radicalization and deradicalization in a joint analytical framework – as processes of change relative to existing repertoires.

2.1. Radicalization beyond violence

In the literature on radicalization in social movements, radicalization is often understood as an increasingly violent repertoire. Della Porta and LaFree (2012: 5), for instance, define radicalization „as a process leading towards the increased use of political violence, while deradicalization, by contrast, implies reduction in the use of political violence." While a focus on violence in studying radicalization makes much sense in the context of terrorism and war, in understanding changes of repertoires in social movements more broadly it is less helpful. This is due to the fact that it blends out other possible changes towards more radical repertoires – entailing the more radical means that are not violent. We hence argue that the usage of violence *can* form a part of a radicalization process but it does not necessarily have to (see also Neumann, 2013). In our model, radicalization is thus defined as a considerable move on a continuum from conventional towards more disruptive tactics, not necessarily including violence (see figure 1).

2.2. Two directions of change

Radicalization and deradicalization constitute processes of change relative to previous repertoires. Accordingly, they can be understood as moves – from time A to time B – on a continuum between conventional and disruptive tactics in opposite directions (see figure 1). In the case of radicalization this constitutes a move in the direction of disruptive tactics. In the case of deradicalization this means a move in the direction of conventional repertoires. As the previous section highlighted, these moves on the continuum do not necessarily need to involve the extremes: a considerable move *in the direction* of the disruptive or conventional extremes qualifies as radicalization or deradicalization – without covering all the range of the thick arrows in figure 1. In this context it is also helpful to consider that changes in repertoires are a matter of mixture: as repertoires of social movements consist of a mixture of tactics – radicalization and deradicalization constitute a significant change

in the proportion of conventional and disruptive tactics used rather than a complete change from one to the other.
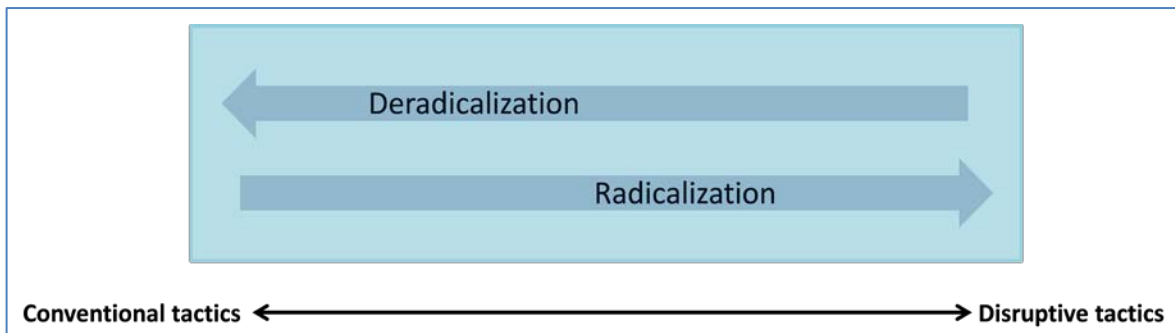

Figure 1: The radicalization continuum

In defining the end points of this continuum we distinguish between conventional and disruptive repertoires, drawing on existing work on social movement tactics – in particular Sidney Tarrow (1998).[2] Repertoires can of course be classified in different ways. Turner and Killian (1987) distinguish tactics on the basis of the type of interaction between the movement and its targets – they differentiate accordingly between persuasion, facilitation, bargaining, and coercion. As this distinction focuses largely on moderate tactics, scholars more recently differentiated between nonconfrontational and confrontational or conventional and disruptive tactics. We consider the latter distinction most useful for two reasons: first, it avoids suggesting that more moderate tactics are 'nonconfrontational' per se – they may be confrontational in a different, e.g. symbolic way. Second, the distinction between conventional and disruptive captures the difference of these tactics in their relation to authorities – corresponding with Christopher Daase and Nicole Deitelhoff´s (2014) distinction between opposition and dissidence: Conventional tactics make claims within the existing political order (opposition): they interact with and accept institutional politics and its procedures. These tactics accordingly include lobbying, petitions, letter-writing campaigns, and lawsuits (see Tarrow, 1998). Disruptive tactics in contrast make claims outside the existing political order (dissidence): they do not seek negotiations with institutional politics and disturb and/or question its procedures. They include e.g. demonstrations, sit-ins, vigils, blockades, illegal and violent actions against property and people.

In analysing changes in repertoires the context needs to be taken into consideration, too. A repertoire is more or less disruptive also relative to present circumstances of political claim-making: what may be radical in a particular period (e.g. the 1950s), is much less so

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2 In contrast to Tarrow (1998), however, we consider violence as part of disruptive tactics – as their extreme point – rather than an extra category.

in another (e.g. in the 1990s) – depending on the political institutions and discourses. This relevance of context, as the following part will show, not only applies to time but also (political) space.

3. EXPLAINING REPERTOIRE CHANGE: A MULTI-LEVEL APPROACH

While repertoires are a common concept in social movement studies, little is known about how changes in repertoires occur. General factors affecting a movement's repertoire have been identified (see Taylor & van Dyke, 2004), however, studies that systematically explore the processes underlying *changes* in repertoires during cycles of mobilisation are rare (but see e.g. Beckwith, 2000). The following will propose to analyse repertoire change by considering structural and interactive factors at different levels of interactions – in transnational movements this concerns local, national, and transnational levels of interaction: they will have different effects on repertoires (see figure 2). In the following, we will first elaborate the different levels of interaction in transnational movements. In a second section we will detail the different factors and processes influencing repertoire change and discuss how each factor may work differently on the local, national and transnational levels. We will illustrate this with a couple of examples from the Global Justice Movement and show that the different constellations of local, national, and transnational processes crucially affect repertoire changes.

3.1. Different levels of interaction in transnational movements

Transnational social movements such as the GJM have a diverse social constituency. The GJM was a network of left groups – mostly active between the mid-1990s and late 2000s – engaged in collective action against neoliberal globalization (della Porta et al., 2007). The movement consisted of geographically dispersed groups with different socio-cultural backgrounds, ideologies, and forms of organisation (Andretta et al., 2003; Daphi, 2014).

Since the mid-1990s, much attention has been paid to the phenomenon of transnational movements – movements with "constituents in at least two states, engaged in sustained contentious interactions with power-holders in at least one state other than their own, or against a transnational institution or a multinational economic actor" (Tarrow, 2001:11). Spurred by the rapid increase of transnational movement organisations (Smith, 2002) and

transnational activism more generally, scholars have made considerable efforts in describing and explaining this phenomenon (e.g. Bennett, 2004; della Porta & Tarrow, 2005; Smith, 2002; Tarrow, 2001; Bandy & Smith, 2005).

While at first very enthusiastic about transnational movements' capacity to overcome spatial and socio-cultural divides, studies of transnational movements more recently underline the significance of local and national dimensions in transnational activism (e.g. Uggla 2006, Cumbers et al., 2008, della Porta et al. 2005). Sidney Tarrow (2005), for example, stresses the role of rooted cosmopolitanism in transnational activism: while activists physically and cognitively move beyond their country and region, they remain rooted in the social relations, resources, and opportunities of their place of origin. Similarly, Andrew Cumbers and his colleagues (2008) emphasise the role of place-based movements in transnational protest. Accordingly, several movement scholars have considered the dynamics between local, national, and transnational dimensions of transnational mobilisation – for example when discussing processes of diffusion (e.g. Chabot, 2004) as well as *externalisation* and *domestication:* conflicts at the national and local level are externalised to the transnational level and conflicts with external origins are domesticated (della Porta & Tarrow, 2005).

In order to understand repertoire change in transnational social movements these different local, national, and transnational contexts of activism need to be considered. The diversity of processes and actors involved in transnational movements – ranging from single locally bound intellectuals to large transnational organizations – make them highly complex phenomena. Transnational movements entail different levels of interaction, i.e. activists interact with other activists in different contexts: First, a transnational level on which activists and groups from different countries interact within more or less durable transnational networks. Second, a national level of interaction in which activists and groups from a given country build national campaigns and networks. Third, a local level of interaction, in which activists and groups of a certain region, city or village cooperate and form joint organisational structures. Each of these contexts of interaction shape mobilisation – due to its particular identities (Stekelenburg, 2014), its personal networks, its interpretations of past experiences, and also its opportunity structures.

In International Relations (IR), the phenomenon of transnational movements has been prominently discussed in the context of norm diffusion theories. In these theories, specific organizations or individuals are identified with the different levels. Classically, norm entrepreneurs are situated on the 'global' or transnational level, while norm 'receivers' are

situated on the local level. This asymmetry and implied one-directionality has been criticized widely (Acharya, 2004; Steinhilper, 2015). Considering the effect of local, national, and transnational contexts of mobilization is particularly promising in order to overcome the static composition of specific actors 'on' specific levels. Rather, activists work across levels and are often active on various levels at the same time. Accordingly, the different levels of interaction discussed above are not identified with specific actors – as in much of the IR diffusion theory. Rather, the concept of interaction levels follows the sociologist tradition of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) and describes different contexts in which activists interact and how they shape future interactions.

In an attempt to improve our understanding of how the conditions and dynamics at the different levels of interaction affect transnational activism, we propose to consider factors influencing social movement repertoires at the local, national, and transnational levels. This means the place-bound circumstances of political claim-making need to be taken into consideration with regards to repertoire choices. The different groups involved in the Global Justice Movement, for example, come from very different backgrounds: groups from the global South, such as the Zapatistas in Mexico or the leftist farmers union La Via Campesina, developed in very different political and cultural contexts than the European Attac-Network or anarchist federations. The usual repertoires of social movements may vary from region to region: what is considered a 'normal' protest activity in one country or region may be considered disturbing in another. Social movement scholars have for example observed that it is more common to build barricades in France than in Switzerland, while direct democracy is more often used in Switzerland than in France (Kriesi et al., 1995; della Porta& Diani, 2006).

Next to considering the specificities at each level it is crucial to understand how the situation at each level may influence repertoire choices at another level. The literature on diffusion has partly addressed such influences. This literature shows that tactical innovation often occurs based on adoption from other movements (see Taylor & van Dyke, 2004; Meyer & Whittier, 1994). Concentrating on the question under which circumstances ideas and tactics diffuse from one place to the other the literature also shows that diffusion is more likely in cases that are geographically close or have similarities in social and political structures.

Alongside the growth in transnational activism, many studies have examined the dynamics of cross-national diffusion as more and more ideas and forms of actions travelling across different countries (McAdam & Rucht, 1993; Chabot, 2004; Beckwith, 2000). With respect

to the GJM several tactics spread from one country to the other: the Reclaim the Streets' street parties and Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army from Great Britain and the Zapatistas tactics from Mexico. Next to inspirations between different (geographical) places, tactical inspiration also took place between the different levels of interaction: local groups were inspired by transnationally used forms of action (e.g. the various local forums founded after the first world social forum), transnational campaigns adapted certain local forms of action (e.g. the tute bianche technique of civil disobedience). In addition to the travel of tactical innovations between different countries, the following section will address the way in which the interplay of local, national, and transnational movement *contexts* affects repertoire changes and diffusion.

3.2. Factors and processes of repertoire change

Collective actions of social movements do not occur in a vacuum but are influenced by the context of discourses and activities that surround them. While in fact tactics often *are* chosen intentionally – activists choose them because they are expected to have certain effects – and these expectations about effects are shaped by collective patterns of meaning making (defining e.g. success) inside the movement and also outside of it. Social movements act within a given discourse, which they co-constitute by referring to it.

Furthermore, effectiveness may concern a variety of – possibly contradictory – objectives: on the one hand, it may refer to the impact of the movement's claims on political decision making or public opinion. In this regard of course the movement's particular political goals crucially shape the movement's collective action. However, while linked, goals and tactics are not necessarily congruent. A good example for this are communist parties: their goals may be radical (in the sense of changing the dominant economic system) while their tactics are typically conventional – remaining within the confines of established institutional politics. Furthermore, goals and tactics may develop differently over time: while a movement may radicalize in means, its goals may remain the same and vice versa. Another good example for this is Reclaim the Streets in UK: founded in 1991, the movement changed its claims from 1996 onwards – the focus moving from opposing street extension to going at the root of the problem: global capitalism – while its repertoire of street parties remained largely the same (Jordan, 1998).

On the other hand, movements may choose tactics not due their external effectiveness but their effect on internal processes, such as the maintenance of internal cohesion. In this

vein, for example high risk activism has been found to be crucial for building solidarity while little effective in achieving political goals (e.g. Jasper, 1997; Juris, 2008).

Lastly, activists not only adopt certain tactics because they are thought to be (internally or externally) effective, but also because they resonate with the movement's culture: its values, frames, routines, and identities (Meyer, 2004; Jasper, 1997; McGarry & Jasper 2015; Taylor & van Dyke, 2004). Hence, much of social movements' internal debates on repertoires will not only concern the efficiency of a tactic but also its symbolic meaning and how it fits with the movements overall culture or identity (e.g. Stekelenburg, 2014; Wood, 2007; Zamponi & Daphi, 2014). In this vein, scholars have also stressed that repertoires form part of movements' implicit and routinized practices and routines – their use is hence not in all cases consciously reflected (cf. Crossley, 2002; Flesher Fominaya, 2014).

These basic considerations about repertoire choice reveal the complexity of the issue and point to the necessity to look at a variety of factors – in addition to the often considered opportunity structures. The specific context in each situation of change needs to be thoroughly assessed in order to grasp mechanisms of repertoire-change. We will identify below four different factors and processes influencing repertoire change: the cycle of mobilization, opportunities, internal political learning and dynamics of interaction. We will argue that each of these processes needs to be considered at local, national, and transnational levels in order to understand changes in repertoires of a movement or a movement group (see figure 2).
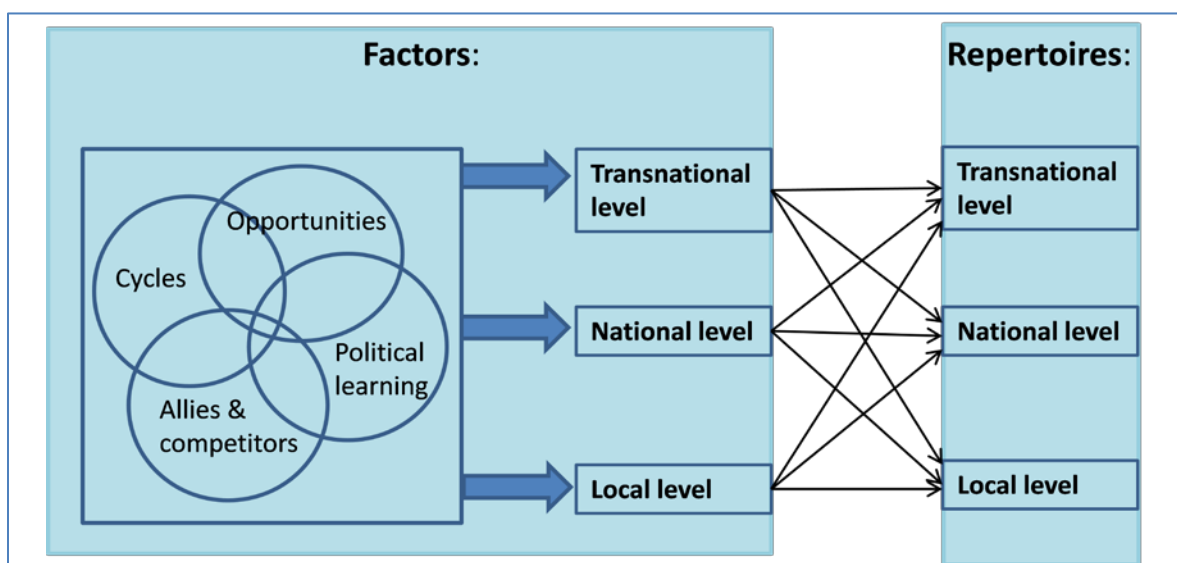

Figure 2: Factors influencing repertoires at different levels

Cycles

Social movement scholars have pointed out that cycles of protest have certain patterns that affect repertoires. Cycles of protests mostly start with small scale mobilizations that broaden as the cycle continues – also broadening the repertoire of collective action. Furthermore, levels of contention vary during cycles of protest – phases of heightened mobilization are interspersed with phases of less activity and latency. In this recurrent dynamic of ebb and flow each phase features a different constellation of actors, interactions and opportunities (Tarrow, 1998; 1993). This affects repertoires: For example, in the first stage costs of collective action are relatively high due to the small scale of mobilization, often leading to more disruptive tactics (della Porta& Diani, 2006). It is particularly in the early phases of mobilization that diffusion of tactics takes place (della Porta & Diani, 2006). In addition, after first mobilizations changes in tactics are often necessary to maintain the interest of the public (and the activists in some cases) (Tarrow, 1993). Over the cycle of mobilization scholars have found both increasing use of disruptive tactics (radicalization) and of more conventional tactics (deradicalization/institutionalization) – depending on the development of opportunity structures, the interaction with authorities as well as movement internal processes (see also Kriesi et al., 1995).

In transnational movements cycles of mobilizations often differ at the local, national, and transnational level. For example, while in one country mobilizations may still be broadening, they may be declining in another. This was for example the case with the GJM in Italy and Germany in the second half of the 2000s: while GJM mobilizations in Italy were on the decrease, mobilization in Germany continued – peaking in 2007 with the counter-summit in Heiligendamm. Also, the phase of mobilization may be different on the transnational and national levels. For example, while GJM mobilizations steeply declined in various countries after 2004, transnational mobilizations in some forms continued, e.g. in World Social Forums. Transnational movements, hence, are not in a single stage of a protest cycle but in different ones at different levels. The combination of these stages will have effects on repertoire changes – e.g. because broadening mobilizations in a different context may offer opportunities of influence for groups whose local opportunities have closed.

Structural factors: opportunities and resources

Several scholars of social movements have shown how changes in movement repertoires depend on factors external to the movement: Available resources and opportunity structures (institutional access and/or public discourses) will affect a movement's repertoire of action. In particular, a limited access to resources and closed political opportunity structure

leads to internal divisions (e.g. Wood, 2007) and more disruptive repertoires (Tilly, 1978; Tarrow, 2000; Tarrow & Tilly, 2007). In this vein, scholars on the one hand have shown that movements in more subordinate positions – with little possibilities to influence political decision making – are more likely to engage in disruptive protest (e.g. van Dyke 2003). A key factor for repertoire change from opposition to dissidence (radicalization) is thus the character of rule that the respective social movement is exposed to (Daase & Deitelhoff, 2015: 308). On the other hand, this effect takes place in the course of a cycle of protest: closing opportunity structures – often towards the end of a protest cycle – are often connected with processes of radicalization (della Porta, 1995; Kitschelt, 1986; McAdam et al., 2001). Hence, in situations where social movements do not have access to political decision making, disruptive tactics are more likely (della Porta, 1995).

With respect to the role of external factors more generally, Charles Tilly (1978) has shown in his seminal work how processes of modernization and nation-building changed repertoires of protest as they provided new targets (e.g. nation-states), political subjects (e.g. the working classes), issues (e.g. citizen's rights) and opportunities of political influence (see also Traugott, 1995; Fraser, 1997). With respect to the more recent past it has been for example pointed out that processes of globalization provided new targets and opportunity structures for movements that ultimately also led to innovations in repertoires (e.g. the counter-summit) (Milani & Laniado, 2007: 11). Also the Internet has in recent years been considered a crucial external influence on social movements' repertoires (Gerbaudo, 2012).

In transnational movements also opportunities and resources may differ at local, national, and transnational levels. While for example political opportunities may close at the national or local level, they may open at the transnational level. This was for example the case for certain national groups of the transnational women's network active in the GJM: groups from authoritarian countries (e.g. Afghanistan or Kenya) were (and are) facing strong repression in their domestic context, but their representatives are welcome guests and contributors to UN WOMEN, the United Nations organization dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women, and other international forums. This case constitutes an example of 'forum shopping', a concept prominent within IR diffusion theories (see Jupille, 2004). According to this concept, actors look rationally for the institution where their claims may have the strongest resonance. Similar constellations have also been described with the 'boomerang effect' (Keck & Sikkink, 1998): When a national regime refuses to take up a set of claims from a sub-national movement, this movement may turn

to a transnational or supra-governmental institution, which then puts pressure on the national government 'from above'. The claims 'come back' to the national level. The growth of 'extraterritorial space' (Scholte, 1997), may thus serve as a counterweight against 'shrinking' political opportunities in the national realm. In this case, closing opportunities may not lead to the use of more disruptive tactics. With respect to the GJM, for example, the autonomous groups' lack of radicalization in Italy after the strong repression experienced at the counter-summit in Genoa in 2001, may in part be explained (next to local and national opportunities of political influence opening up with a leftist government) on the basis of the continuing cooperation of autonomous groups across Europe and Latin America – and the resources and opportunities it provided.

In explaining repertoire change in transnational movements, it is thus crucial to ask: what opportunities for participating in public decision making does a movement or movement group have in its municipality or city, country, and at the transnational level? Movements cannot simply select their suitable arena on a voluntary basis, but the attempts to do so should be calculated in when explaining repertoire change in a multi-level environment.

Political learning

Changes in repertoires may also be due to processes of political learning within social movements (Beckwith, 2000): not all forms of action are maintained from one phase of mobilization to the other. Research shows that it is, above all, those tactics considered successful or particularly well adapted to a movement's context, identity or culture which are most easily transferred from one movement to the next (e.g. Soule, 2004). With regards to repertoire continuities between the GJM and most recent ant-austerity mobilizations, Zamponi and Daphi (2014) for example show that in Italian anti-austerity protests activists considered the more global and theoretical approach of the GJM unsuccessful and instead turned to a more local approach. However, such processes of political learning also take place within one cycle of mobilisation. In this vein, activists of the GJM for example abandoned civil disobedience since they were no longer considered effective after the violent escalation at the counter-summit in Genoa or the terrorist attacks in New York in 2001 (Wood, 2012).

Political learning can take place at the different levels (local, national and transnational), too. In the GJM, the World March of Women is a good example: due to attempts to reach audiences in Arab countries – where LGBT rights are either not an acceptable conversation

topic, or not considered part of 'feminism' – the World March of Women partly deradical-ized its repertoires (which feminists from Brazil and other Southern countries soon challenged, see Giraud, 2012: 65).

Allies and rivals

Repertoires are also shaped through the movement's interactions – both internally among different groups constituting the movement, as well as with external actors such as potential allies, authorities, and audiences (Rucht, 2004; Alimi et al. 2012; Krebs & Jackson, 2007). On the one hand, movements consist of a variety of different groups and their internal interaction strongly affects repertoires (e.g. Jenness & Broad, 1997). The different groups of a movement may complement as well as counter-act each other's goals. They may compete for public visibility and for adherents and allies (see Alimi et al., 2012). Competition between different groups of the movement can for example lead to more disruptive tactics – as each group tries to gain momentum and maintain cohesion (della Porta, 2008; Bosi et al., 2014; Alimi et al., 2012). On the other hand, movement's interaction with adversaries, potential allies and audiences will affect repertoires. This concerns not only the more general access to institutional decision-making, elites or public opinion-making – as discussed above – but also the direct interaction during protest events. In this vein, it was shown that repeated clashes with police can lead to more disruptive forms of action (della Porta, 1995). Potential allies have been found to also play an important role in repertoire changes: if possibilities exist to widen the range of allies (e.g. moderate NGOs), greater attention is paid to their interests – which may in the case of more moderate allies lead to a decrease in disruptive tactics. Finally, as social movements often aim to appeal not only to authorities and potential allies but also to audiences, movements' interactions with public bystanders are crucial in repertoire choice and change. For example, while more disruptive tactics may improve internal solidarity within a movement, it may decline public support for a movement and hence be reconsidered (Jasper, 2008).

Transnational movement groups do not only interact locally but also in the context of national and transnational networks. The intensity and nature of interaction at different levels will affect repertoires – entailing both cooperation and competition. A fruitful cooperation at the transnational level may for example not only increase diffusion but also – as we have shown with respect to the case of Italian autonomous groups – facilitate access to resources and opportunities that prevent radicalization. There are a number of local farmer unions from Asian countries, for example, who changed their tactic from more

passive forms to active resistance, crucially influenced by their interaction with the transnational network La Via Campesina and its repertoire. The network had a radicalizing effect on Korean farmers, for instance, of which one even stabbed himself to dead at a WTO-meeting while holding the sign "WTO kills farmers". The other way around, the Indonesian farmers union SPI who had been lobbying the government in a framework of land rights and land reform for a long time had a strong influence on the transnational network when hosting La Via Campesina from 2003 to 2014. Their rights-based approach made its way into La Via Campesina's general repertoire, a deradicalization that was fiercely opposed, for example from farmers' unions in the Philippines.

While the dynamics between levels may be due to rational selection processes on the side of social movements (forum shopping), this example shows that it may also be based on other factors such as cultural affiliations and political convictions, as well as learning and previous trans-level interaction.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have offered a conceptual framework to grasp the dynamics of changes in social movements' repertoires. We have argued that these radicalize and deradicalize on a scale of relative values – a continuum between conventional tactics (opposition) and disruptive tactics (dissidence). This approach addressed shortcomings in existing research on radicalization and social movement repertoires: On the one hand, the focus of recent radicalization scholarship on violence and its ensuing tendency to neglect processes of deradicalization. As we showed, this focus is due to the high attention to terrorism in radicalization studies. While a focus particularly on violence makes sense in the context of terrorism and war, we argued that for understanding changes of repertoires in social movements more broadly it is more helpful to consider violence as a possible but not necessary result of radicalization. Also, we proposed to consider radicalization and deradicalization in a joint analytical framework – as a two-way process instead of a mono-directional movement career. By looking beyond violence we would also like to encourage scholars to take on a more analytical view on radicalization (and deradicalization). The depiction of a clear sequence from a radical analysis of society towards violent and even terrorist behaviour is not helpful in analytic terms; in fact, it can even function as a disciplining tool with a conservative tendency.

On the other hand, we aimed to address shortcomings in existing explanations of repertoire change in social movements. In this vein, we argued that a variety of factors – political

learning, interactions with allies and competitors, the stage in the cycle of mobilisation as well as opportunities and resources – need to be analysed on three levels: locally, nationally and transnationally. On all levels, the factors may have a different impact qualitatively and quantitatively. We argue that repertoire changes are influenced by the interplay of factors at the local, national, and transnational levels. This interplay should be considered in future research on repertoire changes in transnational movements: The three levels of interaction in transnational movements (local, national, transnational) have to be taken into account for all four factors (protest cycle, opportunities and resources, political learning mechanisms, and dynamics of interaction).

This model has the advantage of neither favouring structural factors over internal deliberation, nor over-estimating the role of agency in social movements. Social movements are always bound to broader discourses and opportunity structures, but movements also have the chance to seize these on different levels: Thus, for a movement it may be advisable to look for the most favourable opportunity structures at the level of a town or international organisation, not a country.

The relative radicalness of the mode of claim-making is thus dependent on a number of factors which again have to be analysed on the respective level they are situated at. A change of repertoire can thus inform about the political context (e.g. repression) but may also be derived from internal deliberation or influences of other movements. For movement scholars this means choppy waters, but they contain a lot of fish.

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