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Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

1.1.1 Abstract

This research paper uses Neil Smelser's value-added analytical framework to evaluate the social movements of Guatemala in 2015. The report considers the 6 components of the value added theory as well as the 4 components for action that Smelser outlines as the primary determinants for collective action. While this paper does not adopt the theory and analysis of collective behavior that Smelser incorporates in his work, the research attempts to utilize the frame in an inquiry focusing on the structural aspects of a contemporary social movement. Instead of adopting the traditional conceptualizations of collective behavior, the research incorporates more recent approaches and concepts to social movements and seeks to include contemporary questions of political processes and resource mobilization instead inside of the analytical framework originally developed in 1962. Overall, the attempt seeks to combine insight from three different paradigmatic approaches to social movement studies, and to utilize the three approaches in conjunction to test the usefulness of the value-added frame as a guiding lens for inquiries into social movements. The results, while only based on a single case study, have been positive, and provide valuable reflections on the application and accuracy of Smelser's work. At the same time, it provides needed updates to the analytical frame by incorporating the knowledge from more recent research.

1.1.2 Reading guide

In reading the paper, I recommend drawing appendix 9 out to keep as a reading companion. The appendix covers my empirical grounding of the research and the timeline I have used to ground my arguments. While the report can be read without keeping this along, I believe this particular appendix is good to keep close. For many, the Guatemalan case may also be unfamiliar, for which the appendix can also be helpful in 'keeping track' of events, which will not be presented in a historical order in the report. Several elements have had to find their place here, because of the limitations of keystrokes available for the assignment's main body.

Otherwise, the report can be read as any other. I outline the report, findings, structure, problem area, and purpose in the first part. The second part provides the theoretical backdrop of the research and how it conceptualizes and understands social movements. The third part goes through the methodological steps of the research and its logical progression of theorization. The fourth part is the analysis, and the fifth and sixth discussions and conclusions.

1.2.1 Introduction

In the first quarter of 2015, something happened in Guatemala (GT). The work of the international commission against impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) let to the uncovering of a massive corruption scandal in the political class, spearheaded by president Otto Perez Molina and his Vice President Roxanna Baldetti. This spurred massive demonstration quickly after the discoveries were publicized; mobilizing demonstrations of more than a hundred thousand demonstrators each and escalating rapidly as the scheduled presidential elections for the next term was drawing nearer. For the demonstrators this was a critical point: they would not content themselves with President Molina's leave by the next election, they demanded that he renounced his presidency *before* the elections along with Vice President Baldetti. This was ratified in movement slogans like #25A & #RenunciaYa – originally twitter and Facebook 'hashtags' that called for the mobilizations to force the president and vice president to renounce at once, but which later evolved into more organized political projects, among others the #JusticiaYa[1] 'group'. The renunciation of Molina and Baldetti before the presidential elections of 2015 was important for the movement for several reasons. Historically, the Guatemalan population has been living in a state of 'fear and silence[2]' following the internal conflict between 1960-1996 between leftist insurgents and right-wing military strongmen ruling the state. The internal conflict escalated to a brutal genocidal campaign in the years 1982-1983 with more than 200.000 civilians murdered, widespread 'disappearings', kidnappings, displacements, and other acts of state terror against the population, and upwards of 1.5 million displaced, primarily of the indigenous and rural population of the country[3]. The conflict continued until 1996 where a peace treaty was finally signed by both parties at the 'green palace' in the center of Guatemala City. Following the conflict, the population had generally been cowered

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1 https://www.facebook.com/justiciayagt/?fref=ts

2 http://revistavacio.com/politica/guatemala/

3 http://www.aaas.org/sites/default/files/migrate/uploads/mos_en.pdf

into silence, as many commentators have described it[4], but this ended by April 2015. While opposition and outspokenness had never completely vanished, it had remained, largely, repressed. The demonstrations of 2015 marked a change to this; the people had had enough of political corruption, fraudulence, nepotism, despotism, arrogance, and impunity. They had remained silent for too long, but refused to be so any longer and, even more importantly, the people started bringing forth *their* demands for justice. A weak judicial system that had long been infiltrated by corruption and had allowed extensive impunity, was appalling the population, which would not tolerate this any longer -they wanted Molina and Baldetti ousted and convicted. As long as the President and his Vice President remained in office, they were immune to the law and could not be indicted, and if they were allowed to prepare their step-down until the next election, it was feared that they might get away with their crimes. Another imminent fear, although overwhelmingly the most important aspect of the demonstrations was to (re)assert the power of the people and their strife to rewrite a bloody history anew, this time with the people in the lead and with the will of the masses first.

The goal was reached in two stages when Vice President Roxanna Baldetti renounced on May 8th 2015 and later President Molina, reluctantly renounced on September 3rd 2015[5]. Thirdly, Manuel Baldizon, who many feared would become the next president, did not make it to the final election round. At least some of the espoused goals were achieved. While these were the three *primary goals*, other remain. The citizens of GT has been demanding more than the renunciation of the two executive leaders, the less prominent but no less important goals, more far-reaching and progressive, still have way to go. It is still questionable if these goals will be attainable, as the movement activity seems to have subsided following the election of new president Jimmy Morales and the renunciations of the former leadership. The still unfulfilled demands are; reforms of the state system, ending corruption (still abound), strengthening of public institutions, improving public services including healthcare, education and security, strengthening transparency and judicial systems as well as ending impunity.

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4 https://nomada.gt/eel-silencio-de-los-capitalinos-nunca-mas/

5 https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anexo:Cronolog%C3%ADa_del_Caso_de_la_L%C3%ADnea_en_Guatemala

1.2.2 Problem area

The problem area concerns the social movement itself and its achievements, organization, strategies, resources, and relative success. These aspects, however, cannot be viewed without including the contextual and historical circumstances in which the events have unfolded. As such, the political situation, domestically and internationally, cultural influences, macro-economic and macro-social indicators to describe the situation of the country are included to account for the situation in which the social movement has emerged, operated, developed and spread, and which is also the extrinsic reality that the movement has sought to influence.

1.3.1 Problem formulation

Why has the demonstration of Guatemala been so efficient in mobilizing the general population in spite of both cultural and resource-based obstacles that should work against such mobilization? In addition, how well and with what methods and strategies has the movement been able to create and maintain its momentum through 4½ months of continuous demonstrations?

1.3.2 Research Questions

1. Which political processes facilitated or inhibited the relative success of the social movement in achieving its asserted goals?

2. How has organizations influenced the developments of the social movement particularly in relation to mobilization, resources, sustaining and spreading the social movement? This takes into considerations both organization prior to and concurrent with the social movement.

3. How has the movement been able to overcome cultural and socio-economic obstacles and join people from all parts of society in a unified movement?

1.3.3 Purpose of research

An important question of the social research project is to answer what the purpose of the research is. (Bryman 2012: 6). This question can generally be visualized as two dimensional with '*practical implications and value*' being one extreme and '*adding to the accumulation of knowledge*' being the other extreme. The former category relates research in social sciences to practical matters and

aspects and aspires to research questions and provide answers that make a *real* difference in practical terms, that is, for people in real life. On the other hand, research that focus on adding to the accumulation of knowledge are not necessarily concerned whether or not the knowledge acquired through the research contributes to make changes for people in their every-day lives. Research of this kind may or may not have implications for real life practice but it is definitely not undertaken to meet any such ambition.

The purpose of this research falls in a category somewhere in between the two extremes goals. While I see the possibility of the research to contribute to real-life issues and practices as desirable, I believe the goal of adding to the generation of knowledge is equally important, the same view Becker, Bryman & Sempik found to be dominant amongst UK social policy researchers (Becker, Bryman & Sempik 2006: 6). The inquiry is, therefore, not intended to favor any of the two extreme positions in the two-dimensional evaluation framework presented above, adopted from Bryman's definitions. I have tried to balance the two influences by choosing an on-going situation, with active social movement organizations and vast areas of contestation in the society in focus, and using this as a case study for the research, thus focusing exclusively on a single-case instance of this particular phenomenon and on its special characteristics. These practitioners, then, could benefit from the conclusions of this study in the continuing struggle to end corruption, political impunity and social injustice, albeit whether or not they may I cannot assess from the outset of the research. The reason is that in order to balance the importance of adding to the existing pool of knowledge, the study is modeled towards this ambition rather than the former. Thus, the research is directed towards questions pertaining to the existing literature and towards testing these practically, rather than questions directed towards influencing practices and making changes.

2. Theory

2.1. Ontological position of research

In this section, I will proceed to develop the ontological and epistemological approach applied n this research. This paper adheres to the critical realist paradigm, albeit a 'weaker version' and with several accessions. Before entertaining those, however, I will start by expanding on my understanding of critical realism and the way it influences the research conducted in this paper, practically and theoretically.

2.1.1 Critical realism

I consider realism broadly as a 'grand social theory' at a level of abstraction where it is difficult to link it with practical matters in the real world (Bryman 2012: 21; Baur 2009: 10[6]). In Baur's words, this level of abstraction considers "*general concepts about what society is, which concepts are central to analysis… what the nature of reality is, what assumptions have to be made in order to grasp this reality… and how –on this basis – theory and data can be linked on a general level*" (*ibid.*). As such, this is not the level of abstraction at which the analysis will be directed. Rather from this level of abstraction mid-range theories will be applied to connect the overarching ontological assumptions with 'the real world' to help explain the relationship between the two: the very abstract levels of theory (ontologically - realism) and what we actually see in the real world (empirical observations).

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6 Baur terms these 'social theories' but the level of abstraction and elements involved are the same as those employed by Bryman who uses the term 'grand theories'.

The particular approach I employ in this paper I refer to as 'critical realism' for simplicity's sake, using the 'generic name' that encompasses a rather broad range of 'realisms'. In an extensive review of the realist approach, Maxwell makes the same case for his discussion of realism (Maxwell 2012: 5) in order to simplify and synthesize various takes on the realist approach, i.e. Lakoff's 'experiential realism (Lakoff 1987), Giere's 'constructive realism (Giere 1999) or Barad's 'agential realism' (Barad 2007), to name just a few of the various adaptations cited. However, the first fundamental proposition of realism, as "*that there is an external reality to which scientists direct their attention (in other words there is a reality that is separate from our description of it)*" (Bryman 2012: 29). This understanding, that there is a 'real' world and that it can be observed and studied is a central element of realism that it shares with positivism.

How this translates into theoretical description, however, is a central, unresolved debate inside the realist paradigm. Bryman accounts for two different realist takes on this: 'naïve realism' and 'critical realism'. Naïve realism is most closely related to the positivist paradigm sharing at least two assumption: 1) that scientists *can* study the real world and that the real world *can be understood* through the use of appropriate methods and 2) that the social sciences should seek to emulate the scientific methodologies of the natural sciences (this assumption is not exclusive to the various naïve approaches but more closely related to it than to the critical). The critical approach, on the other hand, argues that "*the scientist's conceptualization is simply a way of knowing that reality* [the external 'real world']… '*science, then, is the systematic attempt to express in thought the structures and ways of acting of things that exist and act independently of thought'*" (*ibid.* p. 29; Bashkar 1975: 250 cited by Bryman). Critical realism thus accepts largely the same position as has been put forth by the postmodernist[7] school of thought, that language is imperfect and can only provide subjective renditions of reality. In other words, it is accepted that 'categories employed to understand reality is likely provisional' and that there is a distinction between: a) the terms and categories employed to describe reality and b) that reality itself (Bryman 2012: 29). Similarly Maxwell argues that the common ground for all of the realist approaches that he terms under 'critical realism' is that they all "*deny that we can have any 'objective' or 'certain' knowledge of the world, and accept the possibility of alternative valid accounts of any phenomenon*" (Maxwell 2012: 5). As a result, theories about the world, like the language they are formulated in are, at best, incomplete, and likely partial and/or fallible, theories are models and they do not present a one-to-

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7 Most well-known proponents of this paradigm are French researchers such as Rorty, Boudrillard, Lyotard and Derrida.

one correspondence with the real world when translated into other forms of representation. He adds that this particular combination is often viewed as a 'realist ontological stance combined with an epistemological constructivist stance' (*ibid.* p. 5-6).

In contrast to constructivism, realism posits that there *is* an objective, mutually experienced reality. Realism rejects the notion that there are 'multiple realities' as well as the notion that reality is 'created' or that these 'multiple realities' are incommensurable or independent (*ibid.* p. 9).

2.1.2 Concepts and 'the real world'

These notions additionally calls for an explanation of theoretical models and their relations to 'the real world' and to 'conceptual formulations' – how are the boundaries drawn between the two, and perhaps especially for concepts that does not exactly lend themselves to direct observation. For instance; the notion of '*organization*'. It is evident that that organization is everywhere. Intuitively the word brings forth connotations to real world entities that seem real enough (like the WWF – an 'NGO' - non-governmental *organization*), and we may readily say that this is an organization. However, defining the organization itself is much more complicated than is pointing to something and saying 'this is it'. Because, while the expression of the organization is readily visible in buildings, artifacts, documents, arrangements, and alike, none of these constitute *of themselves* the organization, and neither is there a synthetic constitution of the various compositional elements that make up the definition of an organization[8] (Taylor & Van Every 2011:1-2).

This is a crucial junction between the real world and the theoretical concepts that are applied to study it. In the realist approach, it is assumed that there exist *fundamental organizing principles*[9] that underlie what we can observe in the real world, but that we may not be able to observe these. In other words, what we call organization in everyday speech may be only a product of 'deeper structures[10]' of organizing principles. The concepts that are employed to describe these manifestation (organization, corporation, community, fraternity, etc.), even if they are merely

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8 In other words, it is difficult to say an organization is 'two computers, two people and one small office with a coffee machine', or to formulate any similar definition based solely on compositional elements of the organization.

9 Gravity may provide a fitting example from the world of physics: like the basic idea I outline here, gravity cannot be seen in itself, it is completely impalpable and can only be observed through its influence on other objects. This intricacy of the force of gravity, that it is omnipresent but only observable through its manifestations, has made the study of it a complex question of physics.

10 This point will be illustrated further below in section 2.2 on the epistemological position of the research.

'labels', theoretical concepts, or everyday terms employed to make sense of the real world that the people employing those terms live in, these concepts are treated as real in the same sense as the world they seek to describe (incomplete, partial or infallible as they may be). This is to say that the conceptualizations of the world that may (or may not) only exist as mental depictions or descriptions of the world, devised for making sense of it, should not be treated as less real than the world itself. This is true because whatever conceptualizations are applied to create intelligible models of the world that can be used constructively and communicated effectively, will inevitable form part of the influential mechanisms that are part of shaping human action[11].

It is my hope that this example provides an intelligible illustration of the epistemological constructivism accompanying the ontological realist position of this research (see also Maxwell 2012: 5; Lakoff 1987: 265; Ingemann 2013: 164: Searle 1995)[12]. The assumptions, elaborated here in relation to the concept of organization, are general for all conceptualizations utilized in the research, such as 'social movement', 'political opportunity', etc. The illustration based on organization was chosen because the organization is a focal point of interest for the research.

2.1.3 Causation

Above, in section 2.1, I mentioned that the ontological stance of critical realism assumes that there exists a world of 'deeper structures' which can be understood as the 'fundamental principles' that operate below the level of what we may be able to observe. This notion implicates an assumption about causation- that the existence of causal links are equally accepted as real would be the only reasonable deduction if we have already accepted the existence of 'fundamental organizing principles'. I mean to assert this acceptance of causal mechanisms here; however, the view of causal links adopted takes some reservations. Firstly, not all mechanisms are necessarily *invariant* across time and space and secondly, that the ability of causal mechanisms to manifest themselves are dependent on a nexus of causal potentials in a given context (Ingemann 2013: 94). Causal potential refers, here, to an understanding of society as constitution of many different 'layers' of complexity. At each level, there are various causal mechanisms existing but every time we move to a higher

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11 This can also argued as a recognition of a weak version of linguistic relativity - also known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Hussein 2012) which Maxwell refers to as "*a form of epistemological constructivism or relativism*" (Maxwell 2012: 5).

12 Hacking (1983) provides a 4-square matrix to explain the same point in a similar way. In his terminology the research here follows a realism approach to entities and an anti-realist approach to theories (see appendix 2)

level of abstraction, the complexity is likewise increased. Ingemann provides as an example that a given society is composed of biological individuals. These can be viewed at the level of abstraction of biology (a lower level) which can in turn be viewed at the level of chemistry (even lower level), etc. However, this does not implicate that the society, then, can (or should) be viewed as simply a composition of bio-chemical processes. Rather, every time we move up one level of abstraction, new potential causal principles are introduced and the complexity is likewise increased (*ibid.*). Scientific explanations in the spheres of societal analysis therefore cannot be reduced to *mono-causal* mechanisms. Instead, the critical realism ontology suggests scientific theory should provide *multi-causal* explanations for societal phenomena with causal potential existing at every level of abstraction. Consequently, this limits the utility of experiments for the epistemological approach; these aspects of reality can only be explored by observation and analysis of real societal situations and phenomena[13] (Bashkar 2008). But this assumption does connect well with the analytical framework adapted in this research (see section 2.4.4).

2.2 Epistemological position

Although the primary focus here is concerned with structural aspects of social movement research and, accordingly, adopt a theoretical framework aligned with this approach, the research is still considered qualitative because the methodology and analytical approach is modeled around a qualitative design. Therefore, the epistemological approach of the research follows the interpretative paradigm. Bryman, citing Von Wright (Bryman 2012: 28 – Von Wright 1971), argues that interpretivism contrasts the positivist paradigm and has been the outcome of a clash between positivism and hermeneutics. The aim of interpretivism, therefore, is a position somewhat between the two extremities: of positivism, aiming to provide *explanations* for human behavior; and hermeneutics, which's emphasis is on the *understanding* of human behavior (original emphases). Ideally, the research design would incorporate a greater emphasis on participation and close observation: '*on-scene*' participatory analyses and interviews with participants, which would have allowed for the 'closest' view of the activities, culture, organization, understandings and meanings at play in the social movement. This is merely to point attention to some of the weaknesses of this research; other areas that demand attention and research but which this inquiry cannot address

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13 Tough experiments can be used to test for causal potential in isolation. This, however, is not the principle interest of the critical realism approach. Rather, critical realism seeks to uncover in which relations causal potentials are 'released' and how some mechanisms interact with other, etc. (Ingemann 2013: 94).

because participation has not been possible[14]. Interviews would have been possible to an extent, though the quality of these would not have been of a standard that would satisfy an inquiry based solely on interviews, for several reasons[15].

The epistemological approach of this research, therefore, has focused on disseminating a 'body of data': a compilation of accounts of the social movement, which should be viewed rather as an historical record than an immediate observation of the events at hand. In other words, the analysis of the research focuses on what I term 'accounts' of the events, though from the list above it should be evident that the term 'account' is stretched to included many types of data that are often, in other types of inquiries, treated as distinct sources. The reason I use the term 'accounts' is not to create a distinctive quality of the data included but to make a sense of the way the empirical data is treated. In other words, the data included in the assignment is considered as accounts of the events that have unfolded in Guatemala in 2015, and are treated so; as accounts and reports. The definitive quality of which is that they are *accounts* or *testimonies* of what has happened. They can be considered as true, *at least* to the extent that they provide 'a perspective' on the case; a certain glimpse of insight into what has happened; 'a frame[16]' or interpretation, in all cases an 'incomplete' elaboration of that reality (recall also the argument of section 2.1 on critical realism). This is the case because the approach understands the subjects under study as being *sense makers* and their creations (i.e. artifacts, stories, accounts, etc.) are products of a process of interpretation and reformulation. The task of the researcher therefore becomes to "*reach beyond the experience of the moment to comprehend intuitively and theoretically the patterned network of interdependent relationships that give events their meaning for those who are involved.*" (Taylor & Van Every 2011: 21)[17]. What should be apparent from the above elaboration is that there are elements of the real world that we are able to observe and there are elements that we are unable to observe directly. What we can see, in accordance with our ontological assumptions, is the *manifestations* of 'deeper layers of principles' it is as if we are watching the 'top of an iceberg' (Ingemann 2013: 91-94).

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14 See section 2.8 for an elaboration of the limitations of the research.

15 Some of these issues are; availability of interviewees, difficulties in arrangements, interview planning, techniques, and verification issues, etc. Primarily, arrangement and availability of interviewees have been the obstacles hindering such an approach, though the other factors are also significant.

16 This research is not particularly associated with *frame analysis* however. Frames, here, are understood in a similar manner, but the analysis is not directed towards a frame analysis in the conventional sense.

17 This is also related to the research design as a case study and is also meant to emphasize the importance of context (see also Ingemann 2013: 89 for a longer discussion of this point in relation to critical realism).

Ingemann relates this part of the critical realist ontology to 'Popper's problem' -or; the 'induction issue[18]' that critical realism has sought to address. Popper pioneered the critical rationalism ontology with a foundation on a critique of positivism, and his main argument was a formulation of what Ingeman terms the 'induction problem' which, in short, challenges the positivist approach developed as a social science 'equivalent' to the natural sciences' methodological approach. In other words, this critique strongly challenged the social sciences reliance on inductive research. The issue of the limited explanatory power of inductive logic can only be resolved by moving beyond induction because it is insufficient to explain the deeper organizing principles of which we can only observe the manifestations. The goal is to explain what lies 'beneath' that which we observe through induction[19] (or observation – what we can learn from 'accounts'), and to do so other forms of logic must be invoked. Model 1.1 below is presented in Ingemann (2013: 93) but is originally from Jespersen 2007: 102. The goal is to illustrate the 'layers' or 'strata' of reality: the empirical and factual are the ones that we can measure and observe, whereas the 'deep stratum' is where the '*hidden causal mechanisms*', '*fundamental principles*', etc. are operating. Ingemann refers to this as the 'theoretical' level, i.e. the level of abstraction –or simply 'the lower part of the iceberg'[20]. In order to explain the deep stratum, critical realism therefore calls for abstraction, i.e. theory, to explain the phenomena. The part of abstraction is a rationalization on behalf of the explanation, which is a reasoning, here, based on an abductive approach (see section 2.3 below).

Figure 1: critical realism, stratum model

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18 Popper is often cited as the 'father' of the critical realist approach (Ingemann 2013: 73; Colin & Køppe 2003: 98). His critical rationalism is similar to but not the same as critical realism but most importantly, he pioneered the critique against positivism (see Popper 1959[2002] & Popper 1963) revealing the limitations of inductive logic.

19 In terms of culture, this explanation can also be held up with Edgar Schein's 'iceberg' model of culture and almost equally with Hofstede's 'onion model'.

20 It should be noted that no layer is seen as invariant in nature. For instance; power structures and institutional conditions may be more resilient to historical development, but they are, nevertheless, neither 'eternal' or 'unchanging' at best they may be cover terms that are contextual but unavoidable (such as power structures which are never 'pre-given' but they are, however, difficult to avoid entirely).

explain the phenomena. The part of abstraction is a rationalization on behalf of the explanation, which is a reasoning, here, based on an abductive approach (see section 2.3 below).

Figure 1: critical realism, stratum model

2.3 Analytical reasoning

The explorative approach of the research has been guided by an abductive reasoning in its initial stages, which is supported by an iterative relation between theory and data. The abductive reasoning was coined by Charles Sanders Pierce, though he first introduced the type of reasoning as 'guessing' at around 1901 (Pierce 1901). Pierce saw abduction as part of hypothesis-forming in scientific inquiry as well as in everyday reasoning about unexpected events, going as far as to argue that abduction is the only logical way in which ideas are formulated; "*all the ideas of science come to it by way of abduction*"[21]. Abduction, therefore, is linked intuitively with discovery and exploration because abduction necessarily deals with the formation of hypotheses about unexpected events (though not *irregular* events, a formulation that Pierce did not support[22]). From this initial aspect of discovery, the hypothesis-forming, further inquiries can later be made to confirm, falsify or expand this; the original hypothesis (or hypotheses), adopting both inductive and deductive reasoning based on empirical observations (Svennevig 1997: 4).

Pierce's general critique of the inductive and deductive approaches is based on his two-dimensional framework of reasoning. He argues that there are two types of 'desiderata' [aims] to reasoning that logicians should seek when they study different types of reasoning: *uberty* and *security*. According to Pierce, uberty refers to a type of reasoning's capability to produce additional content, its '*value in productiveness*' and security refers to a type of reasoning's ability to make conclusions that are at least as certain as their premises, that is '*leaving an absolute inability to doubt the truth of the conclusions as long as the premises are assumed to be true*'[23]. From these two premises, Pierce

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21 Pierce quoted in Psillos (2011)

22 http://www.philosophy.uncc.edu/mleldrid/SAAP/TAMU/P32G.htm#_ftn2

23 Pierce quoted in Psillos (2011: 121)

regards deductive logic as being exclusively concerned with security and inductive logic to be somewhere in between. Abductive logic, then, is most closely related with uberty and least with security. This type of reasoning that possess the capability to produce new content in the process of reasoning is also called '*ampliative*' and '*generative*' referring to its ability to expand on its own premises and data available for inquiry (*ibid.*)

Abductive reasoning, then, can be described as '*a flexible and revising relation between empirical categories and theoretical concepts*' (Halkier 2012: 4). This necessitates that the researcher keeps a '*systematically open mind towards several possible interpretations of categories and dynamics of the empirical field*' (*ibid.* see also Jensen 2002: 263-266). In other words, working with theory is neither a strictly inductive or deductive process through the research, and that the theoretical and empirical categories are not strictly defined designs that are held consistent throughout the research process. Most importantly, these categories are held open for questioning, testing, reapplication and 're-systematization'. In other words, the research design and the relationship between data and theory is a flexible design that allows for reexamination and reinterpretation of the situation, data and theory and the relation(s) and premises of each. Secondly, it also means that the analysis is neither, strictly speaking, testing hypotheses or looking for confirmation of the same. As 'explorers upon untrodden ground' to paraphrase Pierce (Psillos 2011), the study does not exclude theory nor inductive or deductive reasoning. It endeavors to go 'beyond the existing content' and to add value to the existing body of knowledge by '*correlating and integrating the facts into a more general description, that is, relating them to a wider context*' (Givon 1989 quoted in Svennevig 1997).

It should be noted that the choice of reasoning has had much influence on the research design and theoretical contemplations as well, which I have sought to emphasize in the respective sections of this paper.

2.4 Resource mobilization and political process theory

Both approaches are incorporated 'inside' of the theoretical framework developed by Neil Smelser (introduced in section 2.4.4 below) in order to draw on the rich literature and the extended knowledge that has been developed since the value-added theory from 1962. The resource mobilization [RM] view is adopted in the research approach to evaluate specific questions in relation to organization and resources and contributes with both theoretical concepts, questions, and analytical tools. Additionally, knowledge that has already been developed in the literature about

how social movements have administered and mobilized resources and which aspects have, in other cases, been important for the movements' success and survival-rate. Likewise, the political process view [PPT] is developed specifically to inquiries into the political environment of social movements and has in later years also incorporated cultural elements such as narratives, frames, emotions and more. This view is adopted in order to emphasize and analyze the external conditions that influence movement development, mobilization, success, and strategic and tactical choices as well as for its contribution of knowledge from research following the approach. Below I will provide a short outline of both approaches.

2.4.1 Resource Mobilization [RM]

The resource mobilization paradigm was first introduced by Zald & Ash (1966) when they noted that social movement organizations (SMOs) are unique entities that require special consideration in relation to their particular area of inquiry (Caniglia & Carmin 2010: 201). With this discovery, research in the field relatively quickly came to regard organizations as a critical basis for mobilization. The approach, however, was soon incorporated under the political opportunity approach (later renamed as political process approach ((PPT)), which considered primarily social movements in relation to their political environment and sought to construct predictive, invariable models around social movements' structural characteristics in combination with the structural characteristics of the political environment.

The RM paradigm started out as a deliberate critique of the former assumptions about the irrationality of movement participants and questioned how mobilization and strategizing could be possible if the essential assumptions of the traditional views were true (see appendix 7 for additional details). The traditional views based on collective psychology had posited a psychological explanation for participant motivations in social movements and analyzed movement action as non-institutional phenomena in response to systemic breakdowns, rapid societal development, mal-integration or isolation, and similar theories, mostly in relation to Marxist and structural-functionalist societal conceptualizations. The resource mobilization approach, on the other hand, viewed participants as rational actors pursuing political interests. This assumption fundamentally changed the perception of movement recruits as 'isolated, rootless individuals seeking to immerse themselves in the mass as a surrogate for their marginalization' (Della Porta & Diani 2006: 15). The notion of familiar ties and solidary networks inside or related to social

movements was the fundamental outset of RM theory, which sought to document and analyze these networks in closer as well as challenge the traditional theses of irrationality of movement participants.

It was argued from the onset of the RM approach, that tensions and structural conflicts (strain) were enough for social movements to develop. The transformation of individual strain into organized movements, instead, was taken as the point of departure for social movement studies in the new paradigm and its central focus was on the organizational, material and individual resources that allowed for a transformation of individually held beliefs into a social movement. The *capacity for mobilization* depends on material resources such as money, facilities, work, tools, etc. and non-material resources such as authority, experience, leadership, moral engagement, friendship, family ties, etc. These resources, then, are distributed strategically across a range of movement objectives in order to meet certain goals, all of which is encapsulated in the notion of the SMO. 'The types and nature of the resources available hence explain the range of tactical choices and allocation of resources as well as the consequences of the social movement on its immediate political and social environment' (*ibid*).

Through this research, the central tenet of the RM paradigm remains with the study of how organization and resources have influenced both the capacity for mobilization, mobilization itself, and strategic choices on behalf of the social movement. We shall seek to relate these factors to the relative success of the social movement by the end, but in relation to our findings related to political processes and the overall analytical framework.

2.4.2 Political Process Theory [PPT]

The logical consequence of the findings of the RM approach was the development into the PPT approach which went on to focus on the political environment of the social movement and which also paid considerable attention to the findings of the RM paradigm. The PPT approach sought to emphasize the importance of the environment of the social movement and how the characteristics of it influenced the relative success of the social movement in meeting asserted goals. PPT became a natural consequence of RM, primarily because of the reconceptualization of collective action i.e. social movements, as rational and goal oriented. Because of this, social movement struggles became seen rather as political projects than manifestations of psychological strains. The central tenet of the

PPT theory was to determine the forms and intensity of social movements (*ibid*), although the paradigm evolved to include several more facets.

Initially the paradigm was named Political Opportunity Theory (POS) but through a gradual refinement of the approach, the name was later updated in order to rid itself of some anomalies that had originally been core assumptions of the approach. Particularly the language of *political structures* and *invariant models* was abandoned in search for more qualitative and dynamic concepts. The POS approach is still in existence and continues to inform some studies, but its influence has been diminishing in recent years (Rutland 2013: 992).

The PPT, in contrast, focusses on *processes* rather than *structures.* This emphasizes both historic and contextual contingencies over structures as well as interaction between elements of the analysis and the development of the subjects throughout the analysis. Rather than positing a rigid structural model for social movements, PPT emphasizes dynamics, tactics and strategies available to social movements, how they can apply, them, etc. and relates this to the political process of the interaction between the social movement and its environment. Several lines of inquiry have developed along this route; frame analysis, identity analysis, network analysis, etc. with which we are not particularly concerned. Not because these are not valuable and useful paths of inquiry, but in order to limit the scope of the research to a realistic perspective.

What we are particularly concerned with, however, is the general political landscape of the social movement. The relative openness of the polity; the levels of repression, the access of citizens to the political arena, relative representation in the political arena, the strategies employed by political opponents, the interaction between the social movement and its political environments, the effect of the strategies adopted by the social movement, etc. We then aim to connect our observations with our findings here with our observations in the RM paradigm and to analyze them systematically inside of the value-added analytical frame.

2.4.3 Units of analysis

The research addresses several aspects of the social movements and incorporates two different approaches and therefore the units of analysis varies more than they might do in inquiries incorporating only a single research paradigm. In this section, I will try to elaborate on the differences between the two paradigmatic approaches in relation to the units of analysis.

In the PPT approach, the unit of analysis starts with the social movement at the aggregate level. The social movement is analyzed in relation to other societal components and their influence on the social movements' ability to assert its demands, mobilize support and their availability of strategies to meet these ends. In this approach social movements are rarely disseminated internally in detail, and neither are their participants and the internal and 'smaller scale dynamics' researched in more detailed because the level of abstraction is 'higher'. Likewise, other entities are analyzed at a similar level of abstraction, for instance political coalitions, alignment of political organizations, culture at the societal level, and societal structures such as institutional analyses, macro-economics, and alike. The goal is to be able to create theories at the larger, political level. These theories often concern the success of social movements, i.e. how efficient they are at meeting their stated goals (tax reform, political reform, etc.), and hope to be able to provide explanations for success at the 'larger scales' rather than at the 'smaller levels' of the social movements.

In the RM approach, the social movement organization in relation to resource mobilization is of primary importance and hence the level of analysis is on a smaller scale than in the PPT approach. The term 'resources' refers to resources in the abstract and therefore incorporates more than money, though in many studies funding has been an important aspect of movement activities as well. However, resources are more than money; skill, talent, know-how, locales, equipment, access to political channels, news media, etc. can all be treated as resources under the RM approach, and the way *organization* facilitates the mobilization of all these types of resources is of interest. Hence, in the RM approach the unit of analysis is constituted by the types of organization that constitute the social movement and how organization help facilitate mobilization of resources.

The two approaches therefore consider two distinct levels of inquiries: the level of organization (RM) and the larger 'societal level' in which social movements constitutes merely a part of the political process. The research here deals with both, and the analysis distinguishes between the two levels of abstraction in its application of theory. Importantly, in prior studies the combination of RM and PPT has been adopted in various other inquires to examine the relationship between the organization level and political processes. Hence, the combination here is no novel contribution to the methodological repertoire of SMO studies. On the other hand, the prior application of this combined paradigmatic approach gives some certainty as to the feasibility of the combination that a novel combination could not provide.

2.4.4 Analytical framework

The study is modelled around Smelser's 'value-added' structural research inquiry with some amendments made to the original framework. The analytical process is modelled on this framework in order to define a structure for the analytical approach that gives shape to the way the analysis is conducted and the order in which various elements are looked at and treated. Smelser's framework provides such an order and a simple and illustrative way to 'guide' the analytical process and areas of inquiry. Therefore, it sets the overall frame for of the inquiry and its handling of various elements in the analytical process.

To be more precise about this, it gives form to the process of social movements in a theoretical sense that does not violate important aspects of social movements by 'over-simplification' or by too rigid definitions that would, one way or another, leave out many kinds of social movements for one reason or the other. The model itself is not prescriptive of what makes up the social movement, how it acts, strategizes, whom its members are, etc. Instead, it provides a framework to analyze the process by which a social movement occurs without too many predefined theoretical elements (Crossley 2006). The most essential aspect of the model is its progression through its six 6 factors, more than the 6 factors in themselves.

Hence the framework provides the theoretical explanation of a progression through 6 factors that are influential in the development of a social movement, but while the progression is held independent, the 6 factors are open for variation that is case-specific. This provides an important insight into the development of the movement over time as well as the particular 'moments' in which certain factors are 'activated'. While this may be a simplified[24] model, it nevertheless provides a useful way of viewing and treating the development of the social movement.

Within this theoretical scope of the sequential development of the social movement, I have adopted two other social movement research paradigms in order to 'fill' the categories of the theory with more precise theoretical formulations about the particular factors concerning the development of the social movement. While Smelser's theory was is of particular importance for is development of sequential development and analytical components, these theoretical approaches are adopted to deal more specifically with the *particularities* of the social movement. Furthermore, these paradigms provide valuable understandings, techniques, and concepts from newer research, which is intended to augment Smelser's fundamental argument of his theory rather than contradicting or changing it.

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24 See section 2.5.2 below for a longer discussion on the theoretical amendments to the original theory.
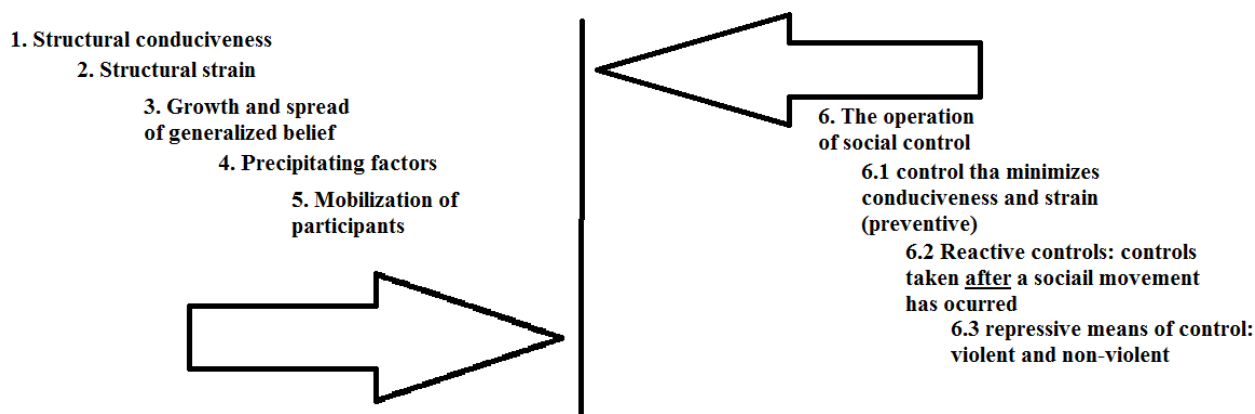
2.4.5 Smelser's 'value added' theory

I apply this analytical framework developed by Neil Smelser in 1962 (Smesler 1962) as the overarching theoretical formulation for the inquiry into social movements. Smelser developed this theory at a time where social movement studies were still relatively young, which means much theory has later contributed to the literature and knowledge about social movements and social movement research. For this reason, we cannot simply adopt the framework as it were in 1962 when Smelser developed it, however, it will function for as a useful model to guide the research. The application of the framework for research follows very closely the reconfigured outlines of the theory developed by Crossley (2006).

The 'value added' framework for social movement research is adapted from economics studies and starts out from three primary assumptions:

1) Social movements are *not* categorized by either:

   a. Size

   b. Temporal characteristics

   c. Psychological characteristics

   d. Forms of communication or interaction

2) Social movements *are* defined as:

   a. 'A mobilization on the basis of a belief that redefines social action

   b. Is guided by generalized belief

   c. That collective behavior is constituted from 'non-institutionalized action' – action that is "*formed or forged to meet undefined or unstructured situations*".

3) A structural theory must provide more than determinants for social movements; a framework of interpretation that describes exactly which determinants lead to what kind of movements (types of collective behavior)[25].

On the basis of these, Smelser first provides a criticism of the prior literature on social movements, amongst other things theoretical definitions of the term itself[26] as well as the theoretical explanations provided in much of the literature, before he proceeds to develop his own model, the *value-added framework*. The Most important aspect of the framework is, that in order for step 2 to occur, the premises of step 1 most first have been fulfilled. For step, three both two and one most have been fulfilled first and so on. Smelser exemplifies this with a metaphor of the production and assembly of a car. There are many steps in this process, but every step along the way must be completed before the next can commence. The second very important qualification is that it distinguishes between *existence* and *activation.* Thus a particular determinant may *exist* prior to being *activated* but the activation has to occur in the order prescribed by the model (first 1 then 2, 3, etc.). Generally speaking the *existence* of a determinant (or several) is independent of the progressive logic of the model, but the *activation* of the determinant will always fall within the succession described. I will provide further examples after presenting the model in the illustration below and elaborating further on its elements.

1. Structural conduciveness
   2. Structural strain
      3. Growth and spread of generalized belief
         4. Precipitating factors
            5. Mobilization of participants

6. The operation of social control
   6.1 control tha minimizes conduciveness and strain (preventive)
      6.2 Reactive controls: controls taken after a sociail movement has ocurred
         6.3 repressive means of control: violent and non-violent

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25 Smelser criticizes various other approaches such as psychological explanations and historical explanations for merely providing symptoms or determinants without a concrete structure. The idea of the value-added model was to solve exactly this issue. I will remark again, that we are not interested in collective behavior *per se* here, which is the reason for the parenthesis.

26 He only reluctantly adopts the tern 'collective action' himself, in a lack of better alternatives.

Figure 2: the value-added framework

Smelser only provides a written explanation of the model, not an illustration, so the model presented is my own interpretation of his work. On the left hand side are all the 'steps' needed in order for a social movement to develop and, furthermore, the order in which these must occur. On the right-hand side are the factors that inhibit a social movement from developing, in various ways. The most important observation to make about the illustration is not to interpret the 6th determinant (social control) as operating 'from the outside' against the 5 other determinants that are operating 'on the inside' of the social movement, or in other words, that the two parts are 'directly oppositional' or 'non-intertwined'. Smelser states that "*the study of social control is the study of those counter-determinants which prevent, interrupt, deflect, of inhibit the accumulation of the determinants just reviewed.*" Put simply, they may very well be intrinsically connected with elements of the first 5 determinants that promote arise of social movements and as such should not be viewed as strictly 'counter-positional-' to the first 5 determinants. In the middle I have shown a 'bar' in order to promote the idea of two forces, one working for the development of the movement and one working against[27]. I have done so to promote the idea that there are factors working 'for' the social movement and factors working against it. However, it will be up to empirical evaluation to illuminate how this works out in practice. A particularly important critique of the structural bias that this, unwillingly, may promote is provided by Goodwin & Jasper (1999) whom evaluates the structural biases of PPT. The critique points out for instance, that state-repression or violence effectively inhibits social movement development, mobilization and spread[28] [29]. Such '*invariant*' structures simply do not appear to be able to provide general laws of social movements; they do not even appear to 'exist at all' (Tilly 1995: 1596[30]). Therefore, the 'balance' on the model above is, perhaps, more important than the factors included in the model itself, as these are up for empirical testing with regards to their effectiveness in moving 'the bar' back and forth, in favor of -or against, the rise of a social movement. Additionally, many factors can simultaneously work on both sides

27 This two-dimensional image lends credit to other ideas from similar studies like Litwin's force-field model of organizational change (Burnes & Cooke 2013; Swanson & Creed 2014), to ideas from the political process view within social movement research (For instance Oberschall 1983) and traditional class-struggle view of Marxist scholars.

28 For instance, the case of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua presents a case in which state-repression by force and indiscriminate violence is increase but in which popular resistance is likewise increased (Brockett 1995).

29 See also Davenport & Loyle (2012) who likewise find that state repression does not necessarily counter dissidence.

30 Tilly's full quote included to emphasize his modality towards the existence of an invariant theory: "*the employment of invariant models… assumes a political world in which whole structures and sequences repeat themselves time after time in essentially the same form. That would be a convenient world for theorists, but it does not exist.*"

depending on the context as Goodwin & Jasper (1999) evaluates in their critique Hence, the definition adopted here, with regards to those means of social control, is not only whether they *actually* repress or inhibit social movements, but also whether or not *they are intended to repress of inhibit social action.* How they work in practice will be concluded based on an analysis of the empirical data, thus not defined *a priori* based on theoretical predetermined definitions. In appendix 3 I have provided a further elaboration of the components of the model and of the underlying theoretical assumptions.

2.5 Components of the value-added theory

The value-added theoretical frame contains 6 components which are considered as *determinants for collective action.* In the original theory, the six determinants must be activated for collective behavior to develop. Furthermore, the particular combinations of the determinants can then be utilized to explain and predict w*hich kinds of collective behavior will emerge as a result.* In this research, however, we do not follow these conclusions (see also section 2.5.2), but a brief outline of the components must be provided.

Structural conduciveness: sets the frame for the social movement. It defines the structural particulars of a situation within which the social movement acts. Structural conduciveness is closely connected to PPT research, because this component primarily considers the external conditions of the movement. In short, the surrounding, structural characteristics of the Social movement and how these sets the frame of action is what structural conduciveness considers.

Structural Strain considers the underlying grievances of the social movement, those hardships or unjustly relations that social movements usually aim to express. The value-added theory is build around Parsons and Shills' model of action, which we will evaluate in more detail below. The component is used to classify 'which kind of strain' is the root cause of a social movement, and is closely related to generalized belief.

Genrealized belief is, generally put, an explanation for the causes of strain; an identification of responsibility for the experienced strain. The generalized belief is in the original formulation defined as a crude argument about causes and effect, but we do not follow this assumption. Rather, generalized belief are understood as vastly more complex and nuanced. In contemporary movement studies, frame analysis are closely related to this component. However, generalized belief is part of preparing participants for action by providing a rationale for action which leads towards collective action and irregular means (such as strikes, protests, etc.)

Precipitating factors usually 'triggers' the outburst of a social movement by providing a clear exemplification of what was generally assumed under the generalized belief. After people have been 'readied

for action' a precipitating event is typically all that is needed for an outbreak of collective behavior. These events are often characterized as 'dramatic' and the events is typically either confirms or justifies the generalized belief. They give the generalized belief concrete substance and, in this way, 'provide a concrete setting toward which collective action can be directed'.

Mobilization is not given much attention in the theoretical development in Smelser's work, but is concerned with how participants are mobilized into collective action. Smelser argues that the 'behavior of leaders is extremely important' (perhaps alluding to Weber' theories of leadership) but in more contemporary research, this aspect is very closely related with RM studies. Organization has thus come to play an important role in mobilization as well as the availability of resources. Leadership, likewise, may be part of 'resources', but we shall see from empirical evaluations how they play into this example.

Social controls are mechanisms that act to 'counter' the development and spread of social movements. There are practically two kinds: active and passive (reactive and non-reactive). Whereas the former seeks to prevent the outbreak of social movements, primarily by alleviating strain, the latter seeks to inhibit spread through various strategies and tactics. There are no specific theoretic guidelines as to how these tactics and strategies are carried out in practice, as these tactics and strategies may take a wide variety of shapes and apply a host of different tools and techniques to inhibit the social movement from developing further.

For a further outline of the components, I have provided a more detailed review in appendix 3.

2.6 Smelser's theory of action

To supplement his structural theory, Smelser also provides a theory of action to describe movement decision-making inside of the structural restrictions given in his theory. The theory of action from Parsons and Shills (1951:53) provides four components for their general conceptual framework of action:

1) Behavior is oriented to the attainment of ends or goals or other anticipated states of affairs

2) It takes place in situations

3) It is normatively regulated

4) It involves expenditure of energy or effort in 'motivation' (which may be more or less organized independently of its involvement in action)[31].

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31 Smelser (1962): 24

Parson and Shill's theory of action, simply explained, consists of these components, that must be taken into consideration in order to explain action in practice. However, Parson and Shill's theory of action is based on the individual, whereas Smelser's unit of analysis is social movements at the aggregate level. In Smelser's words: *"Parson and Shill define action from the actor's point of view. It is possible, however, to apply the same definition to a system of action composed of the interaction of two or more actors."* (Smelser 1962: 24). Hence, the four components are redefined for application to a system of interaction. The four components are thus termed:

1) Values

2) Norms

3) Mobilization into organizational roles

4) Situational facilities

Paraphrasing Smelser's definitions, 1) *values* are what guides action towards a goal, in other words, *what gives action an orientation* –or purpose. 2) *Norms* are the 'regulatory rules' that govern how these goals are to be achieved. 3) The mobilization into organizational roles considers considers how motivated actors are mobilized into organizational roles – at the individual's level (Parson and Shill's level) we ask how individuals are motivated, but at the organizational level we are, then, concerned with how they are organized in society. 4) The available s*ituational facilities* considers that the actor uses as means; these include knowledge of the environment, predictability of consequences of action, tools, and skills.

Figure 3: components of action
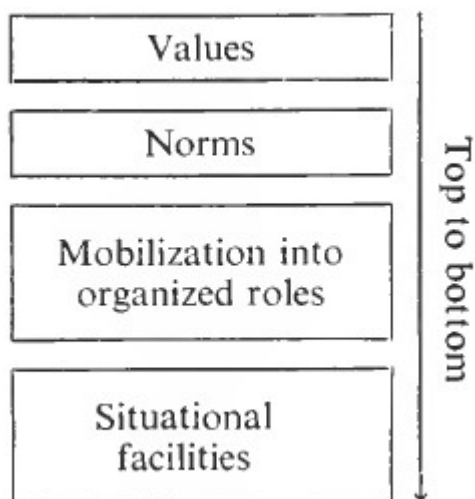
2.5.1 Components of action in more detail.

These components of action, then, provides the superstructure for individual action in our societal model. However, in order to nuance our theory, we must add further qualifications to the model. First, the four components of action are ordered in structure that defines how influence is exerted throughout the model. The given structure is depicted below in figure 3.

To describe this model in more detail, we should note that from top to bottom, action obtain increasingly sophisticated 'guidelines'. At the level of values, there are almost no concrete guidelines for action only a *goal* or an *ambition* an idea perhaps of an underlying foundation for what is to be 'achieved', if action is undertaken based on this or these value. At the level of *norms* the direction of action is formulated into more general terms on the basis of social and judicial rules (norms) governing the conduct of action towards obtaining the desired values that are sought. In Smelser's terms: "*the transition from values to norms restricts the possible situational applications of values as such*" (*ibid.*). At the level of mobilization into organizational roles, further specification is added to the structural definitions of the space for action. The structures of roles and organizations, the nature of their situational goals, their interrelations, and the sanctions that govern the interaction between organizations. Lastly, at the level of situational facilities, we gain the most concrete characteristics of the components of actions, the 'at the hand' facilities for actions:

knowledge of the environment, of consequences of action, and available resources to mobilize the action and for succeeding in the action.

Besides this first characterization; the levels of abstraction ranging from high to low (top down) the second characteristic of the model concerns how changes move through the model. As we mentioned above, influence is, per definition, exerted from the 'top down', although changes can also move 'from the bottom up'. However, changes in values *necessarily* permeate downwards: a change in values, the most abstract but also the most fundamental orientation for action, will necessarily have to change the way of organization and the directions for actions throughout the model. However, a change in the bottom of the model, will not *necessarily* command a change the other way around. That is to say, if a change occurs in the mobilization (level 3), that will not *require* a change if values to 'fix' in the same way that a change in values demands changes in all the lower levels of components for action.

Furthermore, we should mention that *all action is directed on the basis of all the components*, but does not necessarily require *changes* in the components of action. This point must be observed to avoid confusion when applying the model for analysis, its primary function. The model is further subdivided into 7 more levels for each of the 'basic' components (see appendix 8 tables 1-5) to define in more detail how each component is structured. When reading this table, the same principle as before is in effect (the hierarchical progression) but it is now extended to also include 'sub levels' of each component of action. Now when we read these, any reconfiguration of a component of action (for instance *norms level 5*) will not only move 'downwards'(levels 6 & 7) through the all levels below in the same component but also to the right (to mobilization and situational facilities). When moving to the right, all levels in the next column can be subject to reconfiguration- not only sub-levels at the same degree of specificity.

2.5.2 Amendments to Smelser's theoretical framework

While Smelser's framework provides a well-elaborated theoretical framework for analyzing social movements, some amendments must be made in this study to adequately keep his theory 'up-to-date' with contemporary questions into social movements. Here we will address the most important aspects of the value-added theory that has been in need of refinement, replacement or which has been excluded in this inquiry.

First, Smelser's inquiry deals with the field of *collective behavior* more specifically than 'social movements' as such. While social movements and collective behavior, in Smelser's analysis, is very closely related, in this inquiry we are not going to try and distinguish between the two in the same way that Smelser does, as this separation of the two aspects of inquiry would likely only lead to confusion and does not principally concern the questions raised in this inquiry. Collective behavior can be subdivided into at least five sub-categories, according to Smelser's framework: the 'panic', the 'wish-fulfilment movement', the 'hostile outburst', the' norm-oriented movement, and the 'value-oriented movement'. These five categories can then be classified in a hierarchy in which every 'higher level' incorporates all the same elements of a 'lower level' with some component or determinant added. Smelser's aim in his work is to identify which *combinations of components* lead to which types of collective behavior. The strongest antithesis with our inquiry from the conceptualization of collective behavior, is that collective behavior is defined as 'non-institutionalized action' where Smelser excludes a great deal of social movements on the grounds that their actions are 'formalized' in one way or another. While this distinction makes sense in the kind of inquiry that Smelser is performing, that does not do justice to the research that we are performing here, regardless of its explanatory ability in relation to conventional collective behavior research and theory.

Secondly, Smelser argues that generalized belief is often founded in a 'less rational' proposition involving the relationships between abstract elements and concrete elements in the theoretical framework i.e. how more abstract concepts relate to more concrete experiences (see appendix 8 for an illustratios). The general belief, then, are founded in "*startling images, freed from accessory explanations*" that are formed through '*rumors, ideology and superstition'* and thus is '*akin to magical beliefs'*. While this definition is not at all impossible (and Smelser provides several examples from various religious and ideology-based instances of collective behavior), it does not suffice to adequately describe our research area. In fact, it stands in diametrical opposition to the kinds of movement that we are interested in and on which we aim to shed light. At the same time, it also draws much too close connotations with the classical approaches formulations of irrationality on the part of social movement participants.

Thirdly, movement *types* are also important to the discussion of social movements and for purposes of this research we are not going to adopt Smelser's classifications. The reasons are that this research is not particularly interested in variation of movement types across different movements,

although it does make sense to try to describe the movement in terms of its goals, formation, spread, etc. however, the *a priori* categories developed by Smelser would serve better for a different kind of study than for ours. In addition, while Smelser is interested in various types of collective behavior this area is, again, not the focal point of interest in this research. Therefore, a categorization focusing on collective behavior rather than SMOs is not what we are looking for here.

Fourth, it is commonly understood that Smelser follows the 'structural breakdown' theory that, succinctly put, argues systemic, or; structural breakdowns, precipitate the emergence of collective behavior (Porta & Diana 2006: 7). The argument is that "*the structural functionalist approach… saw social movements as the side effect of over rapid social transformation… In a system made of balanced subsystems, collective behavior reveals tensions which homeostatic rebalancing mechanisms cannot absorb in the short term*" (*ibid.*) While it is not always explicit in Smelser's work that a structural *breakdown* is required as a cause for collective behavior, it should be pointed out here that we do not follow this assumption. Unless structural breakdown is interpreted as a necessary (to the point of tautology) component of social movement formation i.e. that it is formulated so generally as to be almost deprived of meaning, the notion does not appear necessary for an analysis of social movements. Neither has the proposition been correct in assuming that a structural breakdown of the social order is a *necessary condition* for the development of a social movement. Had this been the case, it should have been demonstrated through empirical observations, but like Morris & Herring (1984) observes, this claim of the classical approaches was generally refuted 40 years ago. However, we do follow the theory of strain on the components of action as a major fact in explaining the emergence of a generalized belief, but with the amendments made above (in point 2).

Fifth, the theory of behavior presented has received much criticism in later literature. It is an extension of the 4-component model of action devised by Parson and Shills but with the theory repurposed for application on the aggregate level. The issue here are particularly addressing the issues of structural causal mechanism that leads to pre-defined types of collective behavior[32]. Likewise, we do not adopt the Parsonian views of the self-equilibrating social system although the model of the force field (presented in section 2.4.4) may inadvertently promote this idea (see also appendix 3). Rather than viewing society as a self-equilibrating system, society is construed as a

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32 See for instance Richard Jung's review of Smelser's work:
http://www.richardjung.cz/66a.pdf

dynamic, developing entity that has no real state of equilibrium nor state that can be determined as a state of equilibrium prior to or following an analysis. Society is dynamic, developing and emergent, founded on the actions and interactions of the agents that constitute it. It is a '*loose system of accommodation not a functionally integrated system*[33]' (Morris & Herring 1984: 18), to argue that agents are struggling to reconstitute or create a state of equilibrium would be out of line with the general theoretical foundations of this paper.

Sixth, in adding to point five, we will also have to address the very structural approach adopted by Smelser in his work and his attempt to erect a unified theory of social movements in a sociological model. While this was Smelser's ambition, that is not ours and not the intent of this research. Therefore we will also have to reconfigure the application and understanding of Smelser's structural theory. For the purposes of this research, therefore, the structural model is used as a frame for qualitative analysis rather than for structural analysis. This amendment, like most of the others made here, are similar to the reconfigurations made by Crossley (2006: 33-45)

2.6 Literature review

The literature review is detailed in Appendix 5 due to a lack of space in the assignment.

2.7 Analytical process

In other sections, I have argued for the often-tumultuous progression of qualitative studies, however, some shape must necessarily form the analytical process. The critical realism ontology has been the primary contributor to the shape of the analytical structure. It has been devised around the principles that Ingemann (2013:94) argues are characteristic for inquiries in the critical realism approach. These are *first* to conduct a careful 'reading' of the situation: of all the 'particulars of a situation' that must be collected through a careful compilation[34] and, secondly, to 'probe beneath their surface to discover through intuition or understanding the hidden order that those particulars

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33 This definition is a paraphrase of Robert Park by Morris & Herring. A major dispute between the Park and Parsons over the conceptualization of the 'normal' state of society. For a review of Parsons' theories see Black (1961) and for Park see Park, Burgess and McKenzie 1925.

34 'on-site' observation and participation should also be emphasized here, though these methods have not been applicable for the research. Secondarily, I have worked to develop an extensive time-line to cover all important events throughout the mobilizations.

only hint at' (Taylor & Van Every 2011: 21)[35]. This analytical process is related to grounded theory, in that it emphasizes the initial data sampling and seeks to create theory as logical (often-inductive) inference from observation. However, there are various differences. Grounded theory often gives more prominence to inductive logic as an exclusive premise for theory creation, whereas this research design combines existing theory with the on-going analysis[36]. Put a little more generically, Colin & Køppe (2003:287-288) argues that grounded theory is an attempt to bring the social sciences closer to the natural sciences by creating a methodological approach that (like positivism) emulates the natural sciences in some ways. An important aspect here has been to move the conclusions closer to the empirical observations and away from pre-existing theorizing[37] (see also Glaser & Strauss 1967). While the research here aims to establish a close connection between empirical observations and conclusions and while it gives preference to empirical observation, the analytical process, however, still includes existing theory. This is not to say that grounded theory is not a useful methodological approach, and what this research does have in common with the approach is an attempt to build from empirical observations at first and to, at least attempt, to provide a logical evaluative progress through empirical observations to theory.

2.8 Limitations of research

The research conducted incorporates various aspects of SMO research, but it is equally important to recognize the areas that the research cannot cover. The focus of the research are primarily with institutional, organizational and political aspects of the social movement of Guatemala and the methodological approach is fashioned around a 'historical research' approach, akin to Charles Tilly's social movement inquiries. In addition, the methodological approach is modeled around a case study, which likely limits the scope for establishing general theory. The immediate limitations the research presents are listed below, though this list provides only what is considered the most 'prominent' limitations of the research:

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35 Ingemann terms this aspect as a 'rational abstraction' (Ingemann 2013: 92).

36 Other differences that this research does not follow are; coding, constant comparison, and theoretical saturation. See also Bryman (2012: 567-570).

37 I.e. not only from *a priori* theorizing but also from guiding by existing theory in general.

1) The research cannot account for personal motivations, participant motivation, state of mind, individual interpretations, dynamics of interaction, and other aspects related to the particularities of participants understandings and meanings.

2) It necessarily follows that the research cannot account for the connections between other concepts and the individual connections with these beyond a narrow scope. 'Larger' theoretical scopes therefore cannot be connected directly with individual relations with these on any levels of individual engagement (emotional, psychological, cognitive, etc.).

3) The research is not geared towards a closer analysis of organizational and political behavior, operation, etc. especially at the individual level. While the resource mobilization approach is included in the analysis (and although it usually looks closer at organizational functioning), the empirical grounding of the research presented here cannot account for meticulous evaluation of organizational operations. Simply put, the units of analysis incorporated in the research are 'larger' than the 'finer gears' of organizational and political operations.

4) The research is not aimed at generating *general theories* (nor *invariant* theories). Albeit this has not been uncommon to the political process theoretical approach, Again, the case-study design does not allow for such broad generalizations from a single case, though it may provide insights for later testing at the general level of theory and provide in-depth analysis to support or contradict existing empirical findings and theory.

5) The conclusions will not be able to answers questions of comparison very well, i.e. questions of relations to other social movement 'cases', neither contemporary nor historical, although historical cases can more readily be used for comparisons, reflection and as examples because of the existing knowledge about those cases. However, this research will not constitute a cross-sectional study, and therefore cannot make direct inferences based on a cross-sectional or comparative analysis.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

My interest for these demonstrations have not been limited to a particular area of inquiry or a particular scope narrowed paradigmatic restrictions of levels of importance *a priori* to research, but rather, have been expanded by my own interest in the mobilization, organization, development and achievements of the movements. In other words, the case was not chosen as a 'fitting case study' for a particular kind of inquiry, but rather research became the ensuing conclusion of my engagement with the movements.

Because of these circumstances, this research has been guided by motives to answer practical, imminent questions in the contemporary context of the movements, rather than theoretical, abstracts questions that may or may not be related to the contextual matters. The consequence is that the research has been led by an *explorative approach* in which the social movements of Guatemala has acted as a *case study* rather than a comparative study or as an element in a statistical study. As a case,

3.2 Strengths and weaknesses of the case study

With a case study, it is my aim to provide profound insight into a singular case because the research considers merely a singular instance of a more general phenomenon; it allows for a deeper engagement with the phenomena at hand (Bryman 2012: 66; Stake 1995). It makes it possible to account for case-specific circumstances and contingencies that would be impossible in larger statistical studies, and it allows for a more in-depth participation and engagement with the said phenomenon. Furthermore, it makes it possible to come to an understanding of the particularities and complexities of the case within important circumstances pertaining to the case. This, in turn, strengthens the conclusions that can be made about the case, because it is not necessitated that these conclusions can be generalized broadly. In other words, the research is modeled on an *ideographic* approach*,* contrary to *nomothetic* approaches (Collin & Køppe 2003: 101; Brymann 2012: 69), which also aligns with the abductive reasoning applied in the research.

3.2.1 Strengths

While social movement research has tried to gauge the phenomenon for many years, at least one thing seems imminent in this area of study: the contextual circumstances of social movements are varying and these variations in conjunction with structural factors have had significant influence in determining movement outcomes. While research has assessed most social movement of a larger scale, it has been evident that the amount of contextual factosr have been, perhaps, as varying (which has been manifest in some peculiar observations as well[38]). If we are to understand these contradictions not to be mutually exclusive, the implication becomes that the variation of context, in turn, becomes the central determinant. This proposes the challenge of constructing a theory of the dynamics of grander societal contextual influences and developments to compliment the research into social movement studies. To explains the dynamics of this (or these) determinant's influence(s) on the building blocks of social movement theories (similar to a theory such as Marx's on societal development, but, hopefully, more specifically tuned towards social movement theory and with greater explanatory power). While I will not attempt such an ambitious task in this research, my hope is that the research conducted here, will be able to provide insight that *can be used for further theorizing,* in other words, for establishing theory which provides answers to these central questions. In addition, this is also the reason why this study focusses on a qualitative, analytical approach rather than a thesis-testing, quantitative framework.

This is one reason why I believe a research design like this is justified, both because of its objectives (see section 1.3.3), and because of the simple observation that drawing connections between social movements is an intricate task due to the large degree of variation between social movements on many different parameters. Indeed, merely coming up with a singular definition of 'social movement' has proven, so far, an insurmountable task, which should demonstrate the obvious complications of a strictly comparative or statistical study (not to say that these are unwarranted, but merely to illustrate some of the weaknesses of other research designs). Likewise, deciding which factors to account for in social movement studies have been a complicated task for researchers because of the complexity of the field and its broad area of research, encompassing several fields of study.

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38 For instance the contradictions between the observations of Gamson and Piven & Cloward (see appendix 3.1 on theoretical contestation). While the work of both is empirically substantiated, it is evident that the conclusions are contradictory with Gamson arguing that movements rely heavily on organization and formal acceptance (amongst other variables) for success, and Piven & Cloward who found that civil disobedience (contrary to organization, Piven & Cloward argues) is the primary force for achieving movement goals.

The nature of this inquiry makes it possible to gauge the existing knowledge in a case that, once again, provides both unusual contextual circumstances and unusual structural characteristics. This makes it possible to test and apply existing knowledge to a new different case in order to test the boundaries of these theories application and extension as well as their interplays and dynamics in an unusual situation. It also allows for careful observation and detailed analysis of the particular case, which *may* provide cues and/or preliminary ideas of the intricate interplay between known structural influences and unknown contextual specificities. And lastly, it will also be able to provide an scientific inquiry into a very special case, that otherwise have not seen much attention in the west.

3.2.2 Weaknesses

Having addressed the arguments for utilizing a case study approach for this research, we will entertain some of the critiques of such an approach to avoid providing a one-sided account of the choice of research design, and in order to avoid giving the impression that all academics are as positive towards case study designs as are Kuhn and Flyvbjerg.

On the negative side, this approach limits the reliability of the conclusions, exactly because they are case-specific and it can be difficult to assess *when*, *where,* and *how* these results can be generalized to other cases because of a lack of comparisons and generalizations across other cases. In a similar fashion, this type of inquiry does not allow for control groups (as in controlled experiments, statistical tests, or other research designs testing exact hypothetical statements), which again limits the certainty with which the conclusions can be made. Third, a lack of a larger data set with a broader scope of comparable data, it also becomes difficult to assess relative force of parameters because it is difficult to gauge the effect of relative loading of different parameters against each other. While it is certainly possibly to make assessments, it is difficult to provide proof of these based on a case study without empirical evidence to support these. Fourth, qualitative studies are often times exposed to the 'subjective bias' critique which is founded in the interpretative methodology. Simply put, the subjective bias argues that interpretation easily opens up for misestimating, 'cultural or cognitive bias of selective interpretation' (Kahan et al. 2007), or other forms of selective biases that may influence the results and their validity. This is an important an unavoidable critique, which any research of a qualitative nature must attempt to resolve in its methodological and analytical approach.

Yin (1984) has sorted the critiques of qualitative case studies in three major groups: 1) case studies are often accused of a lack of rigor: '*too many times, the case study investigator has been sloppy. And has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and the conclusions'* (Yin 1984:21). 2) Case studies are often criticized for their lack of reliability for raising generalizations, prompting the question 'how can you make generalizations from such a small sample of data? 3) case studies are often criticized for being too long and creating a far too long, difficult to conduct and producing an vast amount of documentation (see also Zainal 2007: 5; Schell 1992; Runyan 1982; Campbell & Stanley 1966: 6-7)

Perhaps Campbell & Stanley who subordinated the case study methodology to 'real scientific' inquiries made, perhaps, the most infamous contribution to the critique of the case study. In their terms; "*such studies have such a total absence of control as to be of almost no scientific value… it seems well-nigh unethical at the present time to allow, as theses or dissertations in education, case studies of this nature* (Campbell & Stanley 1966: 6-7). This critique is largely the same as has been stated above but goes to illustrate some of the opposition to case studies and their objections.

3.2.3 Case selection

While the choice of research design *type* is important in relation to the kind of research and what kind of result ones is looking for, the choice of case is equally important in relation to what kind of data one is looking at that is. It concerns what aspects are more interesting to the study rather than others, as well as in order to compare and relate the observations made in this case to other cases, enabling comparisons and generalizations from the singular case *if* these are possible. While there are numerous potential cases that could be eligible to research and would be much closer to Denmark (for instance in DK: the teacher's demonstrations of 2013[39] against the educational reform, or contemporary European marches against the TTIP, this case was chosen for several reasons. The first reason is its setting that is less closely researched by European and American scholars (as far as I can tell from the literature). That is *not* to say Latin America has not been researched, but merely to say that scholars from the EU and the US (Oliver et. al. 2003: 234) have less researched it. Scholars of the field has, traditionally, been more concerned with western societies and contended issues here, than with those of other societies. Secondly, Latin America is *a*

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39 http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1942666/titusindvis-af-laerere-stroemmer-til-christiansborg/

part of the world that has had severe difficulties in escaping the grasps of imperialism and establishing functioning, independent societies, not least because imperialist powers has done much to prevent Latin America in doing so. While Latin America *should* have been a prosperous and rich hemisphere, based on its natural resources, arable lands and biodiversity, those prospects have remained largely unfulfilled. Today, Latin America faces widespread issues of violence, corruption, poverty, indigence, mal-nutrition, discrimination, inequality (most unequal region in the world), lack of education, healthcare and other public services, impunity, marginalization, insecurity, and more[40]. Thirdly, while many of the Latin American countries have made progress, these issues are still prevalent in most economies, and Guatemala is no exception. The country has been facing severe complications, amongst other an overthrow of the country's first democratic uprising (called the 'Guatemalan spring' from 1944 to 1954) and an ensuing 36-year internal conflict incorporating genocide and both supported by the US according to the UN truth commission and released internal documents. The repercussions of these events have had devastating effects on the society in several ways. Perhaps most importantly for this case, widespread political corruption has been a continuous political practice as has political impunity for the same. Fourth, this case is interesting because it exemplifies a case of solidarity and unity across social boundaries. While no country's population is demographically uniform or shares identical beliefs, goals, ambitions, etc., Guatemala has, perhaps, an unusually diverse composition. Not least because of the internal conflict that spurred animosities between 'pro-guerillas' and 'pro-militaries', especially among indigenous groups that were often used as 'proxy-militaries' in the army's fight against the rebels, but also because of longer historical differences between the Mayan descendants and their various groupings. Those aside, differences between 'Mayans' and 'non-Mayans' are equally carving up societal divisions, along with economic discrimination in a highly unequal country and various other partitioning factors. The movement's ability to overcome these differences is a highly important piece in the puzzle of mobilization for which this case is also of particular interest. Fifth, that the demonstrations have been peaceful is also of great significance. While Guatemala is a country that has suffered much from violence, aggression, excessive militarization, and availability of firearms, the demonstrations have been held in accordance with law and order, has not incorporated civil disobedience, violence, damaged property or otherwise destructive or aggressive behavior. In a country facing a wide variety of difficulties on other issues (see above), overcoming these on a massive scale in a completely

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40 See CEPAL Panorama 2014/2015 for in-depth information on the macro perspectives of LA (listed in bibliography under publications).

peaceful mobilization, incorporating people from all aspects of society (groups, genders, classes, ethnicities, etc.) is an astounding accomplishment. Sixth, while it is easy to say that there is much room to cover still, the demonstrations have been successful in achieving several of their stated goals, amongst others he resignation of the country's former president Otto Perez Molina and his vice-president Roxanna Baldetti, which is not in a small accomplishment. The success of the mobilization in accomplishing various attested objectives may also provide some empirical evidence for factors influencing the relative success of social movements. Seventh, for the same reasons the lessons from this social movement may prove useful, not only to scholars, but also to participants trying to organize and mobilize social movements for other or similar causes.

3.3 Data sampling

The methods and techniques applied in conducting the research for this assignment are not limited to a special field such as discourse analysis or media analyses. Rather, the case study incorporates various methods of data collection and analysis, as the case aims to establish an 'expert evaluation' and rendition of a case-specific subject. Data compilation, in this study, follows a *criterion sampling* method i.e. to 'sample all units that meet a particular criterion' (Bryman 2012:419). The criterions for our sampling consider, generally speaking, the relations of the units to the social movement itself, the movement's formation, organization, resources, and leadership, the political environment and its historical trajectories, contemporary societal events and related events (such as the related demonstrations for water), demonstrations information, corruption, and other, similar, criterions. The criterion sampling method is part of the purposive sampling approach, which is common for qualitative research. The fundamental characteristic of purposive sampling methods is that the sampling 'conducted with reference to the goals of the research. So that the units of analysis are selected in terms of criteria that will allow the research questions to be answered' (*ibid.* p. 418).

Data has subsequently been compiled and arranged systematically in a historic timeline to provide a basis for the analysis (see appendix 9). This schema covers all related events that have been found to be of importance to the movement, and also events which relevance are questionable in order to ensure in-depth coverage, also in cases of doubt. Most of the assessment of the case has relied on internet searching because this has proven the most efficient and intelligible way to collect data on the events, with data sources from Guatemala, being relatively scarcely available from DK. The data has been extensively cross-referenced in order to ensure their accuracy and coverage. If

possible, both primary and secondary data has been obtained, though this has not only been possible in few cases to a truly satisfactory extent. When searching the internet, especially *key word* and *event-specific* searches are useful for exploring particular events. Likewise, it has been useful to 'lean' on information provided from interest organizations and a broad range of information outlets to obtain information from a broad range of perspectives.

3.4 Validity and reliability of data

The empirical data for the report is composed of several kinds of data; however, they are all treated as qualitative empirical data. Through the research, I have spoken with many people involved with the social movements of Guatemala, collected information ranging from newspaper articles, official publications, scientific papers, reports, and other kinds of textual accounts, to obtain information and insight into the matters concerning the social movements. All data is evaluated on the basis of its validity and reliability in accordance with standard practices of source evaluation (See Baumann 2012: 543-589). Furthermore, all included data-sources are *non-reactive* meaning that they have not been created particularly for purposes of social research (*ibid.* p. 543). The essential aspect of the evaluation is to determine whether the sources provide data in a factual way and whether they represent the events and circumstances in adequately and 'objectively'[41]. At all times, crosschecking is applied to mitigate the chance of partial views and accounts and to ensure a comprehensive account of events. If the sources are not primary sources, I have sought to obtain primary sources rather than secondary to compare with first-hand accounts of events. Primary sources are regarded over secondary sources in terms of their accuracy and reliability; however, primary sources are not exempt from biases and cannot be viewed as less prone to error either. In fact, in many cases first-hand observations may need later corrections in order to compensate for various bias[42]. Furthermore, I have sought to diversify the range of data in order to mitigate risk of partisan views, flawed or missing accounts, and to improve the overall validity of the accounts

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41 This aspect concerns: 1) authenticity 2) credibility 3) representativeness and 4) meaning

42 However, some distinctions and nuances should be added to this argument. With regards to impressions, experience, perception, etc. of events, primary sources (first-hand observations) are far superior but with regards to 'factual descriptions' primary accounts may be subject to later corrections because impressions *may* differ from what has actually taken place. Like an account of Houdini during a great magic show: while an observer may experience and report the whole of the scenery and the events as 'pure magic', later examinations may reveal that the great show was actually devised through various equipment, trap doors, effects, and so on.

3.5 Research process

This chapter is elaborated in detail in Appendix 7.

4. Analysis

We will follow Smelser's analytical structure evaluated and 'updated' in the theoretical section of this paper. The aim is to follow a linear progress through his six components (conduciveness, strain, general belief, precipitating factors, mobilization, and social control), However, we will have to do some iteration back and forth between various elements. In the progress through the analysis, we will also consider findings from other studies and try to relate these to our own observations and, in particular, *try to relate and integrate RM and PPT into the overall analytical framework and analsyis.*

4.1 Structural conduciveness

4.1.1 Social movements and mobilizations in recent years

Of the few statistic on demonstrations in GT I have been able to locate, one was published in 2012 by El Periodico (newspaper), which made a statistics of the year's demonstrations noting that the country had had a total of 707 demonstrations that year, with most being held in the capital (339 from January to August). Almost all of the demonstrations had been peaceful (62%), with only few involving property damage or other disruptive tactics, but none being violent uprisings like the resistance during the internal conflict. Of the remaining 38% are also included demonstrations that are non-violent but disruptive (such as road blockades 20.4% and marches 7.9%)[43]. On an overall basis, we see that the tendency towards peaceful demonstrations has changed and that with repression diminishing, civil resistance has changed towards demonstrations and peaceful means

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43 http://guatemalaprotesta2012.blogspot.dk/

The numbers from El periodico are the newest available statistics I have bene able to find on the subject. INE (national statistical institute of Guatemala) does not publish numbers on demonstrations in GT.
https://www.ine.gob.gt/index.php/estadisticas

rather than violence. What appears as a consistent theme is that escalations have followed when repression has increased[44] (see also appendix 11 for some elaboration on these points).

Peaceful demonstration, in contrast, appear quite frequent. Ayassa provides some mapping of mobilizations in relation to various conflicts in the country. The data available covers until 2014, though the overall quality is questionable, the trends appear relatively clear. The amount of protests and demonstration are high, with many involving various kinds of inconformity and disruptive tactics such as road blockages. Disruptive tactics have usually been deployed by 'single-group' mobilizations (i.e. rural groups, indigenous groups, agricultural groups)[45].

This leads us to a consideration of one of the main thesis of PPT theory, outlined by Eisinger (1973)[46] and Tilly (1978); that social movements can occur *only if* state repression is existing but not 'too harsh'. In the case of GT, political violent repression has decreased in recent years, but this is not to say that violence has disappeared in the post-conflict years though while the scale of political violence and corruption has varied after the peace accords were signed in 1996, it seems that both have decreased in recent years. Whereas high-profile killings have been possible even after the signings of the peace accords, such assassinations appears to have diminished somewhat[47]. Political violence remains an issue, especially in relation to indigenous and civil rights, union leaders, and some other areas such as extortion of political contenders, but repression of the population seems to have decreased in relative terms. In general, it seems that a 'vacuum' has opened with regards to political suppression of the population. In former times, direct assassination or targeting was effectuated, and clandestine operations targeted the population more directly. However, under the current power structures, it seems that the corrupt organizations (commonly referred to as 'CIACs') have changed their strategies. Insight crime, reporting on current progress in the combat against government corruption, identifies a similar transition. In their words, the corrupt organizations changed their shape from that of a 'dragon into a hydra', which also indicates a change in the way

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44 Ulrick Beck provides some interesting reflections on the distinctions between power and violence as well (Beck 2006) that are relevant when thinking about power.

45 https://ayssaestrategia.com/cat/conflictividad-social

46 See also appendix 11 for elaboration on this theoretical point

47 Recent high-profile cases are generally considered as Myrna Mack (1990), Jorge Nicolle (1993) Bishop Gerardi(1998), the murdering of three Salvadorian politicians (2007), Oscar Caal (2012) as the more recent cases of political assassinations. In former years, particularly the 80ies, political assassinations were carried out on a regular basis according to Amnesty International reporting.

the clandestine powers operates[48]. In the past, the organized crime rings were shaped around military, hierarchical structures, but contemporarily they start to look more 'business-like': they are 'centered around business pragmatism, not an ideology'[49]. Today the CIACS does not operated from ideology or central controls as they used to, which also means that their powers are only as strong as their consensus. It seems that this change has been part of 'lifting' the direct 'political' pressure and suppression of the public.

Theoretically speaking, this tells us that social movements can be expected to occur, since repression has decreased to a level that allows for movements to develop an express underlying grievances, laying claims on the state to help solve these issues. This seems to be true, as the numbers from El periodico and Ayssa show clearly that mobilizations are neither uncommon nor infrequent. However, protest under sustained high levels of repression appears to take the shape of violent counter-movements (as during the internal conflict between 1960 and 1996). In other words, our observations here support the thesis of Eisinger and Tilly, though with the amendment that violent repression appears to elicit a violent counter-movement while, correctly, suppressing ordinary movement activity.

4.1.2 Political alliances and movement constituency

'Political alliances' is an aspect that has been emphasized by PPT scholars (McAdam 1996). We noted before that demonstrations have not been uncommon in GT in recent years but an important change noted in relation to the demonstrations of 2015 is the alliances that were formed across various sectors of society that have traditionally been divided. For the first time, even the middle and upper-middle classes of GT society joined in the demonstrations along with peasants and indigenous, students, entrepreneurs, and even large-scale corporations, culminating in the support of the very powerful employers-union, CACIF, which has been seen by various analysts as a decisive variable for the success of the social movement. GT society has traditionally been strongly divided between various groups and sectors: indigenous and ladinos, peasants and urban population, rich and poor, and even between various fractions of the indigenous populations, the civil conflict drew sharp associational segregations.

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48 http://www.insightcrime.org/news-analysis/moreno-la-linea-military-fingerprints-guatemala-customs-scandal

49 This argument is further developed under social controls as well

One aspect that seems imperative in relation to structural conduciveness is that *the consolidation between various societal groups also called for peaceful means of protesting*. Neither side could afford losing the *fragile alliance*[50] [51] between societal groups that, historically, have been sharply divided, if the ultimate goal was to be accomplished (see illustration of divisions below). Neither did either party want to succumb to internal conflicts, which could easily erect from indiscriminate use of disruptive tactics, when both sides were, in this case, struggling to meet the same end. Failure to observe this mutual but tacit understanding could have disastrous consequences and might ultimately lead to the victory of the same forces that the public sphere was fighting against. Tellingly, political entities did not fail to try and exploit this vital, but fragile, alliance, by attempting to incite discord between the vested groups. Some reports of violent or disruptive clashes emerged during the conflicts, but these were generally attributed to corrupt obscure powers paying off poor peasants or unemployed to do illegal road blockades. The most important occasion happened on September 1st when the CC was voting on the revoking the immunity of President Molina[52], when a gathering of 'pro-government protestors' tried to block the entrance of the deputies to congress, to prevent them from voting. Another example is illustrated in attempts to 'defame' protestors[53] in various ways. In political discourse, the principle of divide and conquer' has also been a long-standing tactic to keep the public from uniting against the political and elite classes. Otto Pérez Molina exemplified this in a speech shortly before his renunciation on August 23[54] [55] [56] where he called on 'the 'deep' Guatemala' to support him against the insurgents in the capitol (addressing the rural population for their support). In this case, however, the strategy did not help Molina who was readily recognized by the rural populations as the miscreant, and he failed to incite enmity between the rural and urban populations. In other speeches, he has called the rural and

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50 I want to stress that this alliance was, although it appeared strong, not necessarily so. The movement was made up of societal groups that have had numerous clashes and strongly diverging interests and their unity, while it proved strong enough, have likely been strained by both historical and contemporary disagreements.

51
http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/09/150903_guatemala_renuncia_otto_perez_molina_revolucion_tranquila_jp

52 http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/politica/guatemala-diputados-congreso-otto-perez-molina-renuncia

53 https://cmiguate.org/el-viernes-gris-la-primera-reaccion-de-los-senalados/

54 http://contrapoder.com.gt/2015/08/24/6-puntos-importantes-del-discurso-de-otto-perez-molina/

55 http://www.prensa.com/mundo/Presidente-Guatemala-dice-cara-renunciara_0_4284321667.html

56 http://elperiodico.com.gt/2015/08/26/opinion/otto-perez-molina-miente-nunca-la-guatemala-profunda-fue-el-centro-de-su-gobierno/

indigenous activists and leaders 'terrorists'[57] (likewise has other extreme right-wing groups[58], intent on criminalizing HR advocates and indigenous groups) – a traditional rhetoric in GT right-wing discourse aimed at the same ultimate ends. A last recurrent example is the accusations against the CICIG as an international conspiracy against the Guatemalan state which Molina[59], and lately Baldetti[60], has sought to utilize to spur doubt about both the MP and the international commission.

In spite of the attempts to incite enmity, the protesting groups remained consolidated in the call for the renunciations of Molina and Baldetti, and remained in solidarity, not attributing callous ridicule or assigning blame to one another. However, for us the importance remains with the structural conduciveness to foster peaceful demonstrations and means. The unification across various social strata called on both sides not to violate this implicit code of conduct where violence and disruption would risk more than it could possibly gain. Theoretically, SMO literature has debated whether disruptive measures are a viable strategy for social movements to reach asserted goals with both support and opposition to the hypothesis (Morris & Herring 1984). In this case, we may say with considerable confidence that peacefulness have been a cornerstone in concerting the demonstrations.

Lastly, the unification of forces across various societal groupings also concerns another important aspect. The middle- and upper middle class had rarely been involved in social mobilizations prior to 2015, and even less alongside members of the rural, indigenous, and poor populations (this may be a first). The implication here being, that if we are to conceptualize a political opportunity, the unification of social groupings, across the dividing axes of a country, whether those dividing axes may be, appears as a strong indicator of a political opportunity for success. This observation supports the general agreement in PPT theory, that the stability and extent of political alliances are important indicators for success. The success of GT's movement hinges strongly on this vital factor of unification across traditional dividing lines. In our case, the divisions between rich/poor,

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57 Here specifically concerning the CODECA – Committee for Campesino Development, a labor organization that works in the rural districts of Guatemala and has been leading in the fight against privatization of electricity in the country.

58 http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/28588-how-washington-s-war-on-terror-becomes-a-war-on-human-rights-defenders-in-central-america

59 http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/justicia/expectativa-por-declaracion-de-perez-y-baldetti

60 http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/justicia/roxana-baldetti-fue-un-golpe-de-estado-tecnico-internacional

rural/urban, and 'capitalist' / 'communist', have formed the axes of separation, though in other cases (i.e. other countries or places in time) separations may be formed based on other axes.

Simple illustration of traditional divisions of GT society

Conservative	Indigenous, human rights defenders,
Capitalists / capitalism	Socialists / socialism
Urban	Rural
Rich	Poor

Figure 4: traditional divisions of GT society

4.1.3 Overcoming a culture of silence

Cultural factors also play an important role in the conducive structures channeling the movement towards peaceful means of protest. In several analyses, the internal conflict of 1960-1996 has played an important role in terms of structural conduciveness. Some analysts have pointed out that a 'culture of silence'[61] [62] [63] [64] [65] has persisted ever since the signing of the peace accords in 1996 and that the demonstrations in 2015 marked a turning point of this cultural repressiveness, which had, according to some, kept Guatemalans 'silent', 'dormant' or otherwise passive in the face of severe societal issues. This cultural silence can be invoked as a consequence both of fear of relapse into the internal conflict which, by most of society, was a dreaded time-period of ruthlessness, insecurity and violence, or as a fear of either state violence or breakouts of civil violence akin to the guerillas of the civil war. For many Guatemalans that lived through the conflict, being pinched between the forces of guerillas and the militaries was a fearful scenario that no one wished to return to. This fear itself may easily have been enough to silence many voices of dissent among all sectors of society, and especially among those who already fear for their safety (usually the ones who cannot afford

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61 http://www.redcentroamericana.org/blog-es/?p=2413

62 http://www.undp.org/content/dam/guatemala/docs/publications/UNDP_gt_PrevyRecu_MemoriadelSilencio.pdf

63 http://www.razonypalabra.org.mx/anteriores/n18/18egularte.html

64 See also Gabriel Wer, one of the 'initiators' of the social movement. He presents the same argument and points out that the population (in his words, generally,) have been dormant since the internal conflict http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2015/09/showdown-guatemala-impunity-maldonado-150911124649169.html

65 The culture of silence term is likely related to the report from the UN truth commission entitled 'memory of silence' http://www.aaas.org/sites/default/files/migrate/uploads/mos_en.pdf

private protection[66] though the region in general is marked my extensive public insecurity[67] [68]). Bearing in mind the high levels of public insecurity and violence (the 'northern triangle[69]' being the one of the most violent areas in the world[70]), the influence of cultural parameters have an important bearing on the way the social movement developed and which strategies it pursued. While this cultural variable is not *universal,* it remains an important factor that has had a limiting effect on the availability of strategies for the social movement. In other cases, similar variables may take different forms for which we cannot account here, but the influence of a cultural variable is indisputable.

In stating that this is a limiting factor, again, we revert to the factors that influence the availability, or usefulness, of various strategies and here in particular disruptive or non-violent means. Previously it had also been a limiting factor even to the possibility of a social movement on the scale of 2015. While corruption (also at the presidential level) is not a new thing in Guatemala, none of the previous presidents were condemned to the extent that Molina and Baldetti were. No prior president was forced to resign due to public pressure, in spite of alleged involvement in acts of corruption, fraud, or other illegal activities (see in particular the case of Alfonso Portillo). Therefore, to many people, the demonstrations of 2015 marked also an end to the passivity of the public (in broad terms), and an overcoming of the 'repressiveness' of the culture of silence[71]. The culture of silence which was the outcome of violent repression and intimidation established during the internal conflict years and which persisted long beyond. At first directed through the military but later was assumed by organized criminal networks and combinations of the two (referred to as 'CIACS', see timeline notions for further elaboration). Three of the most influential factors for

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66 LA is the most 'insecure' region in the world and Guatemala bears extensive traits of public insecurity. Guards armed with shotguns and rifles are hired as private security forces at gas stations, super markets, malls, etc. and even as permanently stationed guards at the upper classes' condominios; walled-in housing complexes, with barbed wire fences, check-posts, guards, etc.

67 http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2013/11/12/citizen-insecurity-thwarts-latin-america-s-development-says-undp.html

68 http://www.insightcrime.org/news-analysis/perceptions-of-insecurity-increasing-in-latin-america

69 Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras

70 https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/FINAL%20PDF_CARSI%20REPORT_0.pdf

71 A notable aspect of the silence concerns the history of the military oppression of the rural populations during the internal conflict. It is a historical 'burden' that has never quite been overcome by the country, and to which the 'upper classes' for a long time maintained silence or avoidance instead of confrontation and never demanded justice for the victims of the brutal repression.

overcoming these obstacles to mobilization were: 1) May 16th, 20015: the CC calling for the protection of demonstrators, protection of their rights to assemble peacefully and to for the PNC to protect the citizens of Guatemala and uphold law and justice. 2) An overcoming of historical enmity between the societal groupings of society around the axes explained above and 3) the decision of the military to 'stay out of the conflicts[72]' Whereas the military has been active in various other instances of social mobilizations and confrontations, with regards to the mobilizations of 2105, the military institutions remained 'outside' of the struggle.

To prevent negative impacts of the 'culture of silence', the adaption of peaceful means by the social movement was critical in ensuring that the military would stay out of the events. The military had already been utilized by President Molina in areas that were criticized by various humanitarian organizations (areas usually covered by the police such as patrols, crime investigation, and crime combating). Thus for the movement, it was critical avoid keep military both to ensure security and confidence but also encouragement for potential participants (many fearing dire consequences of any military involvement at all). For many, the fear of the militaries alone was, for a long time, enough to inhibit participation in the demonstrations. Especially for those who lived through the internal conflicts, the fear of violent confrontations and repressive means was imminent. Had the demonstrators turned to disruptive means, the military would most probably have been inserted to 'control the situation' with unpredictable consequences.

4.1.4 Strengthening the judicial system

Lastly, we must also consider structural conduciveness in relation to a public 'faith' in the institutional systems of justice. In Smelser's terms, this considers particularly the "*possibility of demanding* [normative] *changes*[73]*"* Smelser (1962: 278).   The judicial system had recently undergone a significant developments through the term of Claudia Paz y Paz and the recent election of Ivan Velasquéz in the CIICG. Paz y Paz was, by the beginning of the demonstrations, still leading the MP as general attorney. Though she was dismissed shortly after (May 2015), her term had significantly changed the efficiency of the judicial system. Paz y Paz's defiance to subject herself to pressure from corrupt politics and criminal networks significantly decreased impunity among the political and business elites as well as amongst the criminal leaders. In just three years she had

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72 http://contrapoder.com.gt/2016/04/29/la-plaza/

73 Smelser, in this chapter, addresses normative changes, which we will find is an integral aspect of the GT movement, and for which the possibility alone of laying claims to normative changes is a necessity, in theory, to the development of a social movement. Though we may challenge this claim on a broader basis, for this case the consideration remains an important theoretical point in evaluating the structural conduciveness of the situation.

'imprisoned entire Mara Salvatrucha or Brrio 18 gang cells, military members accused of war crimes, and 100 members of the zetas'[74]. On top of this, she had also pursued high-level political cases with the most important being the case against former military dictator, Rios Montt,[75] [76] which she succeeded in bringing to court and concluding the case (though it overturned by the CC shortly after). This change in the judicial system is important, because without it, little belief could have been amassed in the minds of the public about their venture in the social movement. Impeaching the president would have been virtually impossible (like in the case of Portillo, as stated by the prosecutor Fransisco Mendizabal '*who could investigate the president*?'[77]) in the conditions faced in previous years. We may ask ourselves; 'how would the situation have looked, had the same corrupt forces been in place, as governed much of GT's judicial system in former years?' the prospects of success would have been significantly dimmer, and the 'belief in success' would, likewise, have diminished. Secondarily, this might have influenced the social movement further towards more radical means of resistance (as we discussed above). The belief that formal organizational structures are capable of solving the societal issues faced, are of no little importance when we hold up our case with other cases of social movements. Indeed, turning to these organizations to 'deliver justice' for the people illustrates this point in question very well, a strategy that is only possible, as long as those institutions are believed to be both *capable* and '*willing'*[78] to deliver on the issues pursued by the social movement.

Besides the changes to the judicial system effectuated under Paz y Paz, the CICIG had also shown itself an important extension of combatting crime in GT[79]. With Iván Velásquez elected head of the organization in August 2013, after which he spend the first two years targeting five specific areas of crime: contraband, administrative corruption, illegal campaign financing, judicial corruption and

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74 http://upsidedownworld.org/main/guatemala-archives-33/5000-guatemala-the-end-of-the-spring-of-claudia-paz-y-paz

75 https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/judging-dicatator-trial-guatemala-rios-montt-11072013.pdf

76 http://www.reuters.com/article/us-guatemala-trial-idUSKCN0UP21F20160111

77 http://www.insightcrime.org/news-analysis/moreno-la-linea-military-fingerprints-guatemala-customs-scandal

78 Willing is not necessarily the best terminology, but in lack of a better expression I will use it. The distinction, then, should be clear: between capability and willingness on behalf of institutional power to deliver moral and ethical verdicts and judgements. We will also return to this point later under our analysis of political opportunities.

79 http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/latin-america/Guatemala/056-crutch-to-catalyst-the-international-commission-against-impunity-in-guatemala.pdf
    - This report from Crisis group provides the background for the ensuing evaluation.

drug trafficking/ money laundering. Through the first years, considerable blows were given to each of these areas in conjunction with the MP. Velásquez maintained that the objective was to dismantle the extensive 'CIACS' (which he went on to term RPEIs), by addressing the ways in which they operated and maintained their grasps on economic and political power in the country. The cases brought forwards in this period (August 2013 to April 2015) includes an extortion ring allegedly led by the notorious ex-captain of the army Byron Lima, and the arrest of Haroldo Mendoza who was reputed for being one of the major drug traffickers of the country. His charges included 'running a private army' the eastern parts of the country, and being responsible for multiple homicides, disappearances, land theft, and other crimes. Besides, a major study was also dedicated to investigating illicit campaign funding in GT, which startlingly revealed the influence of corrupt funding in the country's political arena. At the same time. Investigations into several judges, congress members and state officials of the judicial system (i.e. prosecutors). Thus, the role of the CICIG in fortifying the judicial system likewise contributed to an improved perception of the *real possibility* of exerting claims on the state.

4.2 Structural Strain

From the onset, it makes sense to assume that various causes of strain were involved as determinants of the social mobilizations. Indeed, assuming that a multiplicity of 'strains' existed at a single point in time, and that these strains permeated and reached almost all areas of society, may be an important piece in explaining the spread and scale of the social mobilizations, their broad appeal and support throughout 2015. In Smelser's general framework, first we assume that strain *always* appears at the operational levels of the components of action (see models in appendix 8). The levels in question are 5 to 7 amongst all four components of action (values, norms, mobilization into organization, and situational facilities). Although we will not go through all of the kinds of, it should be readily recognizable, that strain on all four components of action have been in play. In accordance with our theoretical framework, whenever higher 'levels of strain are invoked' we should expect the effect to 'trickle down'. As we shall see, the identified strain reaches into the level of values (the highest level) and we should therefore expect to find strain at both the levels of norms, mobilization into social organization, and on situational facilities.

4.2.1 Strain and situational facilities

Strain in relation to situational facilities is considered as "*a condition of ambiguity as to the adequacy of means for a given goal."* Ambiguity, to some extent, is inevitable, but minimizing uncertainty is the primary task in the coordination of action in order to achieve a desired outcome or goal. By minimizing uncertainties and risks, the likelihood for success is improved. In a concrete example, for a doctor, in order to achieve a goal of saving people, situational facilities are greatly improved through the allocation of medical equipment to the hospital where she is working, if sanitation standards are good, if medicine is available and technical equipment, etc. In this regard, we identify how strain on situational facilities mounts under a corrupt political system coupled with a liberal market policy usually favoring self-regulation[80]. While the GDP has improved in recent years, poverty and indigence has, at best, decrease in relative numbers and more than half the country still lives in poverty. Almost all of the state functions; the educational system, health care system, police, etc., are suffering from lack of funding, resources, personnel, and equipment. A telling example is the recurrent crisis in the hospital sector[81] that continues into 2016. The health sector is often directly dependent on donations[82] [83] or aid in order to keep up with demand[84]. Demonstrations of teachers and doctors are not uncommon either and, albeit they did not play a major role in the 2015 demonstrations, they are telling of the institutional situations in the country and the general expressions of discontent which was canalized into a more general movement in 2015. In other social events, 2012 through 2015 saw unusually severe periods of draught, which threatened the livelihood of more than a million poor farmers and rural citizens[85]. To alleviate the suffering, Molina's government was calling on international aid to help save lives and livelihoods of the people harmed by the severe drought. Several issues are present in the situation, with the dependency on monoculture farming, low-levels of food security, years of political neglect of the development of agriculture, lack of water access, corporate exploitation of existing water supplies[86], and others exacerbating the consequences of the draught. Strain occurs as a natural consequence of

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80 See Polanyi 1945 on self-regulating market systems.

81 The 'theme' recurs more or less on a yearly basis.

82 http://lahora.gt/la-crisis-hospitalaria-se-vive-sin-medicamentos-ni-insumos/

83 http://www.guatemala.gob.gt/index.php/noticias/item/1028-presidente-jimmy-morales-recibe-donativo-para-red-hospitalaria-de-guatemala

84 At major hospitals in Guatemala City the queues of citizens hoping to see a doctor often extents several blocks outside of the hospital, images are readily available on Google for the outside observer.

85 https://eyeonlatinamerica.com/2014/09/05/guatemala-central-america-drought-food-crisis/

ambiguity, which escalates through these threats to survival. In relation to the components of action, the situational facilities are conflicted strongly by the ambiguity of the situation caused by the lack of even basic means for survival (such as water and food) and dependency on aid supplies. This should provide an illustration of one of the many situations in which strain occurs amongst the population of GT in relation to situational facilities. Very similar findings are reached if we look into other aspects of life in the country, such as health care, social security, poverty, education, financial security, etc. Although we have not stated the specific levels throughout the analysis, the strain analyzed here considers levels 5-7 of situational facilities, though we have not attributed specific distinctions.

From this, relatively short outline, it should be evident how the lack of adequate situational facilities exacerbate ambiguity about the available means to meet even the most basic and simple goals, and how strain will be experienced concrete level through the uncertainty developing from such a situation. In theoretical terms it can be discussed whether an evaluation of strain in this way can be conducted on an objective basis, or whether strain on situational facilities have to be held in relation to cultural influences. Smelser does so, and argues that cultural influences are important in mitigating or exacerbating strain from a given situation. In one example of norms he uses the Indian cast system to provide an example of how a cultural value system maintains a system of norms that in other cultures would be seen as highly repressive (Smelser 1962: 51). He thus argues that the Indian societal system, for this reason, does not experience strain to the same extent or in the same way, as a similar a norm system would do in a different society.

For this reason, we cannot objectively situate strain merely because of a lack of hospital equipment and medicine (with point of departure in social health-care), but we must equally consider the expectations and understandings that underpin the population's stance towards these public institutions. The transition towards what we often times regards as a 'modern society' with a centralized state apparatus that is supposed to administrate and serve public needs and issues, helps us relate these understandings to the emergence of strain from lacks of situational facilities. Other forms of societies may not have experienced strain arising from such an issue, because the state has not come to be regarded as the provider of social services such as health care. Likewise, the

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86 Exploitation and the deterioration of water supplies became a large topic in 2016 politics with the 'water is life' protests of April 2016.
http://upsidedownworld.org/main/guatemala-archives-33/5625-water-is-life-guatemalan-march-for-water-rights-connects-struggles-across-latin-america

population would not have been expected to help fund such a system through their taxes, and the dispute would likely have been avoided, though we might instead have had other intricacies of how to serve general needs of public health. The same is true across other issues of state-assumed responsibilities that are maintained through public taxes. Even in a case like GT where public tax recollections are minimal[87], the assumption that these services are supposed to be provided for by the state, is enough to invoke a general outcry against the mishandling of the state's responsibilities. This should also be held up with the general difficulties for the majority of the population to create any viable alternatives, and the fact that remuneration is, even before taxes, boarding poverty if not within this spectrum for approximately half of the population[88]. As in other cases, 'framing', as it is sometimes referred to, or other formulations of underlying assumptions or ideas become essential in formulating the emergence of strain.

In our case, we may not be able to say that there exist an *absolute consensus* or underlying belief as we have defined Guatemala as a country in transition towards a 'modern' configuration of the state-led society. This mean that if we look in detail, many converging and diverging views may be discovered on this point, but as a general point, and in relation to our general conceptual framework outlined in Appendix 10, that the state has become a 'reality'. Furthermore, its commitment to values of democracy, equal representation, fairness, the public good, etc. necessitates a public relation to these espoused values of the state and prompts the public to assess the functioning of the state in relation to these commitments. With these considerations in mind, we can reassess our evaluation of strain (example of public health-care) and consider how the state is being held responsible to its own commitments, and how strain develops as a response to these failures, which generates uncertainty. First because the state fails to deliver on its commitment to alleviate public issues, and secondly because there are no alternative institutions to take up where the state fails to provide.

4.2.2 Strain on mobilization into organizational roles

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87 Guatemala has one of the lowest tax to GDP ratios in the world
https://www.oecd.org/ctp/tax-global/Dominican%20Republic%20EN%20country%20note_final.pdf

88 latest number from ECLAC's flagship: 'Social Panorama of Latin America 2014' (with most recent umbers from 2012, measuring poverty at rate at 54%).

Strain on mobilization derives from various sources but is characterized as 'a disjunction between responsible performance in a given organizational role and the rewards that accrue hereby' (Smelser 1962: 54). Societal changes that negatively affect the rewards for responsible performance, likewise increases strain on this component for action. Smelser states that the most obvious kinds of strain in relation to mobilization into organizational roles; "*results when memberships (and rewards) are severed all together, as in unemployment, disenfranchisement, expulsion, or excommunication.*" Of these, perhaps, disenfranchisement is the most readily present in GT society, where most are disenfranchised from (to the degree of expulsion) the 'better parts of society'. Various mechanisms from lack of educational access, racial discrimination, nepotism, corruption, etc., are effective in maintaining a rigid order of society that effectively perpetuates itself. In addition, extreme levels of inequality may be a major contribution to the strain on this component of action. While almost half of GT society lives in poverty, a tiny fraction of the elite lives in extravagant excesses with most agreeing that this disparity is not an example of a 'just' distribution of societal resources, nor a just system of recompensation for the participation in organizational roles (of society). At the individual level, strain is derives from a lack of recompensation for their participation in societal roles. In addition, disenfranchisement adds to this strain because participation in desirable societal roles may not even be a possibility. In mobilization level 5, a strong sentiment amongst the mobilization series is discernible among the members of the social movement. Because while no one has a unified plan of the allocation of societal resources in society amongst the various sectors it is composed of, almost everyone would agree that the political class in particular was enriching itself on behalf of everyone else. No consensus was needed about where these resources were rightfully due, as long as a general agreement was achieved that they *did not* belong to the political class that had fraudulently allocated these resources to itself and its allies. While the strain identified here, as we will see below, is related to 'higher' levels of the components of action (values and norms), the manifestations of the *consequence*s of the immorality of political leaders may be one of the most easily recognizable and distinctively argued causes of strain.

4.2.3 Strain on norms

At the concrete levels of strain (5-7), strain is experienced as a disconnection between organizational regulations, guidelines, and individual practices. In the case of GT, this is demonstrated in the failure of formal guidelines and coordination to formally organize the political operations of the country. As it became evident that neither the codes of operation or executive coordination of the state served to benefit the population, the lower levels of strain were activated.

At the higher levels of strain (1-5), the movement often invoked calls for changes at the more abstract levels. For instance through reform to the electoral law and the laws of congress, the campaigning laws, etc. The impairment of the allocation of societal resources (mobilization level 5) is directly attributable to a failure of observing an appropriate code of conduct (i.e. the law) on behalf of the political class (norms level 1-2). While at the very concrete levels of strain, this is exemplified both in the allocation of personal to fulfill concrete roles (i.e. the current legislative procedures allows for a perpetuation of the condemned practices of the political class that maintains 'unfit' persons to fulfill the roles in the political system, primarily norms level 2-4).

Primarily, reformation claims on the state is the most concrete demonstration of strain on norms, because the normative state regulations have failed to adequately serve the purposes that they are expected to fulfill. theoretically, these issues could be attributed to lower levels (i.e. poor provisions of healthcare could be attributed to a single hospitals poor administration and management of resources). However, proportions of these issues identifiable at the societal level (for instance in a general state of medical emergency) is one indication that these issue is located, not in local or individual institutions, but at a higher level. Likewise, the general failure on behalf of the political system to provide provisions for public services indicates a failure on behalf of the normative systems rather than at lower levels.

4.2.4 Strain on values

Appears to have been a decisive at issue, albeit only at the more immediate levels (6 & 7), whereas in norms, mobilization and situational facilities, we find strain at higher levels (1-5). This is an important point that has also been part of shaping the discourse in the social movement (which we will assess closer below under the formation of a generalized belief). At level 5 of values, generally associated with 'isms' such as capitalism, totalitarianism, socialism, etc. we find hardly any mentions at all and no reasons to assume that strain has been exerted on the value systems of individuals or organizations of GT society (bearing in mind that strain must be invoked within the limits of structural conduciveness). However, values at the concrete levels (7 & 6) appear to have been under strain due to corruption and dishonesty on behalf of the political class of GT. In Smelser's terms, the morality of an individual (if this is the center of a movement's attention) is defined under level 7 of values. However, if the immorality of the individual is seen as symptomatic of the organized government as a whole, we move to level 6 in the values series. At level 5 we

move to the kind of system that would permit such 'scandals', in other words we move to the issue of the social integration of values on an aggregate level. The imperative distinction in our dissemination of values, then, must address whether strain in relation to the social movement was at level 5 or 6. At level 6 we may readily say that the dishonesty of Molina and Baldetti was viewed as symptomatic to the political class as a whole, and that efficiency of the functioning of the political class was perceived, effectively, to be in peril (and with it most of the rest of the stately institutions an major societal sectors). However, strain of values as to the functioning of the political system as a whole, *does not appear to have been in effect* (level 5 or higher). Capitalism, liberalism, free markets, the centralized state system, etc. was not invoked as a strain in the social movement or otherwise and predominantly personal traits were viewed as the linchpin of the issue. No value system was attacked as a cause of the indecency and fraudulence of the political classes, although norms were frequently. During the protests, many calls were made for normative changes to the political system (especially the electoral part of the political system) before new elections should be held. These goals, we may call the *concomitant goals,* however, were not achieved though they were very much part of the call of the demonstrators. The call for normative changes, but not fundamental value changes should illustrate to us the emanating center at the heart of the social movement. Strain on all of the aspects evaluated are readily present in the social movement composition and adhere to the principles set out by Smelser in the structural framework, also without subscribing to utilitarian 'economical' principles of analysis and limiting our scope to exclusively 'economic' terms and aspects.

However, besides the strain on values related to state politics, a fundamental change of values was also addressed, but this change was directed towards the public itself. Most importantly, the overcoming of decades of silence in the political arena, the public overcame the silence and joined in a movement against the political leadership to express a new value orientation: no more passivity in the face of political corruption and fraudulent administration, whitewashing of scandals and money alike, impunity, etc. This value change would reconfigure the public's orientation towards themselves as political actors: from a lack of belief in the 'power of the people' or leverage of popular opinion. This re-orientation and replacement of the public values and their formation into new according norms is a major accomplishment of the movement, tacitly or not, what it did was to bring about this explicit cultural change. Notwithstanding, change may have been happening gradually or incrementally prior to the movement i.e. though a longer process, but with the emergence of the protests and manifestations, those gradual changes crystallized in the shape of a

social movement with which society was permanently changed in a very short period of time. Perhaps at the very heart of the movement lies the indignation and contempt that has been present for years but which has been subdued and silenced or manifested in political apathy. Likewise, apathy and a lack of belief in the possibilities of reform or the use of public protests, belief in the 'power of the people' or their ability to unite and make a change, may be part in explaining why previously no large-scale mobilizations have emerged in the country.

4.3 Generalized belief

4.3.1 A longer process

It is worth considering that long before the discovery of the La Línea case, both Molina and Baldetti were implicated in various corruption scandals. Molina's dated back some ten years where as Baldetti had remained somewhat 'under the radar' at least until more recently. However, particularly her spending habits after reaching congress were revealing of her involvement with corrupt powers as she was spending far beyond what her paycheck would allow[89]. Hence, the resentment towards the pair was not formed, as we shall see, merely on the emergence of a single case (La Línea). A generalized belief started forming long before April 2015 about the inappropriateness of the duo at the helm of Guatemalan society. On April 8th, 2013 the director of El Periodico, José Rubén Zamora, dedicated a nineteen page story in his newspaper to a criticism of the 'presidential couple' when after 14 months in office it had already become clear that corruption was proliferating, in spite of the anti-corruption campaign on which Molina and Baldetti had made their way to the presidency[90]. Shortly after Molina and Baldetti's rise to power, the hashtag #frasesbaldetti emerged, ridiculing Baldetti's public statements and talks[91] [92]. These are now a testimony to the outrage most Guatemalan's held against the Vice President, long before the implications in 2015 also for other reasons than corruption. Frases Baldetti were not particularly aimed at corruption, rather the hashtag

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89 El periodico and other news outlets have brought many reports on the many properties of Baldetti that clearly could not derive from her paycheck as depute nor vice president. Many of these were funded by illicit money and activities as well as corrupt donations and in other ways of clandestine activity.
http://elperiodico.com.gt/2016/06/13/investigacion/el-paraiso-de-baldetti-y-otros-negocios-fallidos/
http://elperiodico.com.gt/2016/06/17/investigacion/una-tarde-en-la-finca-de-la-vicepresidenta/

90 http://www.fundacionmepi.org/investigaciones/un-cuento-de-hadas-sin-final-feliz/

91 https://twitter.com/search?q=frasesbaldetti&src=typd

92 https://twitter.com/search?q=frases%20baldetti&src=typd

sought to promote attention to the inaptitude of the Vice President. Some considered whether the orations of Baldetti were deliberately 'stupid' to derail attention away from corruption and a host of political issues or whether Baldetti just was 'stupid'. In either case, her public speeches generated, along with corruption, a tangible discontent.

Another way the formation of a general belief can be observed is in the public stance towards the governing apparatus of the country. The congress of Guatemala is among the region's lowest scoring on public trust and confidence in its governing function. Briscoe & Pellecer (2010: 6) describes the congress as 'chronically lacking legitimacy in the eyes of the public'. In 2009, only 48 percent of the public believed that the congressional system, political parties or the parliament itself was essential to democracy[93]. The general perception of democracy in Guatemala was generally low compared to other countries in the region and fell by 10 percentage points in 2011[94]. Follwing these reports by Latino Barómetro, the trend in the perception of the political system in GT is generally extremely poor, and support for the military remains amongst the highest in the region[95].

4.3.1 Media support

Besides the use of social media, the involvement of news media outlets also played an important role in the development of a generalized belief. While the news could have been silent, either for fear of retaliation through any form of repression (violence, political influence, defamation, etc.), or through collaboration, they brought articles, stories, and reports covering the Molina and Baldetti case as well as the state-sector system, the military, and other issues. Particularly the private media outlets contributed, whereas local TV and satellite did remained quiet on most of the topics reviewed here[96]. The reasons why was exposed later in the 'caso cooptación del estado[97]', thus in the following 'media outlets' concerns, principally, the private media outlets. Coverage, not just of the presidential duo, but also of the entire state-sector administration and rampant public issues, was one component in forming the general belief that preceded the first large-scale demonstrations on

93 https://www.oas.org/en/ser/dia/outreach/docs/INFORME_LATINOBAROMETRO_2009[1].pdf

94 http://www.infoamerica.org/primera/lb_2011.pdf

95 The split between military supporters and 'non-supporters' in Guatemala has also traditionally been very strong. The military has for most period held power in the country, and the only period marked by a center-left government in the country was during Álvaro Colom's presidency (UNE [Unidad de la Esperanza] 2008-2012).

96 http://www.excelsior.com.mx/global/2015/09/09/1044700

97 https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caso_Cooptaci%C3%B3n_del_Estado_en_Guatemala

April 25th, 2015, which is important piece in explaining how an otherwise non-advertised demonstration reached around 20.000 participants, almost exclusively by Facebook circulation[98] [99]. In this respect, in order for the mobilizations to be successful, a generalized belief must have already existed. An *intuitive understanding of the situation* that was able to guide the actions of thousands of people who, almost instinctively, responded positively towards the demonstration appeals made on Facebook by the just formed Renuncia Ya group. The value-added framework determines the existence of a pre-formed general belief in order for collective action to occur and we can observe this phenomenon quite clearly.

Besides this, the news' evaluations and disseminations of the ongoing events served a different purpose as well: creating a general understanding (based on providing information in general) was one thing, but to formulate it in a discourse that bridged the societal divides is another. While these divides are still not resolved, at the very least a common discourse (or *frame*) was established in which 'blame' was neither assigned to the rural or urban populations. Instead, the political class was the target of most of the critique as well as the old 'military guard' still very much present in GT politics (through the CIACs). Here it is important to point out, that *the military* is not the issue, but more precisely the clandestien networks of power that grew out of the internal conflicts and departed from the military institutions, the influence of which is the primary problem. Secondly, many of the people involved with the shadowy network played important roles in severe crimes during the internal conflict. Nevertheless, to mend the discursive divides ('incongruent frames') of the groupings of GT society was an important task in order to create a generalized belief on this scale was to be created.

While this, of course, is not a complete picture, the case in point remains that many central news outlets published critical examinations of public affairs and did not 'side with', or 'pit' social groups against each other (primary outlets considered include: Prensa Libre, El Periodico, Contra Poder, La Hora, Soy 502, Nomada, and Plaza Publica). This was an imminent part of enabling the cohesion of a social movement composed of very different societal groups. Some outlets of course remained open to views of the extreme right (which appears as the primary problem, much more than extreme left groupings that are rarely represented anywhere). In 2012, Guatemala's Human Rights

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98 https://web.archive.org/web/20150423202512/http://www.s21.com.gt/nacionales/2015/04/17/convocan-manifestacion-para-exigir-renuncia-binomio-presidencial

99 http://www.cetri.be/Guatemala-Una-manifestacion?lang=fr

Commission (GHCR) noted that national news outlets have allowed the expression of ultra-right groups (such as the 'Foundation Against Terrorism' and 'Liga Propatria'). While this is true, and regrettable, much journalistic work has been focused on avoiding confrontations between extreme positions in the political sphere and discourse, and the importance of this work is imperative.

To reiterate, this influence relies on two crucial dynamics: 1) the spread of information and knowledge on general societal matters of the country to a broad constituency and 2) the dissemination of this information and delivery in a discourse that avoids 'pitting' societal groups against one another but rather to present the information in a discourse that encouraged popular support and solidarity across traditional barriers. This later point must also include the critical evaluation of political and societal matters because the press brought to the front pages many serious social issues (such as water pollution/scarcity, critical assessments of political programs, HR violations, poverty issues, etc.).

4.4 Precipitating factors

Without a doubt, the revelation of the La Línea corruption ring was the 'trigger' for the movement, though we may spend some time contemplating what would have happened, had this particular case not rolled out. Was this case *fundamental* to the development of the Renuncia Ya movement, or was it a mere coincidence that the movement developed in the aftermath of this scandal? What we have already outlined in the section on general belief is that the development of a general belief is incremental; it did not occur from one day to another. The La Línea case was not a 'sudden realization' or an 'awakening' happening over a short time-period –at least not for most of the Guatemalans involved. The general belief; the conceptions and knowledge about president Mollina and Vice President Baldetti had been building to a boiling point were most were already frustrated and discontent with the executives and where many prior events and developments had already led to a perception of the political class (as a whole) being involved in large-scale corruption and of the reigning party and its leaders' inadequacy to solve the issues, if not making them worse by orders of magnitude.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the La Línea case was the direct linkage to the top-level of GT politics. If prior cases had not provided *definite links* between high-level officials and corruption, the La Línea case established with great clarity how far corruption permeated the state, and exposed the responsibility of high-level officials in administering and running these covert schemes. But it

would be difficult to characterize the situation as being an expression of a 'structural breakdown' or 'rapid transformation'. In fact, the societal system appears to have been stagnating more than changing; where the expectations had been for a brighter and better future, real development and societal progress was sluggish at best except for a tiny fraction of the population.

Although half of the population lives in poverty, GDP growth has been positive for several years and in the aggregate, the country has been making significant economic progress. In general, the usual macro-economic indicators have been positive, even though the tumultuous months of protest in 2015 and for the year as a whole, according to numbers from ECLAC[100]. However, in social numbers, the population has been experiencing less of the economic development and the prospects of future inclusion are bleak. Inequality plays a major role in this puzzle where GT has a current score of 55 (ranging from 0=absolute equality and 100 = absolute inequality[101]), as well as the aforementioned corruption, which has siphoned resources from the economy and into the hands of a highly condensed political and economic elite sector. This sector has been the primary beneficiaries of economic improvement, which can be seen in the poverty rankings provided by ECLAC[102] that show critical issues of poverty (notice in particular figure 2 on multi-dimensional poverty). Likewise the country's public sectors; health, educations, police, infrastructure, etc. are suffering from severe lack of funding for their operations.

In accounting for the social situation of the country, we aim to address the question of structural breakdown and rapid transformation as causes for the outbreaks of social movements. In our case, these determinants do not appear to have been determinants for the formation of the massive social movements. Rather, unchecked, continuing social strains appear to have been part of forming a general belief over a longer period of time, which was triggered by a decisive precipitating factor leading to the formation of a social movement. As we stated above, the formation of a general belief, then, was a gradual build-up, not a rapid development that happened overnight and the call for renunciation are likely expressions of the core-belief, rather than the embodiment of the belief itself. It is important to note because the precipitating factor, like the espoused goals of the

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100 http://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/39559/1501279BPI_Guatemala_en.pdf;jsessionid=6CA0449D3AE35B509A89BBF544899170?sequence=65

101 http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/income-gini-coefficient

102 See ECLAC's publications 'economic panorama for Latin America' 2013 and 2014 and the latest publication from 2015 predicting an increase in poverty in only three LA countries of which GT is one of them. Numbers from GT are, however, not very recent with the latest available statistics being from around 2006.
http://www.cepal.org/en/publications/social-panorama-latin-america-2013

movement, become merely symptomatic traits of the general beliefs about the state of society, social conditions, causes for various phenomena, and the ambitions for societal progression and advancement.

This leads us back to a persistent question of the precipitating factors: what would have happened if the La Línea case had not been uncovered at the time it was or at all? In this event what would have been of the protests and the movement? I believe it is safe to say that we would have seen a social movement eventually, regardless of whether or not the La Línea case had been uncovered, for several reasons. First, the social movement was not developing overnight and was not the result of a systemic breakdown or rapid transformation. The formation of a general belief, an orientation towards the state of society and the political class, had already taken form and developed over a long period of time, the release of which was merely pending. In fact, we may say that it is fortunate that the events played out as they did because the conducive structures of the situation led to a united public front against the political class, which in turn was conducive to peaceful means of protest. It is at least possible that without the occurrence of a decisive precipitating structure, the public sentiment could not have been unified in a collective protest movement like the one we saw. The La Línea case, however, provided a decisive case that left very little doubt as to whom was to blame for the poor state of the country's public development. In turn, this made it possible to create a movement that was inclusive of most of the population and which garnered strong political force even without the use of disruptive action. Likewise it also maneuvered around violent confrontations of any kinds and in the end achieved considerable success. This is part of the second reason why we should expect to have seen a movement, even in the hypothetical event that the La Línea case had not been uncovered. But we should not expect to see a *similar* event. Not because that it would be impossible, but because the La Línea case's importance and compulsory character has likely contributed to the construction of the movement's characteristics. The singular clarity of the La Línea case made it possible to inspire a shared sentiment, to create solidarity among societal groups, and in favor of peaceful means of protest. Without a decisive precipitating factor as this, the alternative ways of mobilization and movement formation may have converged to forge other results, i.e. other expressions in terms of social movements. These could include violent or disruptive means of protest, movements based on classes rather than broad movements (because of a lack of a unifying goal), other forms of movement organization, different means of mobilization, other kinds of goals and values, strategies, etc. Third, and lastly, two important insights from PPT are worth pondering: that strain is more or less always present in society and that 'political

opportunities' are needed for social movements to develop. The former of these two appear quite correct but the extent of underlying strain is not addressed in the basic definition, i.e. if the intensity of strain matters for the likelihood of a movement to occur. The fact that strain, in our case, is at extreme levels seems important for the likelihood of a movement to occur. This observation is enforced by the observation that manifestations are not uncommon, albeit at a smaller scale, that addresses many of the underlying grievances. Any of these could, potentially, lead to the formation of a larger movement[103] if the necessary conditions for a large enough movement would be in place. Had strain been present only to a small extent in conjunction with the La Línea case not having been discovered, we would have had to consider the likelihood of a social movement development significantly less probable. In terms of political opportunities, we may interpret the uncovering of the La Línea case as an opportunity to 'attack' the core of the corrupt political class. Such an opportunity, especially according to the original POS theses, is necessary for a social movement to develop. But whereas this is an opportunity for success, what we have identified is more an opportunity for mobilization and for this reason mobilization appears to have been likely, regardless of whether or not the La Línea case had been uncovered, however, we should not expect to see the same type of movement and the same goals, incentives, strategies, SMOs, etc. As such, the La Línea case as a precipitating factor has strengthened the probability of success directly and indirectly. Directly by weakening the political constituency and the legitimacy of the political class and by exposing and identifying at least part of the people involved in the political and economic corruption. And indirectly by providing a decisive case around which the mobilization clustered. The case figured both as an 'exemplary' or 'general' case that illustrated what was generally believed to be the functioning of the political classes. And it provided a unifying cause that could garner a strong a univocal support across most of the population.

These are, I believe, the most valuable insights of the evaluation of the precipitating factors of this case. As a point of reflection to these, we may shortly consider the similar events in the end of the 1990ies, in which the Moreno smuggling ring (likely connected with the La Línea ring) was uncovered. The uncovering of the Moreno smuggling ring went by without any sizeable collective action or social movement activity. Although the case was covered to some extent by the country's media, the response to the case was meager in comparison with our, more recent, case. The Moreno

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103 Either through convergences, alliances, or through build-up of an individual cause, with necessary conditions determined, at least in part, by the characteristics reviewed an analyzed in this work, though not limited to it.

smuggling ring case was originally uncovered under the presidency of Alvaro Arzu (1996-2000) but as dismissed under Alfonso Portillo with few judicial consequences.

4.5 Mobilization

4.5.1 Movement organization characteristics

Smelser states that leadership in bringing crowds into movement is the essential for the formation of collective behavior, and for this case, the theory fits neatly with the theoretical formulation provided by Smelser. He states that if the former 'criteria' have already been met, all that is needed for an 'outbreak 'of collective behavior is the mobilization part. This part receives less attention in Smelser's work, perhaps because he saw it as a 'smaller' part of the framework, a sort of natural progression from the other determinants, provided that they were met, mobilization becomes, in the end, almost indispensable and only inhibited by the operations of social control. The reason why our case fits so well with Smelser's formulation is exactly this: the former determinants were already 'checked off' (as we have seen above). Strain and general belief was decidedly 'activated' and aligned, and the precipitating factor with the unraveling of the 'La Línea' case had 'readied' the people (in theoretical terms) for collective action The mobilization part, in the end, may be almost up to chance. A simple Facebook event set the whole movement in motion at the first demonstration in April, which already gathered thousands of people. The ensuing 'organization' created based on this event, Renuncia Ya (Later: Justicia Ya) never became more than an informal, small organization, managed by a few individuals[104] who arranged and called for the ensuing demonstrations from April through August. Gabriel Wer, one of the primary 'organizers' of the demonstrations stated in Fusion Magazine that he 'does not see himself as an activist', even after the 3rd successful demonstration held (around June 14th, 2015). Rather, he states; "*there was so much indignation among Guatemalans that the only thing that was missing was for someone to set a place and a time*"[105]. While the demonstrations achieved some support from estimated GT citizens (among others José Ruben Zamora[106]) and organizations, by-and-large they were called for and 'arranged' solely by non-organizational, civil individuals. Wer's statement also directly links

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104 According to most estimates, somewhere between five and eight with both included. However between central members of the 'core organization', an increasing 'formalization' has developed throughout 2015 and 2016. The group has created some divisions of labor, increased formal representation, espoused goals, etc.

105 http://fusion.net/story/150179/how-9-strangers-used-facebook-to-launch-guatemalas-biggest-protest-movement-in-50-years/

106https://web.archive.org/web/20150424161248/http://www.elperiodico.com.gt/es/20150424/opinion/11639/Todos-a-manifestar.htm

mobilization with pre-existing generalized beliefs that converged into collective action. While these beliefs may have been dissimilar and dispersed, they were encapsulated by the Renuncia Ya movement and channeled into a collective idea which led the foundation for the movement. Most impressively, this could be done with almost no formal organization in place or attempted to be established, and with little work put into building a traditional bureaucratic organization or formal representation.

This strengthens the observation that informality of movement organization eases mobilization (Piven & Cloward 1973) but contradicts the proposition that formal organization is a necessity for social movement to achieve their goals (McCarthy & Zald 1977**)** -provided we consider the primary goals of the movement. However, we must also consider how we distinguish between 'informal' and 'formal' movement. In the following, we characterize the movement as informal in terms of its 'core composition'; although one of its most important characteristics was the reliance on 'supportive organizations and movements', which were not necessarily informal. We address this in more detail in section 4.5.3 *contracting o*rganized support below, but the reader must bear in mind this distinction.

The core organization also received little publicity, it had no official formal representation (neither a webpage, address, contact information, etc.), it did no intent to represent any broader interests or espoused values, it had no 'code of conduct', divisions of labor, etc. In fact, the only 'public relation' was through the groups official Facebook page and Twitter account. Very little was known about the group's members either, and few testimonials surfaced about their relations to the movement. In the beginning, most portraits featured Lucia Mendizábal, but later Gabriel Wer assumed more of the outward communication. Thirdly, Álvaro Montenegro also became a known member of the group, although less attention was given to him as part of the Renuncia Ya group, he has been an outspoken participant in the political arena through numerous articles and opinions in news magazines[107]. The distinctive characteristics remain clear; that the movement was founded on an informal organizational basis: no formal organization building was necessary to 'prepare' for the mobilizations.

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107 https://www.plazapublica.com.gt/users/alvaro-montenegro

4.5.2 Means of mobilization

In Smelser's terms, the determinants leading up to this stage are decisive in 'paving the way' for the formation of a social movement. In terms of mobilization, if all the prior determinants are activated and combined, all that is needed is some sort of mobilization, where leadership is usually the only thing needed to animate people influenced by the former (in Smelser's outline). However, in our case, no decisive or specific leadership was fundamental to the mobilization of the movement. The movement was mobilized by an alignment of the generalized beliefs, by channeling them towards a tangible and visual goal. Before the movement, frustrations and indignation was omnipresent, most people knew of the corruption in politics and no one supported it. However, there were few ideas to unite people in collective action and united political participation, and the population was further dissuaded by the culture of silence that for decades had kept the population silent. Mobilization ended up being almost intuitive once the simple idea was brought forwards in the shape of a Facebook group with the simple idea: to do a demonstration for the renunciation of the Vice President (April 25th, 2015). We may disseminate this process into two steps: 1st was to discover an orientation for action that would appeal to the people already being fed up with corrupt politics and 2nd was to link everyone who would share this idea together as efficiently and simply as possible.

The first step was realized with the idea of demonstrations against the Vice President. This idea had appeal for several reasons. Both because of a long-standing indignation towards Roxanna Baldetti and secondly for her involvement in alleged corruption and various kinds of obnoxious behavior. Thirdly, because of the recent case of La Línea (the distinct precipitating factor) and fourth, we may add that the renunciation on a case of alleged corruption would revoke her immunity and, it was hoped, send her to prison. In combination, these rationalities reverberated broadly with the existing general beliefs and the second step, then, was merely to link people up easily and effectively into collective action. Social media could effectively fulfill this gap through a Facebook group and Twitter hashtags. The Facebook group was the initial means for sharing the information while the Twitter account appears to be of secondary importance in this aspect. This is deducted from the facts that the Facebook group shared the date, place, time, idea, etc. as well as attendee information and sharing options which on the overall made the event function the most efficient and reliable. The functions 'invite friends' and 'share' are both efficient for spreading event information based on personal relationships as well as on interests, which gives both a dynamic and relational spread. In terms of Twitter, information sharing was effectuated through the use of 'hashtags', although less efficient for organizing the demonstrations, these were very efficient for sharing ideas and thoughts

and for 'going viral'[108] [109]. With the two criteria met, the onset of the movement had begun, no further leadership was needed for the movement itself to unfold, only modest organizational preparations.

I consider these two parameters to be the most vital parts of the development form ideas into a large-scale movement. Linking existing general beliefs into shared goals and connecting individuals efficiently into collective action. The primary means to do so was social media and the mechanisms outlined above, no charismatic leadership was needed to motivate or align people around a shared goal.

4.5.3 Contracting organized support

From the onset, various other organizations were involved in mobilizing participants under the slogan 'Renuncia Ya', among these was 'la Coordinaria Estudiantil Universitaria de Guatemala' (CEUG), formed by students from the country's major universities: Universidad Rafael Landivar (UFL), Universidad de San Carlos (USAC), Universidad del Valle de Guatemala (UVG), and la Universidad Francisco Marroquin[110] (UFM). Although these universities have traditionally been divided due to ideological differences, the movement of 2015 created a foundation on which all of the universities were able to unite. Other involved organizations have been CUC (Comité de Unidad Campesina), CACIF, who has lend support to the movement on various occasions and perhaps provided decisive support, CODECA[111] [112] (el Comité de Desarrollo Campesino), CNOC (la Coordinadora Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas, UVOC (la Unión Verapacense de Organizaciones Campesinas)[113], MCCC[114], and others. Nómada recounts how CUEG, to take just an example, developed from a smaller group of participants from USAC and URL in the original

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108 http://www.excelsior.com.mx/global/2015/09/09/1044700

109 http://elperiodico.com.gt/2015/08/28/pais/la-manifestacion-en-cifras/

110 http://contrapoder.com.gt/2015/08/27/paro27a-estudiantes-salen-a-las-calles/

111 http://www.guatevision.com/codeca-convoca-manifestacion-para-manana/

112 http://www.republicagt.com/nacional/codeca-realiza-manifestaciones-en-20-departamentos_68ab42/

113 http://www.prensalibre.com/guatemala/politica/campesinos-se-alistan-para-manifestar

114 http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Guatemalan-Activists-Launch-Anti-Corruption-Alliance-20150516-0004.html

demonstrations, and how by May 16th the group amassed more than 10.000 participants[115] from all four universities. The participation of 'influential persons', the publication of the event in a local newspaper, and the support of other movements, helped the hashtag gain momentum and also caught the attention of the general media[116] [117].

Similarly, other organizations participated in mobilization in favor of Renuncia Ya by mobilizing their own constituencies towards the same goals. While official statistics are not available and none of the organizations provides much information on their mobilizations[118], it can be said with relative certainty, that the cooptation of the organizations to reach a shared goal was fundamental in amassing the large-scale demonstrations. It can be assumed with some certainty, that without the broad organizational support, joining Renuncia Ya's ideas, tactics, dates, targets, hopes, etc. the mobilization would not have reached the scale that it did. Though mobilization may easily have been possible and even extensive, the legitimacy, encouragement, fraternity, and shared belief granted by the large organizational agreement between several organizations of the country, would not have contributed to the mobilizations, which would have decreased its size. Although it is often argued that organization played little to no role in the mobilizations, the empirical data seems to contradict, at least to some extent, the argument that the demonstrations (in the aggregate) were *almost exclusively* based on existing social networks[119] and that little other organization was involved. The assertion has been made on several occasions before, during, and after the demonstrations of 2015 and by various news outlets (no official investigations appear to be available). However, reporting throughout the events, when reviewed, seemed to contradict the argument, at least to some extent. It is difficult to assert to which degree and we may recognize the possibility that both arguments are 'true' in their own right.

The involvement of formal organization was perhaps more incidental than intended, however, this does not contradict the argument of about the core organization as being highly informal. The original movement was a broadly supported, public, movement, happy to obtain affirmation from

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115 https://nomada.gt/por-que-pasar-de-usacespueblo-a-somospueblo-es-un-detonante/

116 http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/05/150522_protestas_guatemala_crisis_gtg

117 http://elperiodico.com.gt/2015/08/28/pais/la-manifestacion-en-cifras/

118 all sources are from news outlets who have reported on the demonstrations in the aggregate with some special references now and then to individual organizational influence

119 http://contrapoder.com.gt/2016/04/29/la-plaza/

groups and organizations sympathizing with their cause, regardless of what those groups' other interests might be. Exactly because the movement's constitution was highly informal, but the goals very concrete, an opening was created for *a broad organizational constituency* that would aid in the mobilization aspects of the movement, without infringing on the primary goals of Renuncia Ya, nor the values and goals of 'supporters'.

4.5.4 Decentralized organization as strategy

To illustrate the idea outlines above, we may want to test the assumption in a thought experiment. If a formal organization attempts to create a movement to meet some goal or other, its organizational ties may become impediments to potential collaboration from other organizations. Simply put, mobilization arranged by a formal organization, such as a trade-union, may already have excluded potential collaboration by any other union (for instance employer's unions) from providing their support, because of the conflict of interest between the organizations' values, ideas, cultures, etc. even if they could agree on the original case in point. In the thought experiment, the participant might ask herself 'if I participate in this demonstration, what am I subscribing ?' -By my support, what other initiatives and campaigns will I be lending my support to? What other ideas, ideologies, etc. does this organization support? Which kind of organization is it that I, by my support, am granting legitimacy to in their operations? Etc. These and many other questions provide obstacles to potential collaboration with broad constituencies and diverse participants because if any one of the questions is not answered in the affirmative, participation may be averted. Not because of a lack of support or recognition of the particular issue at hand, but because of contingent incongruity with other organizational aspects, embedded and espoused in the formal organization.

In the informal organization, on the other hand, many of these issues can be averted. The informal organization does not possess the same espoused values, normative statements, and cultural perceptions of the functioning of society. In our case, it is shaped by a *concrete* and *broadly shared* goal and an incentive that appeals to most of a society that already loathed the heads of government. By supporting the Rennuncia Ya movement, the issues reviewed above were evaded, exactly because of the informality of its organization: having only a few, simple, but broadly acceptable espoused values, no political interest groups, no hierarchy, etc. This coupled with the unambiguous and straight-forward objective (renunciation of Molina and Baldetti) made the choice of participation much easier for potential participants and supports (compared with, for instance, if the

demonstrations had been organized by a formal, existing organization handling vested interests, such as CODECA or CACIF). This also supports Gamson's (1975) observation that 'groups with single issue demands are more successful than groups with multiple issue demands.

The distinction made here and its implications for the development and success of the movement, I believe, are of crucial importance. Though this 'strategy' or 'tactic' may not be a universal principle, in our case it appears to have been of great strategic importance. Suppose, for instance, that the movement had been organized by CODECA or CACIF (the former a farmers trade union and the latter the country's largest employer's union). The vested interests, preconceptions and historical enmity between societal groups, ideological complications and questions of political interest, would all have been deterrents to the mobilizations and the spread of the movement. The attempts to discredit, disband, scorn, criticize, or in other ways deter the credibility and legitimacy of the social movement, would have been endlessly more easy for the extreme right, the militaries, the corrupt networks and organized crime, had the mobilization been based on formal organization arranged by CODECA, CACIF or any other formal, existing, political organization.

The *balancing,* more concretely, of formality and informality, then, appears rooted in this aspect and in the movement composition which was centered on a 'loose core' without bureaucracy or formal organization in charge. The organizational aspects, incidental to the development of the movement composition, then, cannot be *planned* in much concrete details, but emerge whenever existing organizations join the movement and more or less voluntarily *contributes* with various aspects of formality, legitimacy, and resources. In our case, to the extent that empirical evidence can support, formal organization, then, has been incidental but influential. However, formal organization was not part of the movement organization, but only of supporting movements and organizations. These organizations contributed to establishing legitimacy, to maintaining momentum, spreading information, mobilizing supports, and providing political support. It appears likely, that this broad support was made possible through the informal movement organization, and that this organizational participation can also be considered in relation to Olson's (1965) '*freerider dilemma*', much more successfully than individual participants' aspirations.

4.6 Social controls

4.6.1 Preventive means (alleviating strain)

The first considerations is whether or not the GT state (as a whole) has taken steps to alleviate public strain prior to the mobilizations. If so, steps to prevent public strain is viewed as one way of mitigating collective action and social movements from developing. Social controls based on public repression had, it appears, diminished in recent years. But, as we have elaborated above, strain was severe on all operative levels, and little was being done to alleviate the strain which could have been acted as a preventive measure. Neither has political participation been open for the broad population and especially formal (high-level) politics has been closed off though the press has had somewhat access to the political arena, much remains shrouded. For the general population, political participation appears almost impossible at the higher levels, and public wishes are, for the most part, neglected. Organized resistance and influence group appears as the only 'channel' through which ordinary people gets a voice, unless they are part of some higher echelon of society. At the municipal level, slightly more influence can be had amongst the citizens on their own municipality though this is far from a general rule and corruption has also extended well in to the municipal positions[120]. Again, no social controls seem to have been in action to prevent the development of the movement, and no serious initiatives appear to have been taken to alleviate public strain. With the rampant corruption, indeed the reverse seems more to have been the case. A plurality of strain exists because of the harried state-system, which had literally been bleed for resources, sapped directly into private funds. Coupled with low-levels of tax revenue, few means remained to alleviate public grievances, even in the cases where the state tried[121].

4.6.2 Use of force

No direct use of force appears to have been directed towards the demonstrators. Contrary to historic means of control and to other demonstrations in the country, no military or police force was directed against the protesters and no reports have surfaced about missing demonstrators, violence against demonstrators, denied access, forced expulsions, etc. While control was exerted in other respects

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120 Especially Mayors of various communities are often involved in corruption scandals, at lower 'levels' than the La Línea case, but often of considerable scale.

121 To review some cases, recent issues have particularly focused on water, education, infrastructure, and public health. All three area in immediate need of investment for improvement (see appendix 9 for further elaborations and outlines).

(such as against Paz y Paz and Ivan Velázques), direct force against the participants appear to have been absent.

Therefore, while the demonstrators went unscathed, control was sought in other places of the political arena instead. The removal of Claudia Paz y Paz was one aspect. We may assume with relative certainty that the removal of Paz y Paz was planned and intended to remove a threat to corruption and organized crime from the political arena to maintain a space of operation for these clandestine networks. While it proved misfortunate to those interests that her successor, Thelma Aldana, continued her work ardently, the strategy to remove her through a virtual coup seems clear. This strategy appears also to be common among the elite power. During the elections 5 people were targeted and assassinated during the election process[122] which, in a different manner, illustrates the application of violence in corrupt politics (though, since the murder cases were apparently never concluded, it is as likely that drug cartels or organized crime could have been behind the killings). Traditionally, this resort to force has also been common in the country (as we have noted earlier) and it appears still to be in application where it is possible or where the clandestine organizations can reach agreement. It seems that high-profile killings have somewhat waned in later years, but lower-profile killings are still in effect. Likewise, against other parts of the population (as in the case of the demonstrations on October 6th 2012, see timeline in appendix 11 for more information) violence has been applied to achieve political goals. Likewise, indications of gang-violence and organized crimes appear recurrent; however, these cannot be attributed strictly to the state apparatus or the political arena in any formal sense. They appear relatively removed from the influence of the social movements of 2015 as well, though they are very influential in other matters. Foremost in repressing security reforms and stalling development in the struggle against organized crime. It is known that the influence and connections between politics and organized crime stretches well into the state apparatus[123] but it is not as easy to detail how these forces operate more concretely, except on the basis of existing investigations into criminal networks. Today, the situation seems to have changed, and the criminal networks operating inside the state seeks to be based on pragmatic relationship and decentral structures.

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122 All were running for mayor in different communities of Guatemala but were assassinate without much publicity about the killings. Though they were in the news the presence of reports on the subject was limited. The 5 were targeted killings while 'collateral' killings at least as many. The violence however appears to have decreased slightly since the last election. See timeline in appendixes for more info.

123 http://www.insightcrime.org/guatemala-organized-crime-news/guatemala

4.6.3 New corrupt structures, new strategies of control

The change in the corrupt networks infiltrating the state has come about, it seems, through a co-option of the state and the extensive criminal networks of Guatemala[124]. While politics and organized crime has been linked for a large part of Guatemala's history, the recent creation of a democratic state have created a new amalgamation between the two. Luis Jorge Garay, a Colombian specialist in organized crime, states that "*over the last three decades, illegal networks that have co-opted the state*[125] *– from within and from without – to facilitate criminal operations have left thousands dead in Latin America and generated impunity, fear, and unease*" (also see last footnote). The reality and severity is still felt by those public officials who seek to end the co-option of the state and organized crime syndicates. For instance, Paz y Paz fled Guatemala immediately after her term ended to avoid assassination or capture by these forces. Recently Thelma Aldana stated that she feared for her life as a consequence of her persistent action against corruption and crime in Guatemala[126]. Ivan Velasquéz has similarly stated that 'fear must not paralyze us'[127]. In general, the practices of instilling fear have seems to be a useful tool for corrupt forces to suppress political opposition, though it does not appear that these clandestine organizations are currently targeting the public specifically. In 2014, Insight Crime documented the battle over the justice system of Guatemala in a report that shows how both political, economic, and criminal interests seek to gain control and influence over the judicial systems[128]. In the report from 2014, Insight Crime concludes that [the state] "*has long been infested with organized crime. The problem now is that the two seem to be fused more tightly than ever, and that this new ethos new ethos has permeated the state at all levels*".

Through the co-option of the state, the criminal networks have succeeded in subduing formal resistance to the infiltration of the criminal networks, not through violent means *per se* but simply by seizing control of vital parts of the state apparatus. The sophistication of this institutionalization of corruption has become increasingly matured with the transformation of the Guatemalan state

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124 http://www.plazapublica.com.gt/content/recetas-para-cooptar-al-estado-financie-partidos-o-funde-el-propio-y-promueva-la-impunidad

125 See also 'Caso Coptación del Estado'.

126 http://www.insightcrime.org/news-briefs/guatemala-attorney-general-says-afraid-for-the-first-time

127 http://www.republicagt.com/seguridad-y-justicia/que-el-miedo-no-los-paralice-dice-ivan-velasquez/

128 http://www.insightcrime.org/images/Investigations/guatemala_courts/TheWarforGuatemalasCourts

since 1985. The control over the judicial system, outlined in the report by Insight Crime, reveals but a piece in this puzzle. By reaching deep into the judicial system, the co-option seeks to grasp not only indirect and clandestine power through extortions, blackmailing, etc. but also by institutionalizing their reach in formal political institutions (exemplified, for instance, in the case against judge Sierra de Stalling[129] [130]). Technically, this parallels what Zald, Morril & Rao (2002) refers to as 'iron triangles' – a technique of securing and stabilizing political arenas by a formal institutionalization of policy through the state apparatus devised to secure the effectuation of desired objectives. The co-option of the state was closing in on this goal of establishing an 'iron enforcement' of the desires of these particular groups. The success has been visible, particularly in the failure to reform the state system and oust corrupt forces as well as in the extensive impunity of high-level criminals, at times even referred to as 'the untouchables'.

The transformation of the corruption syndicates into a 'mafia-state' that consolidated both corrupt state interests as well as organized crime interests in one, was an achievement of a successful reorganization of the criminal structures. Whereas the former organizations were formed around military structures with hierarchies and chains of command, the 'new' corrupt networks developed into more 'business-like' entities with decentralized organization and multi-facetted operations. The multi-facetted structures can be illustrated in the prolific parallel structures run and orchestrated by Molina and Baldetti which extents far beyond the La Línea case (for instance 'caso IGSS-Pisa', 'caso cooptacion del estado', 'caso redes', etc.). Metaphorically, Insight Crime describes this transformation of organized crime from the look of a dragon to one of a hydra.

The transformation of these structures, however, feed into the change described in the section 4.1 *structural conduciveness* towards more complicit means of corruption. Power is orchestrated through control over resources and political power and decision-making, not through direct violent confrontations[131] and the CIACS has transformed their modes of operations and organizations likewise. This transformation of the 'mafia-state' has likely been part of 'allowing' for the social mobilizations to occur because attention has been directed towards control of the political arena,

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129 http://lahora.gt/capturan-a-jueza-marta-sierra-de-stalling/

130 http://www.insightcrime.org/news-briefs/judge-in-guatemala-corruption-case-charged-with-taking-bribes

131 Of course, this description is in a general sense, not in an absolute sense. That is to say, violence is present and enforced by these criminal organizations. However, it is less pronounced and less consistent. It is less coordinated and, generally speaking, less applied because control over resources, influence, and access provides better means of maintaining control of the political arena.

officials, state resources, and other aspects of the state apparatus to direct its functions in adherence with the corrupt powers' wishes. In other words, the corrupt interests were not focused on the public sphere but more on the political, which gave space for movement, organization and resistance.

We may hypothesize several reasons why these networks have not particularly targeted the social movement. One likely reason is the decentralization of the movement itself, the 'lack' of central leadership and front-figures or, on the other hand, a fear of 'making martyrs' out of the few leaders there were, spurring further resistance and contestation from the public, backed by a sweeping public sentiment. In other words, such an attempt might prove counter-productive in the longer run to these interests. Another possibility is difficulties in identifying specific targets, which is also linked with the prior point. Who should be first in line for political assassination, and how would it help these interests? The answer to this appears to be that extortions seems to, in the first place, have been more useful in achieving desired outcomes (for instance in the dismissal of Paz y Paz). We must also consider the use of more indirect forms of oppression through the controls of political decision-making. The GT congress is here a primary target of influence. The reach of organized crime into congress has been a long-standing fact, and instead of outright murder, it is very likely that these networks are keeping their hand on the political levers this way through rather than through outright aggression. Usually, financial backing and support has been a significant way to 'buy influence' in congress, as well as through 'friendly agreements' and likewise practices. Again, avoiding violence but maintaining power in this way has also likely been more productive for these interests, it counteracts 'negative publicity', generalized counter-reactions (as long as the operations remain relatively secret), and mitigates risks (of prosecution).

As such, in searching for social controls, maintaining a firm grasp on legislative power and through other indirect channels in the judicial system has likely remained the priority of the corrupt forces, though we can only theorize about most of this practice. The CICIG and MP continues to uncover the influence and operations of clandestine powers, but we must assume that much remains to be known. The contemporary 'counter-strategy' of the clandestine networks appears to have been mitigating the impact of the social movement by minimizing losses rather than counter-attacking.

4.7 Last notes on PPT and RM

Appendix 12 contains my last notes on PPT and RM theory in relation to this case. I have sought to draw my concluding observations and analyses here, though there was no more room for these in

the assignment. Much of this merely elaborations on points evaluated here and some nuances to the overall findings and their relations.

5. Discussion

The first observation for discussion is the usefulness of Smelser's framework for contemporary studies of social movements. We must bear in mind the qualifications for the utilization of the theoretical framework that we made in section 2.5.2, and that we limited our contemplations of Smelser's theory to social movements in a PPT or RM definition (not in the sense of collective behavior). This is to say, that many of the original ideas about the application of the framework has been omitted and new ones have been substituted. In this sense, we have actually limited Smelser's original area of application to social movements in the shape of contemporary definitions rather than the traditional collective behavior definitions. This, in some ways, restricts[132] but at the same time also opens up for new definitions and areas of inquiry (recasting the question and contemplating RM and PPT enigmas of social movements and, additionally, include institutionalized and formal behavior). We maintain that social movements are grounded in rational behavior and that it [rational behavior] can be analyzed with a framework that can encompass other types of behavior

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132 excluding 3 out or 5 possible *types* of collective behavior: 'panics,' 'hostile outbursts', and 'crazes'

as well. Although we are not in a position to makes comments, from this research, to which extends it is possible to apply this theoretical frame to other research areas and types of behavior.

The framework has proven a valuable tool for disseminating the components that have constituted the social movement in question, and for analyzing how these have interacted to form the social movement as it became. This is particularly useful for analyzing and understanding potential for mobilization (or opportunities) in PPT theory. As Meyer & Minkoff (2004: 1461-1462) points out, it is important that we distinguish between opportunities for mobilization and opportunities for success and in this aspect the value-added theory provides an intelligible, flexible, yet relatively exact framework for conducting SMO analysis. Indeed knowledge from complimentary findings within the PPT literature is, if not crucial, significantly important to help structure, define and identify variables for analysis and inquiry, but this does not mitigate nor diminish the usefulness of Smelser's framework as such.

Likewise, RM theory can be incorporated under the this overarching frame in order to nuance and improve our understanding and to help structure more concrete aspects of the analysis regarding organization and resource mobilization. In turn, these can be incorporated in the PPT considerations, and in any case, the research areas of both paradigms can be investigated closer through this lens.

We may also be able to disseminate some of the intricate questions that have troubled PPT theory by looking more closely at case-studies, or more qualitatively oriented inquiries to refine some of the concepts and assumptions applied by PPT theory and to better understand the interrelations between various concepts. As Meyer & Minkoff (*ibid.* p. 1484) argues, working with PPT theory on the more general levels provide for many issues of complexities (sometimes even contradictory findings) when using data from different cases. In their words, "*...the issue specific models we examined have greater explanatory power than general dimensions of the political system*" Secondly, they also argue that many of the variables checked for turned out to be of little or no statistical significance. Whether these complexities and contradictions can be reduced to causal mechanisms (as Meyer & Minkoff indicates their hopes for) will be up to further research to tell and for this reason, qualitative inquiries may help to provide tentative answers for further quantitative testing and, at the very least, case-specific understandings of these complexities.

As for the general criticisms of PPT theories (Goodwin & Jasper 1999; Tilly 1995; Meyer & Minkoff 2004), the 'value-added theoretical model' may provide some ideas of, for instance, how to segment opportunities. Meyer & Minkoff provided the proposal for distinguishing between opportunities for mobilization and opportunities for success. In a similar vein, the value added framework can help visualizing opportunities in various other ways, for instance between opportunities for emerging consensuses or ideas, opportunities for movement formation (or 'type' –under 'conducive structures') as well as for strategic movement, opportunities for dissent advancement (strain), etc. While researchers and future research may have

additions, corrections, and alternate methodological approaches to consolidate with the ideas put forth here, I believe there is strong potential in considering the frame put forward here in connection with conventional PPT formulations.

In terms of RM, our conclusions are less opportune because Smelser's frame provides less 'new' ideas to the field. However, in terms of the research methodology and progress, incorporating RM and PPT in a unified qualitative study does seem promising for future research. The interplay of the two paradigms is fruitful as long as we avoid too rigid structural formulations. While this path will not provide any invariant modeling or causal mechanisms, tentative empirical documentation of qualitative relationships may provide starting ground for more sophisticated structural and dynamic theories of social movements. Contrary to the formulations of political opportunities as being 'necessary for social movements to form' (Goodwin & Jasper 1999: 30), viewing both formation and strategizing as more complex phenomena, not necessarily guided by 'opportunities' (other than in the tautological form), may be one way to expand and improve the paradigmatic theory building.

The empirical conclusions of the RM approach suggests that organization, at least under certain circumstances, need not be essential to mobilization nor success -at least not formal organization. While organization should not be viewed, from this, as antithetic to these goals for social movements, our case has provided interesting observations in terms of both organization building and resource mobilization. The central tenet of the GT movement was based around a core 'unit' – an organization – but there was not ambition to create a formal constituency in the same . In addition, although the movement was 'aided' by a broad constituency of organizations 'joining in the cause', still the central aspect of the movement was an informal and un-organized approach to mobilization and protest.

The empirical foundation of the findings of both the RM and PPT inquiries are lacking from a lack of available information and clarity, which leaves space open for future research to improve on the observations made here. In methodological terms, I believe that the inquiry was modelled around the most sensible and available approach, albeit others may be able to improve on my research in several ways. Most importantly, venues for 'on-site' observations, local investigation, and access to data sources are three methodological improvements that this research could have benefitted from if possible. Access to these additional data sources may create possibilities for adding or correcting in the observations and conclusions made here. While I had limited access to Guatemala while spending 3 months from December to February in the country, I was 'too late' as the demonstrations were already passed, and my access was limited there, since my 'connections' in the country were not extensive enough to form the empirical basis for this research. While the stay did help the research along in many ways, I believe there are plenty more venues to pursue for researchers with greater access and connections within the country. Especially with regards to 'historical records', improved action

In terms of the theory itself, throughout the application of the analytical framework, I have come to believe that the second part, strain, may need revisions in order to update and improve the study of strain through this theoretical approach. The extensive elaborations of Smelser become, often, needlessly intricate and complicated without providing much use for many purposes. The structural nature of the inquiry, I believe, can be substituted for more qualitative inquiries into the causes and functioning of strain and the relations of strain with social movements. In particular, I believe that developing an analytical apparatus that connects strain with RM and PPT would be useful, as both of these approaches tend to ignore underlying grievances and their relations with social movements, because they treat underlying grievances as universal, these are essentially assumed and have not been credited with in-depth studies. Through this study, the importance of updating this part of the theoretical framework has become evident, though retrospect will not correct this flaw from the present study; I believe it will be possible for future studies to correct for this shortcoming.

6. Conclusions

The conducive structures identified as influential on the movement were primarily concerned with a decreasing repression of the public, opening for greater political participation, broadly speaking. At the same time, the broad political alliance across many societal groupings, many which had been divided since the founding of the society. Strengthening of the judicial institutions were likewise conducive to the movement and its final form. These conducive structures both influenced the movement's likelihood for success as well as its reliance on peaceful means, which, incidentally, appears to have been a strong factor for success as well.

The primary strain addressed was identified as a strain on values level 6-7 in Smelser's taxonomy and in accordance with the theoretical predictions, we witnessed a progression throughout the lower levels of strain (norms, mobilization in to organizational roles, and situational facilities). Strain,

furthermore, was widespread among the population, which was likely a significant reason for the great reach of the emergent general belief that was subsequently identified.

The general belief was strengthened by media coverage and *the way that media covered the events*, which had to accord with the movement constituencies and, at the same time, to maintain a 'unifying discourse' that united the peoples across historic dividing axes. This discourse significantly helped shape the general belief and fostering solidarity even across traditional divides.

We identified the main precipitating factor as the ´La Línea' case, though both strain and general belief were unrelated to this particular case and had both been developing for a longer period. Prior to the 'La Linea' case many 'incidents' had happened, though this case was the particular 'missing link' that decisively provided a link between Molina and Baldetti and the widespread political corruption of the GT political system and class. An imminent question in this regard is 'what would have happened had the La Línea case not been uncovered?' Would or could the movement have been triggered by a different event? Would it simply have looked different? Etc. We cannot properly address those questions here, but they could help in formulating aspects for future research.

Mobilization, in accordance with the theoretical frame and the events, progressed as expected. Once the preliminary determinants had been 'activated' mobilization would be the next logical progression for the population and we should expect to see it if any action was taken to meet this end. This conclusion leads us back to the idea of political opportunities (or processes) as complex, multi-dimensional phenomena. Smelser's model offers one way of thinking in these terms and to envisioning a complex and dynamic idea of a political process. In this case, the model has provided us with a tool for both predicting and understanding political opportunities, especially in relation to opportunities for mobilization (not as much in terms of opportunities for success). We saw, then, that the situation was readily appropriated through a creative use of social media, coupled with an informal organization. The organization, in addition, relied on specific, tangible goals and kept its own organizational formality extremely scarce.

Concerning social controls, we have noted that repressive control of the population has diminished in recent years, both generally speaking and in relation to the social movements we witnessed no application of force to subjugate the demonstrators. Political force was used against Claudia Paz y Paz to remove her from her position but the attempt to 'turn the situation around' failed with the replacement, Thelma Aldana, being no less perceptive to organized crime or corruption. In other

cases and in earlier times alike political violence has been more pronounced whereas during these movements, forceful repression has been completely absent. Instead of repression of the population, the changing criminal structures have turned their attention to other means of control, not least because of their own organizational developments from hierarchical, centralized organizations to business-like, decentralized actors only guided by an economic pragmatism.

In RM terms the amount of resources pooled by the entire movement, in money terms, were extremely few. However, if we expand our conceptualization of 'resources', we do find that the movement was very successful in mobilizing various kinds of resources besides money. The central organization was also successful in 'contracting organizational support' under the 'umbrella movement to sustain its force and pressure. In addition, this garnered legitimacy and credibility for the central movement, elite support and political influence, 'indirect monetary resources', and more. In terms of leadership and expertise, surprisingly little was required to mobilize the population, contrasting much research on the topic (Caniglia & Carmin 2010: 202). Although 'supporting organizations' rapidly joined the movement, original mobilization and provided additional venues for sustaining and increasing mobilization, leadership and organization, from the onset, was highly limited and the movement continued throughout to be directed primarily be informal coordination (i.e. Facebook & Twitter). Leadership remained absent throughout as well, though we may invoke the notion of 'legal authority' in terms of the roles of Ivan Velasquez, Thelma Aldana, Claudia Paz y Paz, and others, but in no instances was a 'charismatic leadership' decisively present[133].

Finally, concerning the success of the social movement, we have concluded that the social movement has been relatively successful in reaching its espoused goals. However, we must also note that the informal constituency of the movement allowed for a dispersion of participant goals, and perhaps most importantly, the goal of reformation was not achieved significantly although it was an expressed goal of many participants of the movement. However, it is still concluded that the *primary goals of the movement* were achieved. The mass-based movement, along with a broad organizational support was, I believe, strong factors in attaining the espoused goals in the end. Both, however, seemed to fade after the espoused goals were achieved, which may also go some way to

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133 With some reservations, however, as Velasquéz in particular has obtained considerable personal following (for instance on Twitter with more than 80.000 followers). In a sense he is a charismatic or emblematic character of the resistance towards corruption, but in terms of leading, he can hardly be characterized as a leader of the movement even if he, as a person, is an inspiration for many.

explaining why significant reform was *not achieved.* We must note that a broader congressional support was not achieved until the demonstrations had developed into a massive force, in which organizational support left hundreds of stores closed in order for demonstrators to participate in the mobilizations. At this point, finally, the congress uniformly voted to strip Molina of his presidential immunity. When this goal was achieved, however, the elite and major organizational support dwindled and most demonstrators were too fatigued from 5 months of consecutive demonstrations, or they may have considered the major battle to be won. Regardless, the former strength of the movement dwindled, and these particularly important characteristics were lost along with the broad, simple, and unifying appeal that the movement had originally been apple to use to unify and mobilize its member-base. The dividing axes again became more pronounced once the 'simple' and tangible goals were achieved, keeping the movement 'together' and maintaining the strength and momentum it had originally possessed became more difficult. This may be an illustration as well of one of the significant difficulties of informal social movements: to maintain momentum for an extended period.

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Most reviewed newspapers for the study

CMI

Contra Poder

El Periodico

La Hora

Nómada

Prensa Libre

Soy 502

NGOs work most reviewed for the study

CICIG

Crisis Group

ECLAC

Insight Crime

Latino Barometro

UN