

Outline of a theoretical typology of antisystemic actors *

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Abstract

Category of antisystemic actors is relatively often employed in political science. The aim of this paper is two-fold. First, it criticizes contemporary usage of “antisystemicity” as too self-contained analytical concept. In order to demonstrate this, two key theoretical traditions of the term – G. Sartori’s classification of party systems and world-systemic (“wallersteinian”) research of international political economy and its challengers – are described, analyzed and mutually compared. Their understanding of antisystemic protest is depicted in order to show some shortcomings and inadequacies of their usage of this category. Second, the paper strives to theoretically and formally unfold, integrate and further develop the concept of antisystemic contention in order to clarify the modes of its usages for socio-political reality. This inquiry consists of analyses of three key factors of antisystemic collective action – i.e. its object, subject and relations in-between. The analysis of object is basically grounded in Luhmann’s neofunctionalist theory of modernization. Based on systems theory analysis of society, paper proceeds to grasp a subject-actor as a general and case insensitive category, thus connecting existing concepts of antisystemic political subjects. Further analyzed dimension of antisystemic protest are its goals and forms of action, but also its penetration by politics and economy. In conclusion, a general three-dimensional typology of antisystemic collective action is drawn from preceding analyses and offered as a methodological tool for empirical research of political contention.

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1. Purpose, sources and structure of the text

Category of antisystematicity is relatively often employed in the research of contentious politics, and its reception is considerable, especially in political science of post-communist countries¹. The main point of departure of this text is a critique of empirical closeness and of the absence of deeper theoretical reflection in the contemporary usage of the concept: dominant approaches are attached either to political parties and party systems research, or, on the contrary, to macro-structural analysis of historical mobilisations (research of political radicalism and extremism has become another well-established sub-discipline, too). Nonetheless, more general context of the category of antisystematicity still stays rather neglected. Hence the purpose of this text is the outline of basic theoretical systematization that could interconnect these areas of research on more general and theoretical level and consequent preparation of the category of antisystematicity for empirical research. In this sense, this text strives to elaborate theoretical typology of antisystemic actors.

It proceeds subsequently: firstly, two dominant traditions of antisystemic protest research shall be introduced. The former one comprises the problems of antisystemicity of political parties as outlined by Giovanni Sartori. The latter one concerns antisystemic social movements as viewed from the perspective of the key representatives of the world-system theory (esp. Immanuel Wallerstein). Particular emphasis shall be put on the characteristics of the subjects that are considered antisystemic within both these traditions of research. Two main steps follow after this critical review, comparison and brief theoretical-methodological introduction. The first of them lies in outlining the general context of analysis of antisystemic action and highlights some basic features requisite for elaboration of comprehensive typology of its bearers (i.e. *subject* and *object* of antisystemic action and their *mutual relations*). The next step proceeds in the second, empirical level of analysis and its aim is to transpose these features and relations to more tangible set of variables. Those variables shall be finally used for making typology of antisystemic actors.

At this point, it is suitable to mention some deliberate self-limitations of this text that are considerably determined both by its theme, theoretical base and level of analysis. It is not its ambition to answer particular important questions which are closely connected to the antisystemic (collective) action research (i.e. questions of its origin, particular dynamics and mecha-

¹ One of the research areas that employs this concept in central-European context is, for example, the position and strategies of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (or its youth organization) in the Czech political system [cf. Kubát 2006; Kunštát 2004].

nisms, or detailed empirical specification of character, structure, or strategies of its bearers). This text strives rather to precede introducing such questions, i.e. to sketch the basic shape of the field of antisystemic protest.

2. The main concepts of antisystemicity

The category of antisystemic actors is concurrently employed in several fields of social sciences. However, these approaches are often not mutually compatible and comparable and employable for analysis of different political subjects and contexts. There are two dominant approaches in contemporary social sciences that explicitly employ the concept of antisystemicity. The first of them deals with the concept of antisystemic political party and is embedded in party system analysis. The other one uses the concept of antisystemic social movement and stems from historicist macro-social perspective that explores the origins and dynamics of broad social movements in the international politico-economical theoretical framework.

2.1. Antisystemic parties

G. Sartori introduced the first of the two main conceptions of antisystemicity into political science discourse through his classification of party systems. He presented two-dimensional analysis of party systems that combined two variables: firstly, the degree of ideological polarization of particular party or political system (i.e. regime), secondly, the number of relevant parties. Ideological polarization variable denotes ideological distance among particular actors, while the concept of “relevant actor” stands for political parties that are *represented in the lower house of parliament and have coalition (ministerial) or so-called blackmail potential*. In other words, for those who “influence the process of government formation or exercise substantial influence on the politics as a parliamentary opposition” [Sartori 2005: 136; Klíma 1998: 166]. Sartori calls the model characterized by the presence of antisystemic political parties as polarized pluralism.

This model of party arrangement refers to a type of a *party* system, though the scope of its coverage more likely indicates the character of *regime* or *political community* at large [cf. Fiala, Strmiska 1998: 149]. This type of political space (if we are to use a neutral term) implies: the existence of 5-6 relevant political parties; fragmentation, determined to a large extent by the considerable ideological distance among them; polarization (political radicalization, competitiveness and ideological variance) of public opinion in society; centrifugal functioning of a party system mechanisms in favour of ministerially “half-responsible or irresponsible” radical subjects. Another key characteristics of this type of political space are bilateral

party opposition (the opposition against government is divided among several parties that are paradoxically closer to government than to each other because of the considerable ideological polarization) or the existence of relevant centric (not necessarily ideologically) party [cf. Sartori 2005: 138-146].

Sartori's conception of antisystemic opposition against political regime is (similarly to the theory of antisystemic social movements – see below) built empirically upon two main historical types of political radicalisms – radical nationalism (i.e. fascism) and radical socialism (i.e. communism) [cf. Sartori 2005: 136]. Sartori draws attention to the fact that antisystemic attitudes of political parties can take various forms (from permanent ideological rejection to various short-term practical forms of resistance and protest) and can significantly differ from each other. However, Sartori gives up another differentiation and operationalization of various forms of antisystemicity. He explains this neglect (somewhat paradoxically²) by great electoral variance of these political subjects and variance of these forms in time. According to Sartori it is *a delegitimizing effort or influence in relation to regime* that all expressions of antisystemicity have in common. Hence anti-regime or regime-conforming attitudes of political subjects are to be differentiated solely in accordance with *relation-to-political-regime* criterion [Sartori 2005: 137].

Nevertheless, Sartori's concept of antisystemic actors is elaborated to a certain extent when “the core” of concept of antisystemicity is differentiated, or more precisely, when ideological and protest opposition are distinguished. This step consists of setting apart only those parties (subjects) that more than anything else share a high level of negative ideological attitude to regime, or are bearers of alien ideology (in relation to regime) [cf. Sartori 2005: 138]. In other words, it is kind of opposition that is more persistent and resistant to changes and that does not aim its effort to particular political problems or government change. On the contrary, this type of actor demands change of the very *principles* of governance, i.e. general change of values of the whole political community.

Sartori's conception also pays some attention to the repertoire of anti-regime actors when he refuses to differentiate between *practical* relationship of an actor in relation to regime (i.e. participation of an actor on its functioning, rules, institutions etc.) and points at possible incompatibility between tactical revolutionary and antisystemic potential of an actor [cf. Sartori 2005: 138]. Thus the only dimension that features in his conception of antisystemicity is the

² This is paradoxical because his unit of analysis in party system research is (parliamentary) political party as a firmly established *organization*. Hence – seen from this perspective – there is no need to further complicate analysis by taking into account attitudes of its electorate, or to differentiate attitudes of party's elites and ordinary members.

actor's ideological alienation in relation to regime. Nevertheless, Sartori somewhat weakens this conclusion by his later classification of anti-regime parties which, instead of analysis stemming from structure and dynamics of a party system, prefers an analysis of the influence of electoral system on this party system. According to this classification it is possible to divide the anti-regime parties into extremist, extreme or isolated [Sartori 2001: 79]. He labels „thoroughly antisystemic” those parties that “advocate (at least rhetorically) *revolutionary*³ seizure of power, refuse (...) political system and behave activistically.” [Sartori 2001: 79-80]. The former exclusive ideological criterion of antisystemicity is somewhat subdued and supplemented with the dimension of repertoire (tactics) of described subject.

2.2. Antisystemic movements

The representatives of the world-system theory offer the classical conception of antisystemic actors in the research area of social movements and collective mobilization⁴. This conception of antisystemicity is related to so-called world-system which denotes spatio-temporal complex that operates under unified set of rules. Within and through these rules individuals and groups struggle with each other according to their interests and at the same time in accordance with their values [cf. Arrighi 1996; Wallerstein 1996: 87]. This modern (currently existing) world-system is coextensive with world capitalist economy integrated and socially reproduced through international division of labour and, on the contrary, differentiated through particular cultural systems [Wallerstein 1997: 159; id. 1984: 97]. Its guiding principle is an accumulation of capital which sets this type of international and social arrangement apart from preceding types of social systems. According to Wallerstein, this arrangement of world rose gradually in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Emerging system of international law and the rise of nation-building ideologies, corresponding with the development of international economy, became its core and were gradually diffused to (all) other areas of the world [Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein 1989: 22].

It is in the very context of this historically new social and political regime (and its inner differentiation into economically and politically unequal centres and peripheries) that key social institutions, groups and also (antisystemic or revolutionary) social movements emerge, activate and decline. In this theoretical perspective, the antisystemic movements are identified

³ Highlighted by author.

⁴ This is a perspective that stems from Neo-Marxism and from a research tradition of *École des Annales* and concentrates on macro-historical and macro-social research of structure and dynamics of societies in the context of modern capitalist economy. It was established by I. Wallerstein, Ch. Chase-Dunn, and A. G. Frank, among others.

as actors struggling for “fundamental change of social relations” [Wallerstein 2005: 231]. According to world-system theorists, frequent revolts against the system of existing power and economic institutions used to take place since their establishment. Yet it is not possible to talk about stable, organizationally or ideologically consistent actors until the nineteenth century. These uprisings against the system are thus qualified as “many, scattered, discrete, momentary, and only partially efficacious at best” [Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein 1989: 30]. Viewed from this theoretical perspective, the rise of the first really antisystemic actors is associated with the half of 19th century only, more precisely with the symbolic year 1848. According to the authors, it was just in this period when the key changes of political landscape of international capitalist system took place as soon as fragmented groups and minority actors struggling against existing system began to integrate and institutionalize. Actors that were still better integrated in terms of their organization, inner functioning, programmatic-political objectives and strategies were thus rising and replacing rather discontinuous and campaign-like subjects.

Authors define the types of movements that arose from this process of institutionalization of political protest as social and national (nationalist). Thus, within the world-system approach, the concept of social movement is used in a narrower sense than usually. Here it denotes those movements that see the major problem (and also a reason of their existence) in “oppression of employers against wage labourers”, i.e. working-class or socialist movements. The second main type of antisystemic movements is the nationalist movement which sees the need of a broader social change as the result of the oppression of one ethno-national social group against the other. It is obvious that those movements differed from each other not only by its definition of problem (reality) but consequently also by their ideological apparatus and very often by their social base of their members and supporters [Arrighi, Hopkins, Wallerstein 1989: 30-31].

Although both these types of movements were different in many ways they had some characteristics in common. These were predominantly formal: building robust and stable organizational structures, systematic work on strategies and (closely associated with that) identification of the national state power structures as the key institution for achieving their goals. Nevertheless, both of these types of antisystemic actors (paradoxically in the very same consequence of their successes) underwent some fundamental modifications. After intensive inner debates and struggles they gradually converted from revolutionary subjects into the part of the system and their revolutionary goals were replaced by reform ones.

However, this whole process of pacification of anti-regime tendencies of these subjects was interrupted by the “world revolution” in 1960s or, in other words, by the rise of a new type of claimants of antisystemic status. This type of movements stood especially against existing hegemonies in the world-system (esp. governments of USA and USSR) but also criticised the passivity of their own predecessors. Empirically, these were so-called new social movements in liberal democracies and also global justice movements later on [cf. Wallerstein 2005: 234].

2.3 Comparison and critique

It follows from aforementioned that both approaches are based on different traditions of thought and theoretical perspectives. Apart from other things, this makes them different also in their conceptions of antisystemicity. In spite of this fact, it is possible to identify some of their common features.

Neither of them aspires to develop more general theory of antisystemic protest and both of them rather employ this concept as an auxiliary category in their main research themes. Primary incompatibility of both approaches stems from their conception of framework or environment from within the bearers of radical demands are analysed. The role of “system” that delimits and defines actors in both perspectives is carried by political-institutionally interpreted party system (or polity of liberal type) on the one hand, and by structurally defined milieu of international capitalist economy on the other. That is also why there are no preconditions (neither any effort) for attaching the conception of political antisystemicity to environment that differs from the framework of liberal democracy or global economic system. Another formal similarity (that also relates to the conception of environment of antisystemic protest) is an obvious presence of normative features in both approaches. Along the same modernist lines both authors understand antisystemic actors as subjects relating themselves somehow to project of Enlightenment. According to the Sartori’s perspective, these actors are rather deviants endangering (desirable) stability of democratic system. According to Wallerstein they seek alternative future without cyclical crises and imbalances stemming from the functioning of international capitalism.

There are also some common features of both approaches concerning the protest subject itself: these features are both formal and substantial. Substantial similarities are given by *de facto* identical selection of model antisystemic actors. Both Sartori and Wallerstein explore traditional nationalist or socialist subjects even if world-system theorists broaden their selection with newer radical subjects (again, this coheres with their broader conception of envi-

ronment or system). We can also find similar or identical features of both approaches concerning the way of sketching the actors: radical subjects are grasped rather unsystematically; their activity is not reviewed within a more general framework; and analysis of their antisystemicity is not theoretically grounded and confronted unambiguous empirical criteria. For example, neither of these two approaches aspires to more detailed analysis of the properties of antisystemic subjects or to theoretical analysis of this field of collective protest and its inner structure.

The main differences of these approaches are following: the notion of antisystemic actors as conceived by world-system theorists (Wallerstein and the others) is quite unspecific on the one hand but their notion of system makes an inclusion of subjects and processes of different type easier on the other. This notion of antisystemicity also establishes possibility of multidimensional analysis of antisystemic actors when a political dimension is added to the dominant economic one. Sartori, on the contrary, considerably narrows the field of (potentially) antisystemic activity when he encloses it into the politico-institutional setting of liberal democracies. Despite the fact, Sartori pushes forward the level of specification of antisystemicity when he explicitly attaches it to the problem of legitimacy of political regime and employs certain differentiation between ideological and practical dimension of antisystemicity (even if he refuses to apply this differentiation practically).

3. Theoretic-methodological premises and levels of analysis

As mentioned above, this text focuses on elaboration of *theoretical typology* of antisystemic actors that shall be preceded by general analysis of antisystemicity. Theoretical typology can be defined as “multidimensional conceptual classification based on a previously stated theory where possible combinations of different values of the theory's concepts construct an associated property space” [cf. Elman 2004: 4]. This sets theoretical typology apart from typological theory⁵ on one hand and from inductive typology⁶ on the other. It is also possible to speak about heuristic analysis that focuses on derivation of categories from theoretical concept whereas particular categories may not have empirical examples [cf. Bailey 2000: 3182]. Following the logic of the three level model of analysis in social sciences [cf. Bailey 1984; Bai-

⁵ The purpose of typological theories is above all to determinate independent variables, to differentiate them into particular categories (where each case and its value is measured) and to describe not only changes in these variables but also how and under what conditions is their influence interconnecting and influencing dependent variables. Therefore it is analogical to explanatory theory [George, Benett 2005: 235].

⁶ Inductive typologies are based on empirical inductive method (or, on “empirical derivation”): collected data is aggregated and mutually differentiated on the basis of discovered similarities [cf. Patton 2002: 457-462; Bailey 2000: 3183].

ley 1986], there is conceptual (theoretical) level, empirical (observable) level and indicator (measurable, operationalized) level. This text focuses on analysis of antisystemicity on the first two levels – i.e. on conceptual and empirical one.

The former one, i.e. conceptual level of analysis of antisystemic action, follows these assumptions: Firstly, systematization of certain set of *subjects* whose unifying feature is a nature of their *relations* with some general order or *system* may not omit a conceptualization of these relations, its bearers and/or its recipients. Secondly, in order to enable sufficiently complex and general analysis of these relations it is necessary to abandon or (at least) weaken the dominant actor-subject perspective and to grasp antisystemicity rather more generally as a kind of a social field or area of mutual communication. Thirdly, along with the analysis of antisystemicity it is necessary to clarify explicitly the category of system(s), i.e. to include broader context of late modern societies into analysis while keeping an emphasis on social conflict perspective at the same time. These demands are quite comfortably satisfied with systems theory perspective as introduced by N. Luhmann and other related authors [see Blüh-dorn 2000; id. 2006; id. 2007]. Another reason for this choice is also a question of normativity that is frequently attached to category of antisystemicity. Luhmann's approach leaves out the categories of emancipation or alienation and is at the same time trying to step beyond the modernist-humanist perspective that perseveres in contemporary analyses of collective action.

Subsequently, a middle (empirical) level of analysis shall be introduced. On this level, aforementioned general dimensions of antisystemicity (i.e. subject, object and their relations) shall be translated into more empirical language and prepared for the process of operationalization and selection of indicators.

4. Conceptual level: system, conflict, integration

At the beginning of the conceptual analysis, it is useful to clarify the notions of opposition, protest and antisystemicity in terms of systems theory and to draw some conclusions for subsequent proceeding.

It is possible to regard these notions as synonyms that generally vary (at least in the context of political science) in their level of abstraction. If an opposition is just nominal label for incompatibility or *contradiction* then protest in its general substance embodies certain level of *dynamics* – active disagreement or resistance. Antisystemicity consecutively implies activities of relevant actors aiming at negation of its object in its *totality* (see Table no. 1). It follows from the text above that we are dealing with the field of *political* action – namely with the

respect to the scope of goals of antisystemic protest and to the fact that achieving these goals *de facto* anticipates obligation and consequences for the whole society [cf. Offe 1985].

Table no. 1: The nexus among opposition, protest and antisystemicity.

	<i>opposition</i>	<i>protest</i>	<i>antisystemic protest</i>
<i>activity</i>	no	yes	yes
<i>scope of goals</i>	no	low/medium	high
<i>political character</i>	prospective	prospective	implicit

Conceptualization of antisystemic protest consecutively has to take into consideration also the prerequisites that apply for its theoretical model. To put it formally, opposition can be treated solely in the context of some distinction, i.e. only in the context of *relations* with the object of this opposition. This practically means that opposition cannot be regarded as a separate, self-contained (social, political) phenomenon [cf. Luhmann 1990: 168]. The conception of (political) protest has similar denotations and formal consequences: it can be principally understood as some form of *communication* meant to the others⁷ [cf. Luhmann 1993: 125]. *These others* play a key role in the perspective of antisystemicity. The very notion of opposition does not imply more detailed character or interpretation of its counterpart (the government is usually regarded as this kind of reference point just in the case of *standard* political opposition). Similarly, the general notion of protest does not determine (the status, character or position of) the recipient of the message sent by the actor. On the contrary, the concept of antisystemic protest implies certain delimitation of the object of the actor's activity that reversely helps to define actor itself.

Antisystemic actors are therefore (co-)defined by their position towards the central category of *system(s)* whose negation is concerned. Elaboration of theoretical typology of antisystemic actors therefore requires two related measures: (1) a general analysis of the dimension of target or object of these actors (i.e. system) and (2) an outline of general relations that exist between system(s) and actor(s). These two dimensions of analysis of (antisystemic) protest simultaneously correspond to the tension inside the Luhmann's theoretical framework which treats this social phenomenon as a certain mode of self-reflection of modern society from within and simultaneously as a formation of some kind of communication space that is not compatible with this society [cf. Blühdorn 2007: 11].

⁷ Luhmann further maintains that this communication aims at stimulating "their sense of responsibility" [Luhmann 1993: 125].

4.1 The object(s) of antisystemic actors

The basic assumption of systems-theoretical analysis of society is a treatment of human action as meaningfully structured and organized within various systems that rise from interconnection of action of several individuals through symbolic interaction – *i.e. communication* [Luhmann 1982: 70; Luhmann 2006: 459]. Thus seen from this perspective, the founding features of society are neither individuals nor social groups (and their motives) but rather communication, communication systems and their functional imperatives.

There are several ways of formation of social systems, *i.e.* of interconnection of individuals through various functional mechanisms. All in all, Luhmann distinguishes three basic types of systemic structuration of society that give rise to *interaction* systems (formed by co-present face-to-face relations), *organizational* systems (those in the long term and by impersonal means coordinate and stabilize action of individuals with regard to their dispositions, motivations and special conditions) and finally *societal* systems [Turner 1991: 97]. One of the conditions of social system existence is ability actors to recognize (distinguish) them [Luhmann 1982: 139]. The latter one cuts across the preceding two and interacts with them while their mutual interconnectedness changes in time along the process of differentiation of society. This process is, according to Luhmann, identical with the general evolution of society and consists historically of various types of evolutionary mechanisms. These mechanisms were always dependent on the availability of certain types of communication media. The latest types of media are generalized symbolic communication media that underlie the mechanism of functional differentiation and subsequently the rise of modern society [Chernilo 2002: 437]. Besides the transformation of mutual relations between aforementioned types of social systems, the process of functional differentiation contributes to rise of their inner complexity.

For the purposes of this text it is useful to focus on the level of societal structuration of society which is essential not only in the light of the very goals of antisystemic actors but also because of their practical functioning. Societal systems use aforementioned communication media (or codes) and thereby set limits on interconnecting of human action into interaction and organizational systems [cf. Turner 1991: 97]. The key is the process of separation of particular functional spheres of society which is *e.g.* economy, law, politics, religion and others. Those consecutively gain and strengthen their autonomy and become mutually incommensurable spheres – *(sub)systems* – embodying and *representing* certain form and logic of social interaction. These *representations* are gradually becoming a target/object of antisystemic actors. Identification of the proper targets assume the selection of such subsystem(s) which: (1) endanger the stability of existing social order and the entire process of its development by

their absence and/or radical transformation; (2) are sufficiently representative (socially distinguishable) in the context of this order. In terms of the systems theory we can speak of two subsystems: political and economic one. These are treated as functionally superior subsystems that played a decisive modernization role in certain stages of the modern society development (in other words, the key problem for a historical period was a problem that dominant subsystem deals with).

Along with the rise of politically (in contrast to tribally) organized societies the (political) power became the major medium of communication and coordination of social action. This configuration changed during the 17th and 18th century. At that time the functional primacy of political subsystem was discontinued and replaced by the primacy of economic subsystem due to the availability of the medium of a new type (money) and consequent rise of market society [Luhmann 1982: 223, 332-339]. This transformation can be illustrated by the change of subject of protest in modern societies when the resistance against the monopolization of political power was gradually replaced by the resistance against the existing models of (re-)distribution of economic goods [cf. Luhmann 1993: 133].

This shift, however, did not count for the weakening of the significance of political subsystem. On the contrary, the political subsystem (among others, due to the existence of nation state) intensified its efficiency, importance and social control. Nonetheless, its influence over the evolution of society started to be dependent on the degree of his influence over the economic subsystem, or, on his economic consequences [cf. Luhmann 1982: 338]. Political subsystem of modern societies is therefore still privileged sphere where generally (i.e. for the whole society) binding decisions are made. This function of political subsystem was among others enabled by the usage of power as its communication medium and was taken over by this subsystem in direct connection with the rising complexity of society and its posing of problems that could no longer be solved by reference to the validity claims in one of the mutually different contexts. At the same time, this was also a precondition of the continuation of the process of differentiation [Luhmann 1982: 145].

4.2 Relations with the „system“

If the *manifest* layer of antisystemic actors (i.e. their declared goals and strategies) is rather clearly identifiable in system-theory perspective (and can also be inductively verified on the basis of study of historical development of protest behaviour), analysis of their *latent* relations with social subsystem(s) is more demanding. It is therefore suitable to apply radical view of political protest as introduced in Luhmann's theory and its later interpretations.

As a consequence of the process of social differentiation (i.e. separation of interaction, organization and societal systems and their functional domains) the moral (value, normative) integration and unity of society ceased to be viable [Luhmann 1982: 78]. The process of disconnecting of interaction, organization and societal systems and their functional domains rises the probability and frequency of all-society conflicts. On the contrary, the capabilities of society to tolerate, routinize and normalize these conflicts are rising as well [cf. Luhmann 1982: 84; Rucht, Neidhardt 2002]. In this context, political protest primarily presents certain form of communication that, from the perspective of the social system, fulfils the function of its stabilization that was enabled by the process of functional differentiation of society (as described above). Analysis of political protest thus uncouples from the perspective of its particular bearers and forms. Protest is rather treated as a kind of functional system of modern society whose integrity and borders are maintained by virtue of its own communication code [cf. Blühdorn 2007: 8]. Protest communication in its most general shape primarily aims at critique of process of functional differentiation and thus can be considered as a part of some “immune system” of modern societies. It responds to pathologies or disturbances caused particularly by the lack of coordination among autonomous and mutually still less compatible functional systems [cf. Luhmann 2006: 456; Blühdorn 2007: 8]. Such a conception of protest so far surpasses its routine understanding in research of social movements that perceives this phenomenon (especially in its antisystemic version) primarily as subversive, standing beyond (mass, political) society and militating against it.

Protest movements are rather viewed through an analytical framework of social *integration* than in the context of social *conflict*. Hereto, the protest is (despite its manifested withdrawal and divergence) understood as the standard component of society. Concerning the importance of its function, it is the subsystem that is more or less equal among others because all of them contribute to maintaining the stability and functioning of the social system as a whole. To put it more precisely, function of protest lies in the process of self-thematization of the social whole that provides it with a certain level of reflection and resulting adaptation to its environment or with a new mean of action within [cf. Blühdorn 2007: 8]. On the whole, it is possible to distinguish several types of integration processes [cf. Turner 1991: 98 – 99]. One of them is mutual “nesting” of particular levels of social structuration (e.g. organization systems within societal ones, interaction within organization ones etc). More general levels of structuration then provide time, material and social conditions for the functioning of the less general ones. Furthermore, we can mention the rise of specialized modern institutions whose main functional imperative consists of maintaining social control and stability, whether we

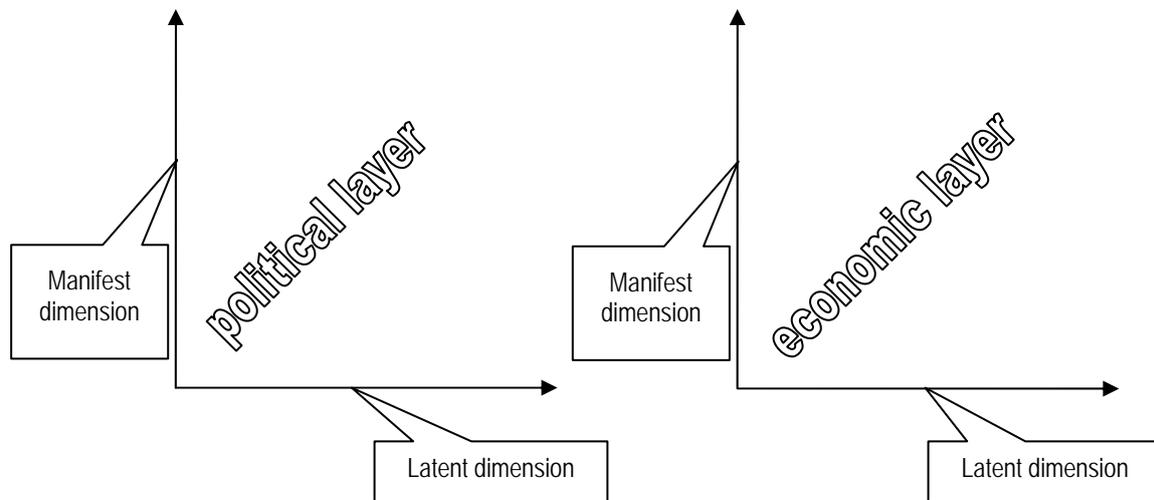
mean law system or armed forces etc. Considering the focus of this text, another two closely interconnected models (processes) of social integration seem to be more important. The first of them is given by differentiation of social identities (roles) across particular levels of social systems and functional domains. The second one is determined by the existence of autonomous functional domains and its media of communication. Therefore, actors may oscillate among several distinct social contexts and functional domains where their action is coordinated by the means of self-referential, mutually incompatible media. This incompatibility, nevertheless, does not prevent the media from influencing actors/action beyond “their own” subsystems. They simultaneously lead actors to make such choices (e.g. of patterns of action) that are also preferred by the respective subsystem [cf. Chernilo 2002: 438].

As it results from the chapter concerning the goals of antisystemic actors, the main medium for the reflection of society as a whole was (political) power and it gradually lost its domination on behalf of new, economic-instrumental type one. So two key functional domains of modern society enter again into our analysis of antisystemic actors, though this time in the context of actors’ integration into these subsystems, or, in the context of actors’ *latent* (structural, not systematically reflected) dimension.

5. Empirical level: manifest and latent dimension of actors

Following the aforementioned content, it is suitable to sketch the picture of antisystemic protest “from without” as a kind of *force field* and to identify its basic topography before the very analysis of antisystemic actors. The field as a whole consists of two *layers* that pervades it – economic and political – and of two basic poles or basic *dimensions*. The first of its dimensions is defined by the conflicting relations of antisystemic actors towards the “system”. Actors consciously target the existing representation(s) of the dominant functional spheres of modern societies (political and economic) and they use various strategies to achieve this goal. The second of the dimensions is, on the contrary, defined by the integrating relations of both spheres (“system”) towards the actors. Object of their activity shapes actors themselves when they are being integrated into subsystem(s), or more precisely, steered by their media. At the same time, both of these dimensions as well as layers does not necessarily operate against each other and mutually interfere their influences (see Fig. no. 1).

Figure no. 1: Manifest vs. latent dimensions in two layers of the antisystemic protest



After an outline of more general context of (antisystemic) protest in modern societies it is possible to proceed to lower (empirical) level of analysis. This measure is a prerequisite for an elaboration of typology of antisystemic actors that is both meaningful and applicable to social reality. At this point, the aforementioned theoretical criteria for antisystemic protest analysis (i.e. the tension between declared goals and integrating tendencies of the key functional spheres) shall be applied to a tangible class of actors. First of all, it is necessary to formulate minimal definition of antisystemic actors and to specify their basic empirical characteristics, which is a prerequisite for an application of the requested typology.

5.1 Actors

The category of actors is sufficiently represented in standard presentations of antisystemicity. As it is obvious from excursions to Sartori's and Wallerstein's interpretation of antisystemicity this category (represented by concrete historical actors) accounts for a major pillar of their conceptions. Concerning the primary character of the subjects of antisystemic protest it is possible to talk about two possible classes of actors – individuals and groups (organizations). Both these types basically meet the definition of an actor if (1) they may be necessarily considered as a major *cause* of certain phenomena or processes and at the same time (2) these phenomena or processes may be described as “actions” (i.e. as undeniably based on meaningful intentions) [cf. Geser 2002]. Considering the goals and strategies of antisystemic protest and its preoccupation with abolishing or replacing the *representations*, two major functional settings of modern societies (i.e. institutionalized *supra-individual* phenomena or relations that embody these subsystems and symbolize their function) it is possible to unambiguously

identify antisystemic actors as *collective subjects*. There are several reasons: activity of collective actors (esp. formal organizations) is (on the contrary to individuals) nearly always considered as goal-directed, controlled, intentional, conscious and enduring in space and time. Therefore, it is better equipped to successfully lay generally valid claim. Furthermore, this type of actors is much easily able to act in a more complex, co-ordinated, efficient, enduring and cognitively more balanced way. It may be also better concentrated to specific goals (functions) and (on the other hand) may better manage broadening its focus on more collateral goals, problems or range of activities. Moreover, the collective entities are (on the contrary to individuals) better equipped to resist existing normative schemes or authorities and less determined by physical or psychical facts [cf. Geser 2002; Mudde 2003]. If a legitimacy of existing systems of social relations increases the conformity of individual and discourages him/her by expectable sanctions then aforementioned characteristics of collective subjects substantially favour antisystemic actors in their efforts to fundamentally erode existence, legitimacy or trust in key institutions of subsystem(s). Trust in institutions or their legitimacy is by virtue of their external validity most influential factor in repressing protest efforts in its very birth. A mere whiff of this kind of action is usually publicly judged as senseless or immoral and as such it is disqualified in advance [cf. Thomas, Walker, Zelditch 1986: 381; Berger, Luckmann 1999: 114-115]. In this sense it is much less demanding to pacify individuals than to label the whole group as deviant.

Now we can conclude with minimal empirical definition of antisystemic actors. They shall be treated as *collectively organized non-state subjects that publicly demands and/or consciously struggle for overall transformation of basic patterns of political and/or economic functioning of society – at least at nation-state scale or at supra-national level*.

5.2 Manifest level – goals and strategies

After brief description of character of antisystemic actors we can proceed to empirical analysis of their manifest dimension, i.e. to an analysis of goals (ideas) and consequently strategies (actions) employed by them.

As it has been stated above, goals are related to existing *institutional* structure of political and/or economic subsystem. At empirical level this stands for, first, transformation of regime – polity – as an overall power-political setting. It is further possible to distinguish features that are constitutive for regime maintenance (they can differ across different regimes and contexts). Those are usually dominant political institutions (legislative, executive and judicial bodies, armed forces etc.), key actors (political parties or state-parties, informal and formal

political elites etc.) or overall value adjustment of regime (constitution, broader legislative scheme etc.). The other goal of antisystemic actors consists of transformation of basic socio-economic structure of society [cf. March, Mudde 2005: 25]. These are practically forms of organization of production, relations between public and private sector, patterns of ownership, income distribution, labour market and class structure and institutions that underlie, reproduce, guarantee and represent them. To be more specific, the antisystemic goals may be e.g. (forced) massive transfer of means of production among state and/or cooperatives and/or private persons or companies (i.e. massive nationalization, collectivization or, on the contrary, privatization). These goals may also consist of radical transformation of existing societal norms of redistribution of society's wealth (e.g. radical changes of tax, trade or commercial legislation).

Both these settings (political and economic) in their institutionalized form are dependent upon *trust*⁸ in their functioning. Concrete link between trust and representation of social relations in institutions of both these spheres can be illustrated on profile types of communication media that are employed by them. Whether we pick power or money, their functionality is conditioned by the ambience of *trust*: both political authority and the patterns of exchange and distribution of material and symbolical goods must be generally perceived as *legitimate*. It is the very erosion of this trust that becomes the basic tool – *strategy* – of antisystemic protest against these subsystems.

Existing collective mobilization approaches treat protest action as “the collective use of unconventional methods of political participation to try to persuade or coerce authorities to support a challenging group's claim” [cf. Taylor, Van Dyke 2004: 263]. Common analyses of strategies of collective actors generally employ two basic criteria – (inner) logic or meaning, and (outward) forms of action. Criterion of inner logic differentiates between an ideal type (pole) of *resistance* and *expansion* [cf. Habermas 1981; Cohen, Arato 1995: 531-532]. In the first case, collective actor does not have sources (opportunities, motive) or does not aspire to actively transgress existing state of affairs and settle for maintaining of its (physical, symbolical) integrity. On the contrary, the second extreme type of logic of collective protest consists of *expansion* (or offensive). This type represents an active practical (often violent) and at the same time symbolical assault and/or transformation of existing order of social relations (in social subsystem(s)). However, it is not possible to apply this scheme for differentiation (ty-

⁸ For elaboration of the problem of trust in late modernity see [Giddens 2003: 75-85].

pology) of antisystemic actors because these are distinguished just for the significant level of their practical involvement and/or radicalism of their demands (goals) raised outwardly.

The forms of action of antisystemic subjects seem to be better criterion for differentiation. It is possible to speak about two dimensions or ideal types – *symbolic (ideological)* and *practical (violent)*. Those forms are often interconnected. However, the first of them may (unlike the other ones) occur also independently. The former one is practically represented e.g. by discursive strategies (maintaining and producing the ideology, programmatics, etc.) but also by action oriented at gaining broader public support (demonstrations, mass media activities). The latter form consists of practical measures – from efforts to nonviolent takeover and transformation of the state’s power (or changes of economic sphere) to illegal attacks on people or property or e.g. armed engagement (terrorism, guerrilla fight, coup d’état). Symbolic-ideological dimension of antisystemic actors is basically *always* present – either in its more implicit (attitudes, values, identity) or more explicit (world-views, mobilization frames, propaganda etc.) version [cf. McCormick, Giordano 2007].

The very existence of alternative imagination, paradigmatic critique or ostentatious repudiation of existing shape (representation) of economy or polity and its communication outwards may function as exclusive and effective strategy and thus constitutes an independent pole of manifest dimension of antisystemic action. On the other hand, this “soft” means of action are usually attached to practical (less or more militant) forms of antisystemic protest. These expressions are manifold and can range from activities oriented primarily at propagating or diffusing of demands (programme) of the group to highly organized pursuits of violent or physical elimination of institutions and norms of subsystem(s). However, as noted above, these practical forms of action essentially (or in the long run) cannot exist without founding normative-symbolic background.

5.3 Latent level – centralization of power and commodification

Now we can proceed to the analysis of integrative tendencies of both functional subsystems and address the problem of *internal* character of antisystemic actors. More precisely, this chapter shall focus on the degree of their conformity with principles, logic and functioning of political and economic subsystem.

Theories of collective mobilization make use of various concepts to describe the extent of penetration of collective actors by divers types of formal structures or, in other words, their integration into these structures. The most familiar are institutionalization, projectification, accommodation, co-optation, formalization, professionalization, routinization or demobiliza-

tion. There are also concepts that, on the contrary, describe the extent of actor's anomie towards the logic of formalized systems – e.g. exclusion, innovation, radicalization, mobilization etc. [Kriesi *et al.* 2003: 122-124; *id.* 139-139; Koopmans 2005: 28-29; Shantz 2004; Walker 2005: 5-6]. These processes are usually employed in connection with internal organization of protest actors and of the content or form of raising and implementing their claims (i.e. of their repertoire). These processes are often treated as conscious (reflected) and targeted efforts of the actors who strive to make both symbolic (grounding and spreading of consistent alternative visions, values, political programme etc.) and practical (coordination of activities, mobilization of sympathizers etc.) dimension of protest activity more effective. Despite the fact that these processes used to be depicted as one-dimensional (and frequently linearly associated with the degree of radicalism or, on the contrary, moderation of actors' goals), there are rising efforts to analytically separate different dimensions of the process of collective actors' formalization or of their integration into functional subsystems of modern societies [cf. Walker 2005]. Based on the conceptual sections of this text, the key factors here are the degree of correspondence between antisystemic actors and the logics of economic and political subsystems and their communicating media, i.e. the degree of internal concentration of power and commodification (commercialization) of antisystemic actors.

The level of power centralization of antisystemic actors may significantly vary. Their internal power arrangement range from strictly organized, hierarchical and strongly monological groupings (e.g. churches, political parties, military organizations) to loose, decentralized subcultures and networks with open structure of power and communication (social movements, affinity groups, terrorist cells). These two poles of internal structure are usually linked through the Weberian theorem of bureaucratization of organizations (i.e. through assumption about inevitable evolution from loose groupings to more structured, regulated and formalized ones) [e.g. Piven, Cloward 1979] or through theorem of political protest cycles [cf. Tarrow 1995; Tarrow 1998]. However, following the other view [e.g. Garner, Zald 2003; Flanagan *et al.* 2006; Clemens, Minkoff 2005] or contemporary theories of social networks [cf. Diani 2000; Emirbayer, Goodwin 1994; Keller 2005: 397-401] it is more appropriate to treat both forms of organizing as collateral and surpassing universal convergence rules. Concerning the level of commodification, it is possible to connect (but not replace) it with concept of commercialization or professionalization. This practically covers the degree in which antisystemic actors assign economic value to something not previously considered in economic terms and function according to this logic – e.g. as means of satisfying certain economic in-

terests (salaried members, profit activities, orientation at external resources or dependency upon them etc.).

Both these tendencies – or processes – naturally influence each other in various ways. However, it is not possible to describe the character of this relationship as a positive linear association (i.e. adaptation of actor or his approximation to logic, rules or relations of one subsystem does not automatically imply its adaptation or approximation to the other). Finally, rather than treating the relationship of actors toward the subsystem as dichotomic (integration vs. anomie) it is more proper to consider the *degree* of their des-/integration. The degree and process of this des-/integration is subsequently dependent upon particular institutional setting and character of these subsystems – especially upon the degree of their inclusiveness (their willingness to communicate with actors and recognize them to some extent etc.). For example, the functioning of radical religious movement is different in the context of liberal democracy than in authoritarian regime. It follows that the degree of (latent) integration of actor into the system or the dynamics of their mutual approximation/retreat does *not* have to correlate with or condition the antisystemicity of collective actors⁹. On the contrary, this shall be treated as separate dimension of this field of collective action. The perspectives that automatically and solely link antisystemic protest with informality (unconventionality) of its organization should be therefore viewed as untenable or at least incomplete. Ergo the class of antisystemic actors should also include the subjects that are highly jointed with logic and media of political and/or economic subsystem. In other words, we can consider actors antisystemic even if they *latently* function pro-systematically on the part of one or both subsystems. Nonetheless, the principle that these (protest) subjects does not aspire to guarantee (social, political...) order [cf. Luhmann 1993: 125] still applies.

6. Typology of antisystemic actors

It follows from chapter 3 that the structure of this text is grounded on a three level model of analysis whereas it applies the first two of them – the conceptual and the empirical one. After introductory sketching of conceptual model of principal dimensions and layers of antisystemic protests (see Fig. no. 1), these features were transferred into empirical (practical, observable) level. At this level of analysis, it is an organization or a group that enters the basic typology of antisystemic actors as a unit of analysis. As was mentioned above, this typology employs two basic dimensions of existence and action of antisystemic subjects and axe of

⁹ For an alternative view of relations between inner structure (of SMOs) and radicalism of goals see [Fitzgerald, Rodgers 2000].

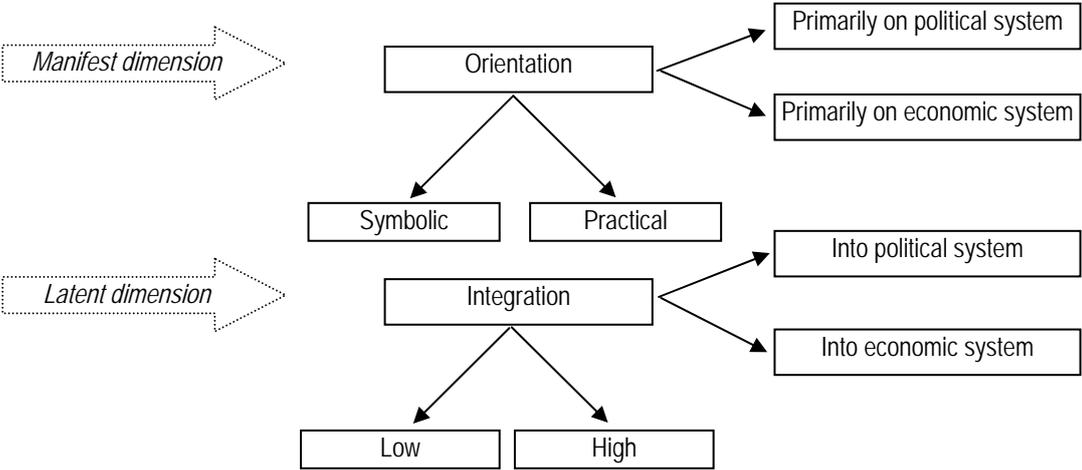
subsystems. It distinguishes, first, between actors' basic orientation (manifest dimension), second, between their integration into subsystems (latent dimension), and finally divides both these dimensions according to an economy-politics dichotomy that cuts across them:

Table no. 2: Three basic divisions of antisystemic actors

	<i>Manifest dimension</i>	<i>Latent dimension</i>
<i>Layer of politics</i>	Orientation towards the transformation of political system	Integration into political subsystem
<i>Layer of economics</i>	Orientation towards the transformation of economic system	Integration into economic subsystem

Manifest dimension of antisystemic action may be further differentiated into two basic subdivisions – into goals and forms of activities (see chapter 5.2). In order to keep the final typology lucid and efficient, it is useful to transform all these (sub-) divisions (including those in latent dimension) into dichotomic variables¹⁰ (actor primarily struggle for transformation of political or economic setting of society, forms of action oscillates between symbolic and practical, integration into political or economic subsystem is rather low or rather high) – see Fig. no. 2. Although this classification is based on dichotomic character of studied categories, it is not necessarily restricted to it¹¹.

Figure no. 2: Dichotomization of basic divisions of antisystemic actors



¹⁰ All these variables may also be considered as ordinal or cardinal – i.e. as a degree of orientation towards economic or political sphere, as a degree of usage of symbolic and practical means and as a degree of approximation to political or economic subsystem. Problems of measurement of these shall be dealt with at the level of indicators.

¹¹ Provided that indicators are measuring these criteria on cardinal level (e.g. by the means of overall indexes composed of several indicators mapping various variables) it is possible to outline a three-dimensional scheme that can be analysed with the help of cluster analysis. This scheme would actually link economic and political dimension of continual measurement of latency and manifestation of antisystemic actors (see Fig. No. 1). Recorded values would be plotted into three-dimensional graph that would be defined by two orthogonal planes – otherwise by two graphs with x and y axes that intersects at zero point.

Again, for the same reason, it is necessary to reduce the possibilities of combinations of all categories (therefore, e.g. the category of actors, that would be equally oriented towards the transformation of both economic and political subsystem, is omitted). The following table suggests an overview of final 16 theoretical types of antisystemic actors that are illustrated by examples on an empirical level (see Table no. 2).

Table no. 2: Typology of antisystemic actors (with general examples)

		<i>High integration in both subsystems</i>	<i>Low integration in political and high in economic subsystem</i>	<i>High integration in political and low in economic subsystem</i>	<i>Low integration in both subsystems</i>
<i>Primarily oriented towards political subsystem</i>	<i>Symbolic activities prevail</i>	extreme-right parliamentary party	interest (business, industrial) group	church organization	neo-Nazi SMO
	<i>Practical activities</i>	groups within army, junta	organized crime (mafia)	extreme-right party militias	religious terrorist group
<i>Primarily oriented towards economic subsystem</i>	<i>Symbolic activities prevail</i>	(post-)communist parliamentary parties	western anti-globalization SMO	communist youth organization	radical ecological SMO
	<i>Practical activities</i>	revolutionary Leninist party	radical anarcho-syndicalist SMO	Maoist guerrilla	ultra-left terrorist cell

These illustrations are only *general* in character – application of this typology on concrete empirical data must be preceded by the process of operationalization on the third, measurable level of analysis. Only then may this typology be applied to units of analysis. The proper unit of analysis here is represented by an organizational level of collective actors, as it is clear from the empirical part of this text (chapter 5.1). Furthermore, the employment of uniform unit of analysis is a precondition for mutual comparability of analysed antisystemic actors.

Suggested typology is then based upon the analysis of one major differentiation of modern society's subsystems and two key qualities of relationship between antisystemic actors and the object(s) of their activities (interest). Although this theoretical classification builds on neofunctionalist theory of society and its evolution, it offers considerably relational perspective on antisystemic protest and enables complex and relatively detailed comparison and categorization of *all* actors that rank to this field of collective action.

If we leave aside the problem of crypto-normativity within both classical approaches introduced at the first part of this text, the main difference between them and analysis presented hereinbefore lies in the level of applicability – especially as far as category of actors is concerned. While the classical categories of actors are – despite their later modifications¹² – consciously reduced to political-party subjects on the one hand or broad historical social movements on the other, this typology enables their substantial broadening and thereby interconnection of both classical approaches. This, besides the conceptual clarification of the category of antisystemicity, was one of the main purposes of this text. Now this category can be applied to other subjects that surpass the focus of political partisanship or social movement research. These may include e.g. churches, insurgent groups, professional or business organizations etc. Unlike other treatments of radical political subjects that sort them according to the *type of power they face* [cf. Fotopoulos 2001: 418-419], to their *formal ideology or tactics* [cf. Fitzgerald, Rodgers 2000; Mudde 2003] or to their *latent normative potential* [cf. Habermas 1981; Cohen, Arato 1995: 531-532], the logic of this classification is based upon more general assumption of mutual irreducibility of (1) political and economic spheres of modern society and logic of their functioning and (2) both manifest and latent dimension of existence and activity of antisystemic actors.

7. Conclusion

This text deals with theoretical analysis of the category of antisystemicity in modern societies. It proceeds from a critique of shortages of G. Sartori's and I. Wallerstein's classical approaches that have entrenched the category of antisystemicity in political (social) science. The text introduces a theoretical typology of this type of collective action that is founded on sufficiently robust theoretical projections and thus hopes for (1) integrating the existing approaches selectively focused either on political parties or social movements (or their particular attributes) and (2) consequent meaningful comparison of antisystemic actors among each other. The methodological axis of the text is the three-level model of analysis that frames the exposition of three main dimensions of antisystemic protest (i.e. of its object, subject, and their mutual relations) on the two levels of abstraction (i.e. conceptual and empirical). Broad political and/or economic settings of modern society was identified as the object (i.e. target) of this protest and was further supplemented with the sketch of strategies used by antisystemic

¹² Sartori's conception of antisystemicity was later elaborated e.g. by G. Capoccia [cf. Kubát 2007], and Wallerstein's approach was further developed and supplemented as well [cf. Amin, Arrighi, Frank, Wallerstein 2006; Reifer *et al.* 2004].

actors to transform these settings. The collective and organizational character of antisystemic subjects was emphasized and the problem of their (latent) integration into respective subsystems was briefly depicted. Based upon these considerations, a theoretical typology of antisystemic actors was drafted.

This text does not aspire to introduce detailed manual for operationalization of the concept of antisystemicity (although the typology suggested here should be further developed and specified for the needs of concrete empirical research) but rather to contribute to better understanding of its general connotations, conditions and rules of its theoretical and practical application. Therefore the point was primarily to standardize this concept as this may be understood as a condition for both unlocking the comparative perspective in the research of antisystemic actors and for meaningful usage of this concept in the contemporary political science.

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