Plus rien ne sera comme avant

– Nothing will be as before

Social movements and democratisation in Burkina Faso

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Abstract

This research, through a collective case study, explores how social movements in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, experience their influence on democratisation processes, how they frame this influence and whether the framings and experiences matter for who succeeds in claiming credit. Focusing on events following the popular uprising in 2014. The analysis is conducted using a thematic experience analysis of semi-structured interviews, drawing on the theoretical framework of social constructionist theory, the concept of 'claiming credit', and political process theory. It is argued that the movements experience and frame their influence differently as they have diverse targets and ways to tackle these. Furthermore, the new youth movements were able to mobilise more people, however, it was the long-term awareness raising that allowed this mobilisation. Moreover, framings and experiences matter for who succeeds in claiming credit. Consequently, the movements experience their influence short-term through indirect mobilisation and long-term through direct change making.

Key words: social movements, democratisation, Burkina Faso, development studies, minor field study.
Words: 9,999

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ADEP	Association D'appui et d'Eveil Pugsada (*Pugsada support and awareness association*)
BC	Balai Citoyen (*citizen broom*)
CCVC	Coalition nationale de lutte Contre la Vie Chère, la corruption, la fraude, l'impunité et pour les libertés (*national coalition to fight against expensive life, corruption, fraud, impunity and for freedoms*)
Collectif	Collectif d'organisations démocratiques de masse et de parties politiques (*collective of mass democratic organisations and political parties*)
MBDHP	Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples (*Burkinabè movement of human and peoples's rights*)
MSV-Burkina	Mouvement des Sans Voix Burkina (*movement without voices Burkina*)
PPT	Political process theory
RSP	Régiment de sécurité présidentielle (*President's security forces*)
SCT	Social constructionist theory
SM	Social movement
UGEB	Union Génerale des Étudiants Burkinabè (*general union of Burkinabè students*)

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1. Introduction

Mass mobilisation and protest against the ruling regime has been seen as far back as the French Revolution (Tilly, 2004). This section includes the research background and problem, significance of the study, research questions and aims, definitions of social movements (SMs) and democratisation, and an outline for the thesis.

1.1 Research background and problem

Since the beginning of the post-colonial period, SMs have been a constant presence in Burkina Faso's socio-political landscape (Chouli, 2014:262; Hagberg, 2002). They played a large role on October 31st 2014 when Blaise Compaoré, after 27 year as the president of the country, was forced to resign (Chouli, 2015). This was a result of a popular uprising, which brought together hundreds of thousands throughout the country in opposition to the ruling party's plans to amend the constitution to allow Compaoré to stand for another term in 2015 (ibid.). From early 2014, large demonstrations took place almost monthly in which trade unions and student organisations played a central role (Engels, 2015a). Several SMs sprang up during this time, Chouli (2015) believes that the role of these new organisations in the mobilisation in Burkina Faso is indisputable; however, the people were already aware of the problems.

Many believe that the decline of Compaoré's regime can be traced to the politically motivated assassination of the journalist Norbert Zongo in 1998 (Frère and Englebert, 2015). Those behind the killing had intended it to silence and intimidate. Instead, it did the opposite and brought the most widespread and sustained popular protest movement in the history of Burkina Faso (Harsch, 1999). The protesters insisted the constitution from 1991 should be respected as it ensured freedom of press as well as other democratic rights (ibid.). The widespread demonstrations ended with mild concessions such as setting term limits in a revised constitution (Frère and Englebert, 2015), which was what they were fighting to keep in 2014. However, Frère and Englebert (2015:9) have argued that the strength of the new youth movements "might be more in mobilising for change than in engineering specific new futures." Following the popular uprising there was a one-year period of transition (Engels, 2015a), during which, there was a coup attempt by the elite presidential guard (RSP) as well as a successful presidential election won by Roch Marc Christian Kaboré (Africa Research Bulletin, 2016).

SMs in Burkina Faso "are part of a global trend in which social movements are on the rise and citizens participate much more directly than before in political affairs" (Chouli,

2014:293). Additionally, previous studies have shown that SMs have driven the transformation of authoritarian regimes into democracies, and are therefore, central to democratisation (Ibarra, 2003:2). With the scope and importance of SMs established, the focus becomes one of understanding how SMs experience their influence on democratisation processes in Burkina Faso, how they frame this influence, and whether this matters for who succeeds in claiming credit.

1.2 Significance of the study

According to Brandes and Engels (2011), SMs in Africa is a neglected field of research. Moreover, there is a gap in the current research on how SMs influenced the democratisation process in Burkina Faso, and whether it was through indirect mobilisation or direct change making (Frère and Englebert, 2015). Furthermore, regarding assessing the influence of SMs, Meyer (2003:56) feels it is important to "separate the question of assessing influence from that to establishing a narrative of influence" as this has been neglected by researchers. This study focuses on framing. Furthermore, this is where the study is making its contribution to research.

1.3 Research questions and aims

This case study aims to build an understanding of SMs and how they experience their influence on democratisation processes in Burkina Faso. This is done through a thematic experience analysis of semi-structured interviews. The research, thereby, aims to answer the overarching research question:

How do social movements in Ouagadougou experience their influence on democratisation processes in Burkina Faso?

With the sub-questions: *How do social movements frame their influence on democratisation processes?* and *Does the framings and experiences of the social movements matter for who succeeds in claiming credit?*

This is done by looking at how the SMs experience their influence on democratisation processes, first, before and during the popular uprising in October 2014, second, during the subsequent transitional government, third, during the September 2015 coup attempt, fourth, during the following election period, and last, in the year following the election. This means there is a wish to understand each step of the process that has led to one of Africa's most peaceful transitions to democracy (Africa Research Bulletin, 2016). The analysis is done through the theoretical framework of social constructionist theory (SCT),

the concept of 'claiming credit', and political process theory (PPT). The experience of the SMs is the experience of the individual participants as part of a larger movement.

1.4 Definitions of social movements and democratisation

Social movements and their collective action can be defined as "interlocking networks of groups, social networks and individuals and the connection between them is a shared collective identity that tries to prevent or promote societal change by non-institutional tactics" (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009:20-21). Such tactics include demonstrations, though SMs often also use institutionalised methods (Staggenborg and Ramos, 2016:6). According to Larmer (2010:257), "social movements actually existing in Africa are unavoidably hybrid in nature, utilising and adapting Western ideas, funding, forms of organisation and methods of activism." However, Larmer's definition has some problematics, as African SMs should not be viewed as one-sided, as the construction of the West is in itself "defined against an 'Oriental' or 'African' Other" (Brandes and Engels, 2011:5).

 Democratisation is best understood, according to Whitehead (2002:27), "as a complex, long-term, dynamic, and open-ended process. It consists of progress towards a more rule-based, more consensual and more participatory type of politics." According Robert A. Dahl (1998:38), democracy provides opportunities for effective participation, equality in voting, gaining enlightened understanding, exercising final control over the agenda, and inclusion of adults. Diamond (1999:219) sees democratisation "not simply as a limited period of transition from one set of formal regime rules to another, but rather as an ongoing process, a perpetual challenge, a recurrent struggle." This study shares this view.

1.5 Thesis outline

The next section of the thesis is the literature review, which looks at literature on SMs and democratisation. The following section is the methods section, which includes the epistemological and ontological framework, research design, data collection, research quality, analytical framework, limitations and delimitations, and ethical considerations. Thereafter, there is a section on the theoretical framework, which explores SCT, the concept of 'claiming credit', and PPT. Then there is a section on interpretation of data, which is divided into sub-sections focusing on the different theories and concepts. Lastly, conclusions are drawn and proposals for continued research presented.

2. Literature review

The following section reviews literature in two parts, literature on SMs and democratisation generally, both theoretically and empirically, and literature that focuses on SMs and democratisation in Burkina Faso.

2.1 Social movements and democratisation

McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001:272) believe that democratisation has never happened without intense contention, although, it has only been under special conditions that this contention has yielded net movements toward democracy. Tilly (2004:125), furthermore, believes that there is a broad correspondence between democratisation and SMs. Two different conceptions of the role played by SMs in the democratisation process have been singled out; a populist and an elitist approach (della Porta and Diani, 2006:246). A populist approach emphasises participation from below, however, according to the elitist approach, democratisation must be a top-down process. Furthermore, they believe that an excess of mobilisation leads to new forms of authoritarianism. However, della Porta and Diani (2006:249) conclude that "social movements have helped democratization in authoritarian regimes." Consequently, a populist approach is used in this research. Moreover, Diamond (1999:220) believes that only a mass public can bring about reform in later democratisation. Though he does see dilemmas and caveats regarding civil society and SMs, he reiterates that: "[c]ivil society can, and typically must, play a central role in building and consolidating democracy" (ibid.:259-260).

2.1.1 Democracy movements as bulwarks against presidential usurpation of power

Drawing on fieldwork carried out in Malawi, Namibia, Uganda and Zambia, Boniface Dulani (2011) examined the roles that democracy SMs have played in influencing particular outcomes on the quest to remove presidential term limits. The pro-democracy movements emerged in many places within the legitimacy-vacuum that existed, as governments only seemed to promote the interests of a narrow ruling elite and not the wider population. In Namibia and Uganda, term limits were removed and in Malawi and Zambia, the term limits stayed. Dulani found that in the two countries where the bids were stopped, movements played an active role and came together in opposition. Moreover, he found that the following factors shed light on why some were successful and some were

not: "the unity and cohesion of the democracy movements; the ability of the groups to overcome attempts to stifle them and undermine their potency and, lastly, their historical relationship with the ruling parties" (Dulani, 2011:126-127). Unity and cohesion of the movements relates to both within and between the movements. In Malawi and Zambia, they were well-organised and operated in unison. They were, thereby, able to mobilise the wider population against removing term limits by having demonstrations, debates etc. Regarding institutional barriers, such as enacting laws against the movements, they successfully challenged this in Malawi and Zambia, but not in Namibia and Uganda. The role of history is important, as in Namibia and Uganda the movements had a long and close association with the ruling parties, and felt indebted to them for their existence. In Malawi and Zambia, the relationship was different, as they enjoyed greater autonomy and independence (ibid.). Consequently, this research provides a broad overview on how SMs in other African countries have, and have not, been able to influence the democratisation process.

2.2 Social movements and democratisation in Burkina Faso

When exploring the protests in 1998 and 1999 after the assassination of Nobert Zongo, Harsch (1999:404-405) concluded that:

> The readiness with which demonstrators and strikers across Burkina picked up the demand for the genuine rule of law […] indicates that the concept has begun to penetrate more deeply into Burkinabè society. If it takes firm root, the general tenor of politics in the country will be fundamentally changed. The ruling elites will find it much more difficult to simply impose their will, while broader sectors of the citizenry will at last be able to make their voices heard.

Which is what they did in 2014. When exploring the coup attempt in September 2015, Hagberg (2015) found that popular resistance is crucial to the political culture in Burkina Faso. Furthermore, Hagberg believes that the defeat of the RSP enhanced the possibility of a democratic breakthrough.

2.2.1 Social movement struggles against the high cost of living in Burkina Faso

Using the theoretical approaches of political opportunity structures and processes, resources, and framing, Bettina Engels (2015b) investigated the conditions that enabled the mobilisation against the high cost of living in Burkina Faso during the food price crisis of 2007-2008. She found that the protests against the high cost of living represent one 'cycle of contention' that is closely linked to others, such as the struggles for democratisation from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s and the mobilisation against impunity following the death of Nobert Zongo. Furthermore, Engels argues that the food

price crisis opened a 'window of opportunity' that favoured mobilisation, which lasted at least through the national political crisis in 2010, the petrol price increase in 2012, and the popular uprising in 2014. She believes that the discursive frame of 'the high cost of living', "plays a decisive role in the continuity and extent of the current mobilisation of protest in Burkina Faso" (Engels, 2015b:115), and that this frame succeeded in linking most of the relevant issues and actors within Burkina Faso. As trade unions, student associations, human rights organisations and many others could use this framing to their advantage. Furthermore, she underlines that it is important to analyse SMs as embedded within historical, socio-political and cultural contexts (ibid.).

Consequently, there is a strong connection between democratisation, mass mobilisation, and SMs. Furthermore, Dulani (2011) found the following factors are important for SMs to influence third term bids: unity and cohesion, overcoming institutional barriers and the historical relationship with ruling parties. In Burkina Faso, protests have been a reoccurring phenomenon, which means that protests have become a part of the political culture, and more voices are being heard. There is a gap in current research on how the SMs in Burkina Faso influenced the democratisation process during the uprising and later. Moreover, no research has looked at the different events together and how the SMs experience their influence during these events.

3. Methods

This section includes the epistemological and ontological framework of the thesis, the research design, data collection methods, such as sampling and semi-structured interviews, a section on research quality, the analytical framework, limitations and delimitations, and ethical considerations.

3.1 Epistemological and ontological framework

Epistemology is about what is regarded as acceptable knowledge (Bryman, 2012:27). Ontology on the other hand is concerned with the nature of social entities, and whether they are objective or "should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors" (ibid.:32). The epistemology used here is interpretivism, which is concerned with the subjective meaning of social action (ibid.:29). The ontological framework is constructivism. Constructivism argues that reality is socially constructed through interaction and that it is constantly in a state of revision (Berger and Luckmann, 1991:13; Bryman, 2012:33). Consequently, people make sense of their experiences by constructing a model of the social world and how it functions,

language being the system through which reality is constructed (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2009:892). Thus, in this study knowledge is subjective and socially constructed. This is apparent as participants experience their influence on democratisation differently depending on how they define democracy or democratisation.

3.2 Research design

The research design in this field study is a case study design as the research aims to provide an in-depth illumination of the case by studying it in its natural setting (Bryman, 2012:67; Punch, 2005:144). Only studying one SM could lead to a skewed picture of reality, and seeing this as a collective case study, covering several cases, leads to in-depth understanding about the phenomenon of SMs and how they experience their influence on democratisation (Punch, 2005:144). Theory is used to better understand the case. The focus is retrospective on the experiences leading up to and following the 2014 popular uprising (de Vaus, 2001:228). This is to achieve understanding of the different steps and aspects of the democratisation process.

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Sampling

This research is a field study carried out in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso. Sampling is done on two levels: context and participant, both purposively selected (Bryman, 2012:417). Context sampling is based on both heterogeneity, that the SMs have different types of members, goals, and motivations; and homogeneity, that they are based in Ouagadougou. Ouagadougou is chosen, as the headquarters of most SMs are located there. Participant sampling within the SMs is done first through generic purposive sampling followed by snowball sampling, where initial participants propose other relevant participants (ibid.:424-428). Five different SMs, Balai Citoyen (BC), Mouvement Burkinabè des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples (MBDHP), Association D'appui et d'Eveil Pugsada (ADEP), Union Génerale des Étudiants Burkinabè (UGEB), and Mouvement des Sans Voix Burkina (MSV-Burkina), are sampled. Several SMs are investigated since different types of movements give a wider variety of perspectives. BC is one of the newer youth movements, MBDHP is one of the most active human rights movements in West Africa and has worked for over 20 years, ADEP works with issues related to girls and women, UGEB is the national student association established in the 1960s, and MSV-Burkina is a small youth movement with broader international roots. Within the movements between three and four people participate, making a total of 18 participants (see Appendix 1). At this point saturation is achieved as repetition occurs in the data and no new findings emerges (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014:63). Participants are

mostly male; this reflects the fact that men are over-represented among SM participants and protesters. Local experts are purposively selected to add depth to the interviews with participants. The six experts include a researcher, two civil society actors, two embassy employees, and an NGO employee (see Appendix 1).

3.3.2 Interviews

The primary sources of data are interviews. The interviews are in-depth semi-structured interviews, which access "people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality" (Punch, 2005:168). Being semi-structured allows the interviews to be open-ended and non-standardised (ibid.:169). Semi-structured interviews are created through language and interaction, and allow the participants to touch upon issues important to them. The individual semi-structured interviews average around one hour[1], taking place one time with each participant. An interview guide was formulated before the beginning of the fieldwork (see Appendix 2). Furthermore, key experts, who are working with issues of governance, democratisation and SMs in Ouagadougou, are interviewed to gain an overview. Furthermore, key expert interviews are important because the people within the SMs might give a partial picture. Secondary sources are used in the literature review to gain a broader understanding and context about the issues of democratisation and SMs.

3.4 Research quality

Issues of validity and reliability apply to a greater extent to quantitative research than to qualitative research (Bryman, 2012:389). Therefore, this study focuses on two primary criteria for assessing the study: trustworthiness and authenticity. Trustworthiness includes such criteria as credibility, transferability, and dependability. Credibility is ensured by triangulation (ibid.:390), which is done by combining secondary data, and semi-structured interviews, with both SM members and experts. Transferability is ensured by providing thick description, and dependability by keeping complete records of all phases of the research (ibid.:392). Regarding authenticity, this study is dealing mostly with fairness. This means aiming to represent different viewpoints within the sample (ibid.:393). However, case studies can achieve a degree of external validity by making theoretical generalisations, where generalisation is done from a study to a theory, rather than to populations (de Vaus, 2001:237), which this study does through the theories in the theoretical framework.

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[1] The shortest interview was 42 minutes and longest interview was 83 minutes.

3.5 Data analysis

There are four stages to data analysis: data collection, organisation, coding, and reconstruction (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014:76). In data organisation, interviews are transcribed and ideas organised. Data coding applies a conceptual and thematic order to notes and the identified patterns. Throughout the reconstruction stage, codes are compared and contrasted, and the fit between the data, theories, and literature is examined (ibid.). The method of analysis is a thematic experience analysis with elements of frame analysis. The focus of a thematic analysis is on "identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes" (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012:10). A thematic experience analysis encompasses two things: that the researcher is seeking and identifying themes within accounts and that the experiences involve relationships between people and contexts (Bold, 2012:129). A thematic approach is useful when you have multiple cases and want to find "common thematic elements across research participants and the events they report" (Riessman, 2005:3). Frame analysis is used to analyse how people understand situations. Framing is a schema of interpretation, a collection of stereotypes and anecdotes, which individuals depend on to understand and react to events (Goffman, 1974:21). This framing is built on biological and cultural influences that create filters people use to make sense of the world, and thereby, the choices people make are influenced by their framings (Ren et al., 2015).

3.6 Limitations and delimitations

Limitations, influences beyond the researcher's control, include that the case study might not be generalizable as it is a specific geographical location, historical background, and group of people. Furthermore, the purposive sampling might not result in varied representative data. Delimitations, choices made by the researcher to set boundaries for the study, include focusing only on a certain number of SMs, a certain number of people within those, and not using quantitative methods.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Banks and Scheyvens (2014) make a distinction between two ethical positions; ethical absolutist and ethical relativist. Ethical absolutism is about making responses to ethical dilemmas clear, whereas, ethical relativism is about constantly debating, reflecting, and negotiating ethical dilemmas during fieldwork (ibid.:185). This study takes on mostly ethical relativist characteristics, as it is important to be reflexive, i.e. self-critical, and sensitive to local contexts. There are many ethical concerns with conducting fieldwork in international contexts, and according to Sultana (2007:382) in order to undertake ethical

research "[i]t is critical to pay attention to positionality, reflexivity, the production of knowledge and the power relations that are inherent in research processes." Positionality is about the multiple 'self' of the researcher, such as age, gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic status, and how the position of the researcher influences knowledge production, interpretations, methods, and power relations (Sultana, 2007; Scheyvens and McLennan, 2012:6). The researcher is an early-20s white Scandinavian female university student from an upper middle-class background. This position results in certain biases, which means that the knowledge produced is partial, and thereby, interpretations have historical and cultural situatedness (Rose, 1997; O'Shaughnessy and Krogman, 2012). Although, the researcher's reality will always inform the research, being aware of this bias allows the researcher to be reflexive and take steps to avoid pushing this reality (England, 1994).

Power relations are addressed by positioning oneself as a 'friendly stranger', establishing reciprocity and trust, and being humble and open (Cotterill, 1992). At the start, an ethical absolutist position is taken, as the interviews begin with ensuring confidentiality and informed consent (Appendix 3). Furthermore, the participants' names are protected by giving them fictitious names sensitive to their cultural background. Using a translator during interviews has certain dilemmas, as translation is "a social relationship involving power, status and the imperfect mediation of cultures" (Bujra, 2006:172). Furthermore, the implication of using constructivism for a thesis based primarily on translated interviews is that the context is inevitably influenced by the positionality of the translator. The translator is a late-20s Burkinabè male university student in Ouagadougou, from the majority ethnicity, who comes from a poor family in a small rural town; this makes him representative of the participants.

4. Theoretical framework

This study looks at several different concepts and theories. The focus is on two different SM theories; SCT and PPT, as well as the concept of 'claiming credit'. This is done for two reasons; first, with regards to SM theories not all aspects of the experiences in Burkina Faso would fit, using a single theory, as much of the literature and theories on SMs is strongly influenced by movements in Latin American, North America and Europe (Ellis and van Kessel, 2009:3, 13). Second, because there is an assumption among scholars that the mutual integration of structural theories, such as PPT, and constructionist theories can yield satisfactory explanations (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009:17). Theory is in this research used to understand the case.

4.1 Social constructionist theory

Social constructionists argue that if we are interested in knowing why people protest, we need to know how they, themselves, perceive and interpret material and socio-political conditions as people who display identical behaviour can still have differing motivations (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009:30). Consequently, SCT focuses on "the role of cognitive, affective and ideational roots of contention and are broadly organized around three concepts: framing, identity and emotions" (ibid.:17). Here, the focus is on the concepts of framing.

With regards to SMs, framing refers to the ways that the movements interactively and collectively assign meaning to their activities (Buechler, 2000:41), that is, SMs "frame, or assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow and Benford, 1988:198). These are called collective action frames (Snow, 2004:384). This encompasses the social construction of grievances. Grievances are framed in three different ways: diagnostic framing, which identifies a problem and attributes causality, giving the movement a target for their actions; prognostic framing, which suggests possible solutions, tactics and strategies appropriate to the target; and motivational framing, "that issues a call to arms and a rationale for action by providing a vocabulary of motives that compels people to act" (Buechler, 2000:41). Consequently, a successful framing transform unclear dissatisfactions into well-defined grievances and makes people join the movements to do something about those grievances. Many argue that the framing, or how grievances are interpreted, is a decisive factor of protest as well as mobilisation (Brandes and Engels, 2011). However, there are certain criticisms to this theory, as an example, van Stekelenburg and Klandersmans (2009:45) believe that SCT "runs the risk of fragmentation and decontextualization," as there is a need for a common framework integrating key themes as well as considering the socio-political context. Furthermore, Buechler (2000:45) argues that SCT, rather than claiming universal contribution, claim partial contributions. This is dealt with by using a framework combining structural and constructionist theories and taking the socio-political context into account, which means that, despite the criticisms, the theory is useful in this research.

4.2 Claiming credit

David S. Meyer (2003; 2006) has built the concept of 'claiming credit', which is relevant to the question of how SMs frame their influence on democratisation. Meyer believes that the stakes for successfully claiming credit are high for SMs. He states that there is no automatic relationship between the actual and the claimed or reputed achievements of SMs. Moreover, he believes that there are numerous problems with assessing influence, such as the diversity of efforts by movements, disputes as to what mechanisms effect

influence, and the numerous possible outcomes of mobilisation. Further, he believes it is important to recognise that stories of influence are constructed.

He identifies the following as factors that could affect movement actors' prospects for successfully claiming credit: "the articulated goals of a movement, the survival of at least some of its component organizations, the institutional positioning of allies or sympathetic participants, the relative costs and risks of claiming victory, and the nature of the constituency the represented [*sic!*]" (Meyer 2003:64). Movement goals are often quite broad, which makes victories harder to claim. With regards to organisational survival, Meyer believes that outliving opponents and the ability to continue visible action makes winning credit easier. Coalitions are important and some believe that institutional routes to effectiveness are more influential than grassroots activity and mass mobilisations. The risk of victories and movements claiming credit can provoke opponents and risk complacency among supporters. Concerning constituencies and claimants, he believes that what stories get out has a great deal to do with the positions and power of claimants (ibid.:68). Furthermore, he argues that the actual influence of a SM is difficult to determine, however, it is important who succeeds in claiming credit. He, further, identifies implicit negotiations in constructing accepted framings of influence (ibid.:72). This concept has not been developed further, which means that it is under-researched and under-developed, however, it is believed that by combining this with SCT and PPT a complete picture is formed.

4.3 Political process theory

PPT is a structural approach and is also known as political opportunity theory (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009:20-23). PPT emphasises the political elements of protest, and its central idea is that "different forms of action ('repertoires of contentions') are associated with different spatial and temporal locations" (ibid.:26). This means that the actions, such as demonstrations and strikes by SMs, depend on several different factors including the structure of the political system and the level of repression and cultural traditions, thus, actions are shaped by the structural and cultural context in which they take place (ibid.).

Moreover, three factors are thought critical to the mobilisation of SMs: the degree of organisation, the level of consciousness or 'cognitive liberation', and the 'structure of political opportunities' (Staggenborg and Ramos, 2016:23). Cognitive liberation refers "to the process by which members of some aggrieved group fashion the specific combination of shared understandings that are thought to undergird collective action" (McAdam, 2013:1). This is connected to framing. Political opportunity refers to the features of the political environment that influence the success of SMs, such as the extent of openness in the polity. This is related to the separation of power (Kriesi, 2004:70), divisions among elites, influential allies, and shifts in political alignments (Staggenborg and Ramos, 2016:23). However, it is also about the actors' beliefs about the opportunities (Kriesi, 2004:68). When these opportunities expand, it results in a 'cycle of contention'

(Staggenborg and Ramos, 2016:23). A cycle of contention is defined as "a phase of heightened conflict across the social system" (Tarrow, 2011:199). It is acknowledged that the opportunities for mobilisation and for effecting change can be different (Staggenborg and Ramos, 2016:24). However, it has also been recognised that threats can be as likely as opportunities to create mobilisation, by creating feelings of outrage and urgency (ibid.). There have been criticisms towards the structural bias that is inherent in PPT. One way to tackle this is to reject invariant modelling, be wary of conceptual stretching, and recognise the diverse ways agency and culture shape collective action (Goodwin et al., 1999), which this study aims to do.

Consequently, this thesis is integrating SCT, the concept of 'claiming credit', and PPT. SCT focuses on how movements frame grievances. The concept of 'claiming credit' focuses on factors that influence a movement's ability to claim credit; these factors can help explain why certain framings are more successful than others. PPT believes that actions are shaped by structural aspects as well as the cultural context, and that the degree of organisation, cognitive liberation, and structure of political opportunities is important for mobilisation. These aspects are connected to framing and are subjective. This means that these theories are linked and can provide answers to the research questions through their mutual integration.

5. Interpretation of data

This section looks at the interviews through the theoretical framework as well as the secondary sources explored in the literature review. First, the framings and experiences of the participants regarding the events are examined. Second, how the SMs were successful in claiming credit is explored. Third, different factors within PPT are explored to see whether the participants experience these aspects as important. Last, the post-election period is the focus, looking at the overall contributions and ways forward.

5.1 Framings

First, it is important to have an overview of the events that are discussed. This can be seen from Figure 1. The popular uprising took place over a few days in October 2014, the transition period from November 2014, ending in the presidential election in November 2015, the coup attempt in September 2015, and the post-election period, which here is taken from the presidential election until the fieldwork, from January to March 2017. As can be seen, the uprising, coup and election are short events and the transition and post-election periods are longer. This has an impact on how the participants talk about them
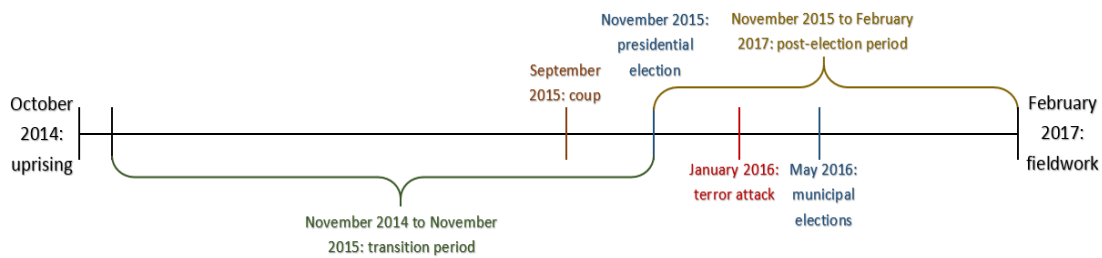
Figure 1: Timeline of events.

and what they chose to focus on. Furthermore, the accounts of the uprising, coup and election are relatively similar, whereas, the transition period and post-election period have more varied framings. Here the three different ways of framing grievances; diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing is analysed relating to the different events. As the SMs assign meaning to their activities in different and similar ways. How the SMs frame their grievances relates to how they mobilise people for their cause. These are collective action frames; however, they are, in a sense, examined in relation to how the individual participants in the movements frame them as well as how they are framed collectively. Furthermore, an important note to make is that these frames are socially constructed and that the influence the participants experience largely depends on how the participants experience the socially constructed reality of what a good democracy means and represents.

Regarding the popular uprising, the experiences of the participants were similar as they saw the demonstrations, mobilisation, raised awareness, etc. that took place in October 2014 as leading to, first of all, the transition, but also the election. However, in terms of outcomes, it was more varied as some participants saw the consequence or influence of their actions as getting rid of president Compaoré (Aminata, 2017), giving people the confidence that they can achieve change (Sylvestre, 2017), or to narrow the power of politicians (Moussa, 2017). When asked how the actions of UGEB during the popular uprising influenced the democratisation process, Issaka (2017) said:

> If you take only the fact of amending a law,[2] for his [Compaoré's] own interest, this is anti-democratic […] and the fact of demonstrating, to show our disagreement […] they have not been able to amend it […] I think the fact of respecting the law, is reinforcing the democracy process.

This means that Issaka sees the outcome as a reinforcement of the democratic process. Furthermore, in this passage it is possible to extract how Issaka frames grievances in the three different ways: diagnostic by identifying the problem, the modification of Article 37, and attributing causality to Compaoré. This means that the target identified was the modification of the Article as well as Compaoré. Prognostic by suggesting the solution, or strategy, of demonstrating against the modification, which he sees as being successful, motivational in that he does not want the modification to take place, as that would be anti-democratic (ibid.).

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[2] Article 37 in the constitution to allow Blaise Compaoré to run for a third term.

This framing of the popular uprising is similar with most of the movements, however, there is an important aspect that is mentioned by the older movements, for example the participants in MBDHP. This aspect is a more encompassing diagnostic framing as they see that there were many more problems than the modification of Article 37 (Karim, 2017). Moussa (2017) articulated this:

> This issue of the modification was not the only concern as such, but there were also living conditions of the people that were actually related to the issue because the governance of this country, President Compaoré was not limited [...] there was a lot of economic and blood crimes that have been committed under his governance.

This is something that Abdou (2017) mentioned as well, he found that there was a problem of impunity and a lack of justice. This might have contributed to the fact that MBDHP was not perceived as influential as BC (Davide, 2017) since Article 37 might have been a simpler frame to have, which means that it might have been easier to mobilise people for Article 37, than for impunity. Furthermore, Article 37 became a master frame in the sense that it brought large parts of the population together. Two artists, reggae artist Sam's K le Jah and rap singer Smockey set up BC in July 2013 (Frère and Englebert, 2015). BC is modelled on the Senegalese movement Y'en a marre (*we've had enough of it*) which is also a movement by rap and hip-hop artists, using their fame and music to mobilise young people for political protest (Engels, 2015a). BC "provided a hitherto largely alienated and disconnected youth with a means of political mobilization" (Frère and Englebert, 2015:7). The youth of Burkina Faso is important as about 65 percent of the population is below the age of 25 (ibid.). This means they could mobilise large parts of the young people against the modification of Article 37.

Others experience their influence as the consequence of the awareness raising the movements had done over many years or decades, and that this led directly to the popular uprising. As a result, the prognostic framing, by more than half the participants, is expressed in terms of raising the awareness or political consciousness of the wider Burkinabè population (Thérèse, 2017). This was expressed by Hamidou (2017) as: "UGEB contributed [...] to the popular consciousness, and it is the popular consciousness that led to the insurrection [...] the more people who are conscious of their situation, the more the democratic process advances." Moreover, this was something that Harsch (1999) predicted fifteen years prior. This fits with what Turner (1983) describe as SMs being in the business of affecting change or orientation, 'hearts and minds'. He observed that many of the great movements of the past centuries sought institutional change; changes that were "unthinkable until a tremendous task of altering people's views of reality had been accomplished" this depended "upon reaching the hearts and minds of vast numbers of people" (Turner, 1983:177). This ties in with Dahl's (1998:37) idea of gaining enlightened understanding, as they speak of raising awareness and about people becoming conscious. All the participants spoke of this consciousness that has taken a long time to build up, but has meant that they were able to mobilise such large parts of the population for democratisation (Louise, 2017).

As mentioned, the transition period lasted a year, which means that the participants chose to focus on different aspects of it. Most experience it in terms of constantly watching and controlling the actions of the transitional government. The most commonly expressed, by almost half the participants, aspect or outcome of this was the firing of two ministers in the transitional government (Kassoum, 2017). Others focused on aspects of corruption in terms of civil society corruption, by separation from the transitional government and remaining independent (Salamata, 2017), or of consulting or putting pressure on the transitional government (Joel, 2017). This means that the diagnostic framing was different. Close to half saw the problem as the morally corrupt ministers (Ignace, 2017), others as corruption of civil society within the government (Abdou, 2017), or if things were to remain as they were before (Aristide, 2017). However, the overall prognostic and motivational framing was similar as it was about controlling, watching, putting pressure, remaining independent, having meetings, or demonstrating. Motivational framing, the rationale for acting, was that they wanted a better government or to keep the momentum moving forward. This resulted in the movements seeming split regarding the transition; this meant that they were not able to achieve the same momentum as during the popular uprising.

The participants experience the coup attempt in more or less the same terms. All the participants saw a straightforward consequence as the coup failed and the transitional government was re-established (Pierre, 2017). The events that led to this failure were the resistance and defence of the transition. Connecting it further to the election two months later, for example: "it was precisely because of this fierce resistance against the putsch that we had elections two months later on November 29, if there had not been that [resistance] never would we have had elections so early" (Ignace, 2017). The diagnostic framing was in terms of the problem focused on the coup and culpability was put on the RSP. The overall prognostic framing was resisting, demonstrating, marching, striking, condemning, and blocking roads. The motivational framing was focused on not wanting to go backwards, both backwards in terms of going back to the previous regime as Compaoré was believed to be heavily influencing the RSP (Marou, 2017), and going backwards in the sense that military coups has ruled the history of Burkina Faso since independence (Issaka, 2017). Further, the coup was perceived as fundamentally against the democratic process (Moussa, 2017). It is helpful to have such a clear picture of 'who' was the target of action during the coup as it meant that actions could be taken as soon as people heard about what had happened.

The movements influenced the elections, both the presidential and municipal, in the same way. Most of the movements focused their actions on a campaign called 'je vote, je reste' (*I vote, I stay*), and to act as observers in the poll stations. The participants believe that these actions led to an election without violence as well as no post-election violence (Joel, 2017; Abdou, 2017), the best election in Burkina Faso's history (Noaga, 2017), and a more credible, free, and just election (Abel, 2017). Prognostic framing is in terms of fraud. Prognostic framing to combat the fraud was then to observe the election as well as getting more people to vote and persuade the voters to stay and observe. This was to get a more transparent election as well as giving people a choice that counts (Salamata, 2017). This was perceived as successful (Harouna, 2017). UGEB, on the other hand, chose to

boycott the presidential election, either because they felt the candidates did not respond to the needs of the people (Hamidou, 2017), or because the political programmes of the candidates where not in line with their ideology (Issaka, 2017). They, thereby, saw the problem as the inadequate candidates. To combat this they choose to boycott because of their ideology of anti-imperialism, and the candidates seen dependence on France (Marou, 2017).

In the post-election period, the movements were more focused on controlling the actions of the government, which resulted in the ability to influence the government (Kassoum, 2017), less corruption (Aminata, 2017), and most commonly expressed, by half the participants, a more cautious or constrained government (Jean, 2017). However, no collective action frames were set up in the same way as during the other events. This has led to what can only be described as a sort of apathy within many of the movements towards the current government. This is explored later.

Consequently, the movements and participants experience their influence during the events differently. It was during and before the popular uprising that the movements experience their greatest influence. However, the movements who experience greater influence during this time, such as BC, had a simpler diagnostic frame than the ones who experience lesser influence. Moreover, the prognostic framing, in terms of raising awareness or political consciousness, meant that they were able to mobilise many people. Combining these two aspects, it can be concluded that the new youth movements, such as BC, mobilised large parts of the young population; however, it was the older movements, such as MBDHP, that raised the awareness that allowed for this mobilisation. The participants experience the coup attempt and their influence during that time in much the same way as during the popular uprising, however, with a much clearer target. The experiences of the SMs during the transition period made the movements seem much more split, as they focused on different aspects. This is what has happened in the post-election period as well, where momentum was lost. Only during the election the movements diverged clearly, as UGEB had different ideas of what they wanted to achieve as opposed to the other movements who simply wanted the election to go well.

5.2 Claiming credit: winners and losers

The aspects within the concept of 'claiming credit' can be helpful in explaining why certain framings have been more successful than others, as it is one thing how the SMs frame their influence and another which of the SMs are successful. Moreover, it is useful to explain why the SMs are framing their influence in the way they are. Only one of the SMs, BC, has been accredited as the 'victor' in this sense, of the protests both in media and academic sources, although some believe that their actual impact has been smaller (Chouli, 2015; Frère and Englebert, 2015). As mentioned in section 4.2, the factors that Meyer believes can affect movement actor's prospects for successfully claiming credit are coalitions or allies, the goals of the movement, organisational survival, the costs and

risks of claiming victory, and constituents and claimants (Meyer, 2003:64). Here the focus is on the popular uprising and the transition as processes of democratisation.

As mentioned above, BC, frame their influence in much the same way as many of the other movements, who all believe they themselves have also influenced the democratisation process. This might be because the movements all saw their influence as part of a greater coalition of movements such as the Collectif or the Coalition nationale de lutte Contre la Vie Chère (CCVC), which means that they were often talking in broader terms. Consequently, they see the importance of coalitions. A member of MBDHP explained it like this: "it is two hands that wash themselves, one hand cannot wash alone" (Aristide, 2017), meaning that you cannot achieve anything alone. These sorts of coalitions were both with other SMs, but also with the wider civil society as well as political parties. Moreover, especially during the transition period, institutional routes were largely used in order to influence the democratisation process (Kassoum, 2017). However, during the popular uprising, mass mobilisation was used and most participants seemed to think that they had been more influential than what was done during the transition period. BC was especially good at mobilising people, which is also clear from their slogan: 'our number is our strength' (Aminata, 2017). This was best expressed with reference to their name by Aminata, "when you take a twig out of a broom you cannot sweep, you cannot move twigs, but when you put the twigs together, they can move mountains of garbage" (Aminata, 2017). Consequently, most of the movements were in coalitions, which mean that in this case BC was not special.

Too broad or limited goals make victories harder to claim (Meyer, 2003:64). In the interviews, it became clear that the older movements had clear goals, which was by all members stated almost word for word. MBDHP's goal is to work for the promotion, protection and defence of human rights (Karim, 2017). UGEB's goal is to defend the material and moral interests and improve the living conditions of students (Sebastien, 2017). This is opposed to MSV-Burkina who all stated different goals such as the promotion of human rights through good governance (Noaga, 2017) or to push the mass to get interested in public affairs (Jean, 2017). Here, BC presents an interesting example as they had a clear goal during the popular uprising, that presidents should only be able to sit for two terms (Aminata, 2017). This made it much easier for them after the popular uprising ended to claim victory, which MSV-Burkina could not. However, MSV-Burkina tried to claim credit through their association with BC (Noaga, 2017). Moreover, BC now have divided goals, such as civil education and pressure to get good governance (Joel, 2017), accountability in government and to get everybody involved (Aminata, 2017), and to make Burkina Faso a country of rights, justice and equality (Sylvestre, 2017). This might be one of the reasons that BC has not since been as visible as they were during the popular uprising, because they were not able to connect as many people to a clearly stated goal.

During the popular uprising, many movements sprang up and have since disappeared again (Pierre, 2017). This means that all the movements in this study had a degree of organisational survival during the last two and a half years. Especially BC, as a young movement, outlived many of their opponents, as it was especially youth movements that sprang up during this time. However, MBDHP and UGEB have been around for a long

time and have, thus, been more established in society. BC was especially visible compared to the other movements; this can be exemplified by the documentary *Une revolution africaine* (2015) on the popular uprising, which only shows BC and not the other movements. However, since then, with the exception of during the coup and elections, most of the movements have not been able to be visible in the actions that they have taken. This means that some of the credit BC won during the uprising has since been lost.

The risk of victories is an important aspect, as that can provoke opponents. The clearest example of this was that during the coup attempt BC was directly targeted as one of their leader's, Smockey's, studio was ransacked, and it was dangerous to wear black T-shirts (Saidou, 2017), as the BC T-shirt is black: "so there were people who lost their lives because they wore black T-shirts" (Aminata, 2017). Of course, BC did not know this would happen, so this was not a risk that they had contemplated when claiming victory. The frontmen of BC are a rap singer and a reggae artist; this means that they have quite an exalted position in society and many young people listen to them. The leaders of MBDHP on the other hand are society leaders, which mean that they are older and more established, and they are also leaders in the coalitions. However, in this case, the power over the youth proves more influential.

Consequently, coalitions and allies are seen as important and used by all movements during the popular uprising. BC had a clear limited goal that made it easier to claim credit after the uprising, but has since been more difficult. BC is one of the few new youth movements that have survived since the popular uprising. The risk of victories was not taken into account when claiming victory of the uprising, moreover, the frontmen of BC are powerful people with the youth, the biggest part of the population. This means that BC could claim the victory during the popular uprising over the other movements.

5.3 Political opportunities

Political opportunity structures are socially constructed and depend on how individuals perceive them (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009:27), this ties in with the subjectivity of framing. As mentioned in section 4.3, one of the central ideas to PPT is that different forms of action, the 'repertoires of contentions', are associated with different temporal and spatial locations. Furthermore, those actions depend on the structure of the political system, the level of repression, and cultural traditions (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009:26). As mentioned in section 1.1, structural and cultural institutions were in place in Burkina Faso, which means that SMs have been a constant presence since independence (Chouli, 2014:262; Hagberg, 2002). This presence has become a part of the cultural traditions, something that the participants saw as critical (Sebastien, 2017). Moreover, repression of the press has been relatively low in Burkina Faso, as Compaoré had accepted freedom of press as a means to bring legitimacy to his regime. Referring this back to the study in section 2.1.1 by Dulani (2011) on African SMs, the movements in Burkina Faso had, like in Malawi and Zambia, a great deal of autonomy

and independence due to this historical relationship with the ruling party. An important note on spatial locations is that the conditions are different on the countryside than in Ouagadougou. It is said that elections are won in the countryside, but power is lost in town; "[o]ne reason is that the urban population is politically much more powerful and well articulated in national politics. Yet rural people represent the overwhelming majority (about 85 per cent) of the population" (Hagberg, 2002:227).

Further, the three critical factors to mobilisation are the degree of organisation, the level of consciousness or 'cognitive liberation', and the 'structure of political opportunities', that is openness, divisions, allies, etc. (Staggenborg and Ramos, 2016:23). The expansion of these opportunities results in a cycle of contention (Tarrow, 2011:199). Most of the participants saw the degree of organisation as crucial as Aristide (2017) said: "if they [the movements] are not organised; they will disappear." The level of consciousness or shared understanding has been discussed in connection with framing processes. As mentioned in section 2.2.1, Engels believes that in Burkina Faso, the dynamic politico-institutional structures represent a cycle of contention, and that the food price crisis of 2007-2008 opened a 'window of opportunity' that lasted at least until the popular uprising in 2014 (Engels, 2015b). Regarding openness and the separation of power Noaga (2017) had a clear view of this:

> Before the insurrection we could not talk about democracy […] it was a veiled dictatorship of Blaise Compaoré. He was at the same time the president of Faso, president of the council of ministers, chief of the army, first magistrate in the supreme court [...] and he had been in power for 27 years, and he came to power by blood […] this means that […] the executive, legislative and judicial power, were concentrated in his hands.

However, as mentioned, Burkina Faso was open to SMs. All participants agreed that allies are important. However, it seemed that allies had been garnered before the uprising, but have since the election been left behind. As the movements allied themselves to other movements for a specific cause, and after that was achieved, they moved apart again as their objectives no longer matched. As Clara (2017), an embassy employee, said, they came together for specific issues, but it is difficult to do on a permanent basis. This aligns with Dulani's (2011) factor on unity and cohesion. This might support the conclusion that after the uprising and transition the expansion of political opportunities stopped, which has meant that the 'window of opportunity' created by the food price crisis might have closed again. Furthermore, as Kriesi (2004:68) mentioned, it is also about the actors' belief about these opportunities, and it is clear that the movements saw many more opportunities around the time of the events, but that these have been diminishing in the post-election period.

Consequently, cultural traditions have played an important role as well as the structure of the political system that gave the SMs a great deal of autonomy and independence. This has influenced the actions that the SMs took, which in turn had an impact in how the SMs experience their influence. The degree of organisation, the level of consciousness, and the structure of political opportunities have all been found to be important. However, there might not be as many opportunities now. Still, it could have been threats, rather than

opportunities (Staggenborg and Ramos, 2016:24) that created the mobilisation for the uprising and coup as that created feelings of outrage.

5.4 Post-election apathy, contributions and ways forward

Although the post-election period has not been set up in any collective action frames, it is still an important period regarding how the movements experience their influence on democratisation processes. Still today, after a widely recognised transparent election, power is seen to be in the same hands as before the uprising. This means that many of the participants believe that the system is the same and still undemocratic. Moussa (2017) explained:

> Today we have to make it clear that people are disappointed […] people were expecting a real change but when you see it, well, it does not have the expected change and there are attempts to go backwards and challenge some of the gains that have been made […] if we lower our arms, they will return to the old habits.

As mentioned in section 1.4, democratisation is a process, which was also expressed by the participants: "I think that Burkina Faso is on a path, a process that is really far from being finished" (Abdou, 2017) or "a democracy is not built in a single day, it is a long process and I think that the process has started even if we have difficulties at the moment [...] it has started. I think there is democracy" (Thérèse, 2017). When the events in Burkina Faso are seen in this light, it is easy to be optimistic that changes will continue to occur and that the SMs have influenced the mentioned democratisation processes in their own ways, through for example mobilisation and awareness raising. Even despite these difficulties and disappointments, "never again are politicians free to do what they want without a voice rising to say no, even if they do not listen, so this expression of the population that has become possible, and that is our part of democratisation" (Salamata, 2017). This might seem like a relatively minor part or influence on democratisation processes, however, enlightened understanding and reaching the 'hearts and minds' of people is extremely important. As Thérèse (2017) said: "I realised that the expression 'nothing will be as before' is true every day because people know their rights and people want the opportunities to exercise their right."

After the terror attack in January 2016, the SMs have turned more towards security issues, rather than governance and democracy issues (Clara, 2017), which means they are no longer as visible in the area of democratisation. However, for the movements to be able to influence this area there is a need for clear framing and for the movements to be united in coalitions for change, though a threat or opportunity might be needed to open another window. The participants were asked what advice they would give to SMs in other countries wanting to achieve the same they had. Many pointed out that because of the distinct history of protest and SMs in Burkina Faso dating back to independence, there is a specific space here there might not be in other places. However, as Hagberg (2015)

says, young people in many different countries are being inspired by the popular resistance in Burkina Faso, and that is where this study can contribute to the wider SM action, to provide inspiration for SMs in other countries.

6. Conclusion

Through a thematic experience analysis of semi-structured interviews, using the ontological framework of constructivism, this thesis answers the overarching research question: *how do social movements in Ouagadougou experience their influence on democratisation processes in Burkina Faso?* and the two sub-questions*: how do social movements frame their influence on democratisation processes? Does the framing and experiences of the social movements matter for who succeeds in claiming credit?* By looking at their experiences, first, before and during the popular uprising, second, the transition period, third, the coup attempt, fourth, the election, and last, the post-election period. This is done through the theoretical framework of social constructionist theory, the concept of 'claiming credit', and political process theory. This is based on a collective case study carried out in Ouagadougou interviewing members from five different social movements and experts, as well as secondary data in a literature review.

To conclude, the participants and movements experience and frame their influence during the various events differently. This depends largely on how they experience the socially constructed reality of what democracy and democratisation should involve. They experience their greatest influence before and during the popular uprising. It is apparent that the movements, such as the new youth movement Balai Citoyen, who experience a greater influence, had a simpler and clearer diagnostic framing. However, it was the awareness raising of the older movements that allowed for this mobilisation. The participants experience and frame the coup attempt with a clearer target, but otherwise in similar ways as the uprising. The transition and post-election period have more varied framing which resulted in the movements seeming split and momentum being lost. These framings and experiences are found to matter for who succeeds in claiming credit, as Balai Citoyen could claim victory during the popular uprising, but has since been less visible. This is due to a clear limited goal during the uprising, coalitions and allies, and organisational survival. This is connected to cultural traditions, the structure of the political system, the level of consciousness, the structure of political opportunities, and the degree of organisation, which has influenced the actions and how the participants experience their influence on democratisation processes as those are subjective.

Going forward, the movements can use these conclusions in how they frame future events in order to be able to mobilise and achieve change, as there is a need for clear framing and for the movements to be united in coalitions and use their allies. However, this might not be possible to achieve until a new threat or opportunity opens another

window. Consequently, the movements experience their influence in the short-term through indirect mobilisation and long-term through direct change making. Continued research within the field of social movements and democratisation could be to create a more Africa-oriented social movement theory, to examine the issues with a more broad-scope focus in Burkina Faso or West Africa, and to conduct comparative studies on Burkina Faso and other African states.

7. References

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Appendix 1: Participants

Anonymised name	Sex	Social movement	Language	Date
Joel	Male	BC	French	24 January 2017
Aminata	Female	BC	French	24 January 2017
Kassoum	Male	BC	French	24 January 2017
Sylvestre	Male	BC	French	27 January 2017
Thérèse	Female	ADEP	French	1 February 2017
Salamata	Female	ADEP	French	7 February 2017
Abel	Male	ADEP	French	9 February 2017
Aristide	Male	MBDHP	French	16 February 2017
Moussa	Male	MBDHP	French	16 February 2017
Karim	Male	MBDHP	French	16 February 2017
Abdou	Male	MBDHP	French	28 February 2017
Sebastien	Male	UGEB	French	17 February 2017
Hamidou	Male	UGEB	French	17 February 2017
Marou	Male	UGEB	French	17 February 2017
Issaka	Male	UGEB	English	22 February 2017
Ignace	Male	MSV-Burkina	French	21 February 2017
Jean	Male	MSV-Burkina	French	13 March 2017
Noaga	Male	MSV-Burkina	French	16 March 2017
Davide	Male	NGO	French/English	16 January 2017
Louise	Female	Embassy	English/French	23 January 2017
Harouna	Male	Researcher	French	27 January 2017
Clara	Female	Embassy	French/English	31 January 2017
Saidou	Male	Civil society	French/English	8 February 2017
Pierre	Male	Civil society	French	13 March 2017

Appendix 2: Interview guide

Name:
Gender:
Member of which social movement:
How many years involvement:
Position in social movement:

Main questions	Sub questions
How did your interest in [specific SM] begin?	
How have you been involved in [specific SM]?	
What are the goals or objectives of [specific SM]?	
How do you think [specific SM] have influenced the democratisation process in Burkina Faso?	How do you think social movements generally have influenced the democratisation process?
How was [specific SM] involved before and during the popular uprising in 2014?	What did you experience during that time? How did that influence the democratisation process?
How was [specific SM] involved during the transition period?	How did that influence the democratisation process? Do you think those actions made the transition period more democratic?
How was [specific SM] involved during the coup in September 2015?	What did you experience during that time? How did that influence the democratisation process?
How was [specific SM] involved during the election period?	Do you think those actions made the election fair or transparent? How did that influence the democratisation process?
How has [specific SM] been involved since the election?	Has that made the current government more democratic? How did that influence the democratisation process?

How do you understand the democratisation process in Burkina Faso?	What does it take to be a democracy? Is it democratic now?
What do you think is the most important factor for a social movement to have to influence the democratisation process?	Do you think it is important to have allies and partners? Do you think it is important for a movement to be organised? Do you think interaction with the state is important?
Do the people in [specific SM] feel that they have influenced the democratisation process?	Is that the way you feel too?
What advice would you give to social movements in other countries that want to influence the democratisation process in their countries?	
Do you have anything more to add?	

Appendix 3: Plain language statement and informed consent form[3]

Plain Language Statement

Social Movements and Democratisation in Burkina Faso

Student: Maria Gjerlufsen, Lund University (Sweden),
Maria.Gjerlufsen@hotmail.com

You are being invited to take part in a Bachelor study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the study is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

Purpose of the study
The purpose of the study is to investigate how social movements have influenced the democratisation process in Burkina Faso. The study aims to build a more comprehensive understanding of social movements and how they influence democratisation processes in Burkina Faso.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen to participate in this study because of your position as a member of a social movement. A number of other individuals in similar positions have also been invited to participate.

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[3] English version.

Do I have to take part?
You are entirely free to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?
If you decide to take part you will be interviewed by the student on the study. If you agree to the interview you may be audio recorded. If you prefer not to be audio recorded the student will take notes during the interview. These notes will be transcribed after the interview. Should you wish to see or edit the interview transcript this can be made available to you. Any information will only be used with your agreement. The interviews will take place at a time and place that is convenient for you.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?
All information which is collected about you during the course of the study will be kept strictly confidential. Your anonymity will be protected at all times and you will be free to contact the student at any time to discuss this.

What will happen to the results of the study?
The results of the study will be a Bachelor thesis. You would be sent a copy of this thesis if requested and you will not, unless you choose to be, be identified in this thesis.

Who is organising and funding the study?
This study is partially funded by the Minor Field Study scholarship, the scholarship programme is administered by the Swedish Council for Higher Education and Lund University and financed by the Swedish International Development Agency, Sida. The purpose of the Minor Field Study programme is to give university students increased knowledge of the developing world.

Contact for Further Information
Please contact Maria Gjerlufsen Maria.Gjerlufsen@hotmail.com for further information on this study.

If participants have any concerns regarding the conduct of the study they can contact the student's supervisor:

Anders Uhlin
Professor and head of the MFS-Programme,
Department of Political Science, Lund University
Anders.Uhlin@svet.lu.se

Informed consent form – please complete if you are happy to take part in the study.

Name of student: Maria Gjerlufsen

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study.

2. I have spoken to the above student and understand that my involvement will involve being interviewed at a time and place to suit me. I have had the opportunity to ask questions.

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

4. I understand that I have the choice to have my identity anonymised in this research.

5. I understand that all data will be stored securely and is covered by the data protection act.

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____   _____   _____

Name   of   Date   Signature

Participant

_____