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When Social Movements Function as Democratization Forces: The Radical Democratic Perspective on the Role of Social movements in Georgia 2012-2018

MA Thesis

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Tartu 2020

I have written this Master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources, and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude to my supervisor-Katrin Uba for the unbelievable help and guidance throughout the thesis. I would like to show gratitude to The University of Tartu for providing useful guidelines and exceptional education experience throughout the program. I would also like to expand my gratitude to all those who have directly and indirectly guided me throughout the research.

Abstract

In 2012-2018, Georgia witnessed the emergence of drug policy reform and related human-rights movements. The study aims to examine these protest dynamics and question to what extent social movements can function as democratization forces. The research on social movements and democratization has shown that the current perspectives on democratic development downplay the role of social movements and overemphasize the role of institutions, democratic transitions, economic modernization, and consensual-decision making. Similar perspectives on democratization are manifested in the context of Georgia. The study systematizes all protest period dynamics in 2012-2018 under the single notion of eventful democratization by redefining and seeking radicalism in this concept. Building on the radical democracy approach and social movement literature, the study proposes the alternative theoretical framework of radical eventful democratization from transitology and elite-centric views. The study shifts the focus from institutional politics to discursive social struggles and asks: How do the social movements advance their representation to the new political spaces? How do the social movements collectively form and construct alternative democratic conceptions and political demands? How do the social movements function as a collective struggle against the hegemonic discourses? These questions represent the three foundational research dimensions of the theoretical framework. On the basis of the theoretical framework and research questions, the study argues that radical eventful democratization takes place to a certain extent when social movements advance their representation to the new political spaces, when they form and construct alternative political demands and democratic conceptions and when they initiate a collective struggle against the hegemonic discourses.

The theoretical framework applied to the single-case study of Georgia informs the method of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse analysis. Empirical foundations are grounded on two in-depth interviews conducted with the activists of social movements and comprehensive analysis of online media and social movement documents. The analysis of the media demonstrated that social movements played a certain role in strengthening democracies in 2012-2018 in Georgia. The results reveal a combination of positive and negative factors accounting for the radical eventful democratization: Aesthetization of movements, creation of alternative political spaces, the symbolization of

dance as political resistance, imposing alternative democratic imaginary, low level of alignment to dominant narratives and, low level of ideological solidarity between the social groups. The results from the discourse analysis indicate that social movements contributed to the democratization processes from the radical democratic perspective. On this basis, it is recommended to further extend the link between radical democracy and social movement paradigms in the future. The proposed theoretical framework and the derived factors from the analysis require further replication and studies, as they potentially expand the role social movements can play in shaping the democratic life and promoting democratic changes from a radical perspective.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

The years 2012-2018 mark the critical shift in the discourses on democracy and drug policies in Georgia. The activism came into being after 2012, with the emergence of the White Noise Movement – the first social movement organization (SMO) advocating the humanization of drug policies in Georgia (Krushynskaya, 2017). Even though the movement actively advocated against authoritarian drug prohibition practices since 2012, their claims got prominent amidst the intense social struggles during 2016-2018. In 2017, a rap duo "Birja Mafia" published the new rap video "tsl shavi zeda" on social media, satirizing the police forces and their behavior - the song displayed two policemen moving with the leash around the neck (OC Media, 2017). The music video gained a broad appeal both within and outside hip-hop culture (Cush, 2017). The police arrested two rappers on charges of possessing the synthetic drug MDMA a day after the publication of the video, and both expected to spend a 20-year prison (Tabula, 2017a). The rappers, their families, followers, and other social groups launched the rally "What Else Should Happen" in front of the parliament on the main square of the capital (Korbezashvili, 2017). The White Noise Movement was at the forefront of the demonstration urging the prime minister to push forward the policy reform and halt the mainstream practices of planting on drugs to justify accusations(Tabula, 2017b). Amid the demonstrations, the court replaced prison sentences with bails worth 20000 USD for each rapper in two weeks after the protest in 2017(Civil.ge, 2017).

On November 30, 2017, the constitutional court of Georgia decriminalized the use of marijuana, based on the appeals prepared by two drug movements: the already mentioned White Noise Movement and the Girchi (Rimple, 2015). The former politicians founded Political Center "Girchi," promoting the values of libertarianism and classical liberalism across all policy sectors (Political Center-Girchi, 2019). After seven months, on May 12, 2018, the special forces of Georgia raided one of the most influential night club in the region - Bassiani, inflicting severe damages on the ordinary people and arresting 60 of them (Resident Advisor, 2018a). Bassiani nurtured itself as a "Mecca for progressive values" and a must-see destination for techno and electronic music (Ravens, 2019).

As a reaction to the raids, thousands of people rallied on the main square of Tbilisi, raving on the techno beats and giving birth to the unique and innovative sound of protest - "We Dance Together, We Fight Together". These massive protest events commenced by the White Noise Movement, and the ravers' community urged to end the war on drugs challenging the power of Georgian politics (Resident Advisor 2018b).

Georgia has been the historical epicenter of outrages and revolutions throughout its history, and drug protests might be nothing unique (Rebughini, 2019). However, this thesis shows, based on the observable evidence, that the 2012-2018 protests faced a different multilayered pattern, which deserves further empirical investigation. Never before had Georgia witnessed such a mass outrage for drug liberalization and democratic extension of rights, considering that the previous protests were mostly inspired by movements trying to crumble the state through nationalist/patriotic, political, or economic demands (Mikashavidze, 2014).

So, did the social movements eliminate the oppression to a certain extent, shape policy, or pressure/redefine the democratic institutions and practices from their end? Were we witnessing the deterioration of Georgia's developing democracy or its revival through the social movements? To what extent do the institutions, elites, economic indicators, and party politics bear the duty of democratic innovations and revivals? What role have the 2012-2018 protests played in democratic changes in the context of Georgia?

To find the answers to these questions the study reviewed the most prominent literature bridging social movements and democratization disciplines in search of the concepts and theories coming closer to the answers. Numerous studies have focused on bridging social movements and different democratic theories, however, in particular, no study, to my knowledge, has provided with the all-encompassing framework for analyzing social movements' role and function in democratization. The social movement scholarship most commonly study social movements impact on democratization through democratic procedures and processes (Della Porta, 2012; McAdam, 2001; Tarrow, 1989; Tilly, 2004), policy outcomes (Bosi and Uba, 2009; Cress and Snow, 2000), and political participation and deliberation (Cohen, 2005; Donoso, 2016; Dryzek, 2002). The transitional perspectives on democratization emphasize the role of elites, institutions, economic variables, and perceive social movement as a threat or passive agents

(Huntington, 1991; Przeworski, 1991). Structuralism focus on the role of working and middle classes on social change (Moore, 1993; Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens, 1992; Stephen, 1997). Another vital stream: deliberative and radical democracies (Habermas, 1996; Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Rancière, 1999) come closer to solving the research problem. Both streams support the promotion of democratization from below and extension of decision-making to the new public places. There are articles where social movements are studied as radical actors by bridging social movement scholarship and radical democratic perspectives (Chiumbu, 2015; Jezierska and Polanska, 2018; Melucci, 1993). The radical democrats further claim that democratization from above and institutional politics can undermine democracy and slow down democratic reforms (Ritzi, 2014). Marta Rabiikowska (2009) suggests how all post-communist countries faced diverse independent democratic paths, which cannot be systematized by macro transitional democratization theories.

The radical and deliberative democracy approaches stress the democratic impact of social struggles. However, they never explicitly layout and synthesize the factors for measuring the impact of protests on democratization. This study overcomes this problem by building on the concepts derived from social movement and radical democracy research. From radical democracy, it borrows the *three democratic dimensions characteristic* to the post-democratization paradigm (Crouch, 2000; Ritzi, 2014). From social movement studies, it takes *eventful democratization* to define social movements as discursive struggles for democratization (Della Porta, 2012). Lastly, drawing on the post-Marxist ontological and empirical perspectives of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, it builds the theoretical framework (Laclau, 1990; Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Mouffe, 2005). Based on the theoretical framework, the study shifts the research focus from the democratic institutions and transitions to social movements' democratic struggle from below.

The focus of the paper is to search for a more valid framework that stresses the role of social movements and their respective protest dynamics in strengthening democracy. The study takes a unique perspective on democratization, locating social movements, and democratization in the specific context to recognize the individual democratic paths of different countries and stressing the importance of discursive democratic struggles.

It examines if democratization from the radical democracy perspective defined as radical eventful democratization was present in Georgia in 2012-2018. Radical eventful democratization interprets democratization as the formation and construction of discursive democratic struggles against the hegemonic discourses.

The theoretical framework proposes three analytical dimensions:

- *To what extent do the social movements advance their representation to the new political spaces?*
- *To what extent do the social movements collectively form and construct alternative democratic conceptions and political demands?*
- *To what extent do the social movements function as a collective struggle against the hegemonic discourses?*

The ontological perspectives developed by Laclau and Mouffe (2001) informs the social constructivist epistemological stance and the relevance of discourse analysis for studying the phenomenon. The study takes a single-case study approach and examines the protest dynamics in Georgia from 2012 to 2018 based on the data from two in-depth interviews and online media material and social movement documents. The interviews were conducted with the influential social activists in Georgia actively involved in the period of protests. The interview responses have been cross-referenced with the data provided from the online media material and documents.

The analysis revealed the relevance of all three dimensions presented in the theoretical framework, shedding light on the negative and positive factors contributing to democratization. This new theoretical model helps to better understand the nature of the 2012-2018 protests and their role for Georgian democracy. The study has an empirical contribution as it attempts to fill the empirical void in the post-communist setting of Georgia, facing the continual rise of diverse social movements and authoritarian practices on the horizon.

The paper is broken down into six main areas:

- The political context of Georgia: This section explains the rationale behind Georgia as the relevant empirical setting for the study.

- Literature review: This section explores the relationships between social movements and democratization from both democratization and social movement disciplines.

- Theoretical Framework: This section develops the model of radical eventful democratizarion.

- Methodology: This section provides the rationale behind philosophical assumptions, discourse analysis, sampling, and data collection methods.

- Analysis: This part focuses on the analysis of the data provided by interviews and online media content and social movement documents.

- Findings: The last section synthesizes the critical findings of the analysis and reflects on the factors for democratization.

2. Delimitation

Specific concepts have not been defined in further depth in order to limit the scope of the study. For the research aims, the terms: "strengthening democracy," "democratic development," "democratic changes," "democratization" can be applied interchangeably, and conceptual differences will not be addressed. The conceptual boundaries between the different democratization and democratic theories are further clarified in the literature review and theoretical framework.

The conceptual differences between the concepts of protests, social movements, and social movement organizations are not provided since the study draws on the concept of eventful democratization. Eventful democratization transcends any protests and social movements into temporal democratic events and processes.

The last aspect to consider is the notion of new public space, which refers to all new physical and non-physical platforms, spaces, and public spheres. In the new public spaces, the democratic exchange of view can take place. It resembles "free spaces," in which people can initiate the counterhegemonic struggle (Evans and Boyte, 1992).

3. The Political Context of Georgia

The specificity of democratic Georgia is essential for understanding the conditions under which the protests originated and diffused in 2012-2018. The democratic history of independent Georgia is complicated, broken down into two critical moments: in 2003 Rose Revolution allowed United National Movement and its leader Mikheil Saakashvili take charge for nine years and amid 2012 demonstrations Georgian Dream formed and operated by businessman Bidzina Ivanishvili gained the constitutional majority (Freedomhouse, 2018).

Georgia has been labeled as a successful case of economic and democratic reforms in the region. The market-oriented reforms such as eradicating corruption, deregulation of business, massive privatization ruled the political discourses of Georgia (World Bank, 2012). However, these liberal-democratic breakthroughs produced constitutional challenges to the democratic system of Georgia: the concentration of power in the center, weak system of checks and balances, lack of media access, and human rights violations in different sectors (World Bank, 2012). Robert H. Wade (2016) points out the grounds for extreme neoliberal identity in Georgia, built on the USA vs. Soviet identities and how it pushes environmental, urban, and social welfare downturns in the country. The new government formed by the political party- Georgian Dream reinforced this identity, and despite the "half-hearted" reforms, most international organizations favored Georgia as a case of successful democratization (2012). Time after time, the governments fixed the democratization discourses through its combination with democratic procedures, modernization, new public management, transparency, and modern bureaucracy (2012).

Within the last 16 years, both governments left aside human rights approaches on most policies, including drug policies. Despite the zero-tolerance practices, the number of drug users has increased by 12.5 percent to 45000 individuals from 2009 to 2012 (Rimple, 2014). No distinctions have been made between possession and consumption of drugs in the law, and people were detained on a small gram of Marijuana for 14 years (Rimple, 2014). Court judgments mostly relied on the urine tests controlled by the Ministry of Internal affairs and these tests were forced, since the police had the unofficial consent

from the power-holders to detain anybody (Rimple, 2014). One of the severe consequence of repressive drug politics was the emergence of medicines and rain killers, as the alternative of marijuana, resulting in severe damages and death in the youth (Rimple, 2014).

This is how Harm Reduction Eurasia describes the situation in Georgia:

"Georgia is known for its harsh drug policies and, like many post-Soviet countries, focuses on the prosecution and punishments of people who use drugs. Mass incarceration of people who use drugs, massive street testing practices, severe deterioration of health and social conditions of the community of drug users is the reality in Georgia "(2018).

The social movements actively working on drug policies and other human-right issues emerged in this transitional political context, dominated by the institutional understanding of democratization focused on economic indicators and conditionals by international organizations on the one hand and inhumane drug policies on the other hand.

4. Social Movements and Their Role in Democratization

This section, driven by the social movement, democratization, and democracy theories, thoroughly analyzes the current research on the role of social movements in fostering democratic practices. First, it provides fundamental insights about social movements and then opens up discussions about the democratic role of movements from both democratization and social movement perspectives.

4.1. The Social Movement Theory

Different epistemological and ontological orientations shaped the theories of a social movement. The distinction between Marxist, functionalist, structuralist, and constructivist schools, left the trace on the development of the social movement theories (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, pp. 14–16). Of these differences, there are two dominant schools: resource mobilization and political process theories developed under the rational and functionalist perspectives on collective action and framing theory under the symbolic interactionist and constructivist perspectives on collective behavior. Resource mobilization (Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1978; Zald & Ash, 1966) and political process theorists (Gamson, 1990; Kriesi, 1991; McAdam, 2010; Piven & Cloward, 1978) see social movements as rational agents with action-oriented collective behavior, basing on the calculation of resources and concurrent political opportunities. The framing refers to the social movement as meaning-making agents driving the social change through discursive practices (Benford & Snow, 2000a; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Gamson, 1992; Johnston & Klandermans, 1995).

Year after year, both paradigms have employed discursive practices and methodologies, while symbolic interactionists redefined the strategic orientation of framing, claiming that contingencies and moral shocks, as well as emotions, play an immense role in framing as a process of symbolic production (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Another stream of literature 'new social movement theory" depart from the conventional social movement perspectives, emphasize the essentialism of post-industrial social movements, emerged

since the 1960s, focusing more on the social-cultural production of identities in the ideology and state (Buechler, 1995; Touraine, 1985a).

4.2. The Democratization Perspective

The scholarship on the relationship between democratization and social movements is somewhat mixed, driven by diverse theoretical paradigms (Della Porta, 2012). Social Movements are mostly seen as "agents getting relevant when they indirectly affect the intra-elite bargaining during the transitional period" in the democratization research (Ulfelder, 2005, p. 313). Mass protests are regarded as vulnerable to elite cooptation, and any democratization is contingent on the interests of political blocks. Likewise, social mobilization from below serves as the signal for the moderates to force democratic change (Przeworski, 19991, p. 57). Samuel Huntington (1991) views economic progress, modernization, political leadership, and elites as the main factors for democratic change, while the concept of mobilization refers to the threat of a change for authoritative hardlines. The balance of class struggle in the interplay between capitalism and democracy has been the central locus of structuralist studies, calling attention to both working or middle classes and their relative potential for the promotion of democracy(Moore, 1993; Rueschemeyer et al., 1992). Transitologists "downplay or ignore the role of labor in democratization," thus, civil society goes into a small disruptive moment when churches or different institutions push for democratization (Collier, 1999, p. 5). All in all, social movements are identified as mere passive agents threatening democracy and indirectly effecting phases of elite political bargaining.

4.3. The Social Movement Perspective

Charles Tilly (2004, p. 131) proposes the reciprocal relationship between social movements and democratization from the historical perspective, insisting that both protest and democratization produce each other. Furthermore, there are movements that, on the contrary, de democratize based on the claims. The case studies and rich comparative analysis have proved the capacity of mobilization in the emergence and expansion of democracy (Della Porta et al., 2007). Joe Foweraker (1989, pp. 215–216)

goes beyond the statist conception of democracy and locates civil society in the roots of democratic consolidation, dismissing the arguments that undermine the role of social actors in the processes. How mobilization unfolds and grows is more important, than focusing on the essentialist questions to democratization. He analyses the role of nationalist and labour movements in the transition of Spain's democracy (1989). Sidney Tarrow (1994) examines the lifetime of different social movements from the perspective of political opportunity structures. The political opportunity and political process theories, in general, are actively applied in explaining the effects of the social movements on democratic politics (McAdam, 2001, 2010; Tarrow, 1989). So, the institutional and political opportunities of protest have been emphasized rather than the democratic practices of activists (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). Another stream of research relating to procedural conceptions of democracy examines the interaction between the social movement and public policy shifts, concentrating on social movements as SMOs (social movement organization) and their direct-indirect effects on policy outcomes and policy flows in general (Cress and Snow, 2000; Giugni, 1998). It is further argued, that "democratic regime cannot be a precondition" to study these effects and movements might also trigger policies in non-democratic regimes (Bosi and Uba, 2009).

Following the extensive development of the deliberative and participatory democratic theories, social movements departed from the institutional and policy models of democracies and expanded its capacity to replace the existing democratic frameworks, what Della Porta and Diani refer to the "metapolitical" role of social movements (2006). Donoso (2016) examining student movement in Chile in the deliberative and participatory practices claims that social movements promote democratization when they can pressure the government to increase their participation in the policy-making or if their demands are set on the agenda. The author favors the political process theory to study the deliberative and participatory outcomes of social movements.

To summarize, the research on the role of social movements in building democracies is divided between "democratization from below" initiated by movements vs. "democratization from above" and other elitist approaches (Tilly, 2004). Moreover, the studies focus on structural political opportunities, mobilization resources and, macro-transitional perspectives, like liberalization, modernization. Likewise, when applying the

deliberative and discursive democratic theories to social movements, the political process and resource mobilization approaches are emphasized.

Another challenge is the empirical scope of studying the connection. Della Porta realizes the limited empirical scope centered mostly around advanced democracies and western European countries (Della Porta, 2012). There are a few exceptions, when the social movement's impact on democracy is traced in Latin American (Donoso, 2016; Rubin, 1997; Foweraker & Landman, 2000; Fuentas-Nieva & Feroci) and Eastern European countries (Della Porta, 2012).

4.4. The Deliberative and Radical Democracy Perspective

Alberto Melucci(1993) insists, how "power tends to be masked behind procedures" in the formal decision-making of modern institutions and how the conventional distinction between state and civil society has become blurring - increased autonomy of representational institutions lead to multiple decision-making centers. He examines the possibility of new public spaces, where collective and individual identities are free from subordination and repression. Democratization for him signifies making "democracy possible for everyday life" via production and consolidation of new public spheres while maintaining relative autonomy from institutional politics (Melucci, 1993, p. 189). In a similar line, the processual and fugitive view on democratic development is supported by Sara M. Evans and Harry C. Boyte, referring to social movements lived experiences and the decisive role of learning in new public spaces to challenge traditional hierarchical systems(1992). Offe further argues, how new social struggles deviate from the old ones with spontaneity, decentralization, transnationalism, fighting for identity and rights for prefigurative and desired social changes (1985). Jürgen Habermas (1996) emphasizes the role of discursive communication and the construction of rational discourse by civil society. Despite departing from the institutional and conventional politics, the majority of participatory and deliberative literature still draws on the extension of formal decision-making, political participation, and new administrative designs(Abers, 2000; Fung & Wright, 2001). The second stream of literature theorizes deliberation in terms of public and voluntary services (Cohen, 2005; Dryzek, 2002). Democratization for deliberative democracy theorists mostly refers to creating free public spaces to acquire a collective

identity, promote further participation, and conflict institutional and bureaucratic power in decision making (Polletta & Jasper, 2001).

The last stream of literature - radical democracy, conceptualize democratic politics as a sphere of societal life (Crouch, 2000; Rancière, 1999; Wolin, 2009). This paradigm suggests:

"Without a lively public discourse, democracy is necessarily unstable. Therefore, changes in the public sphere are of special relevance for democratic quality" (Ritzi, 2014, p. 174).

Radical democracy theorists regularly examine the cases to critique the neoliberal hegemony, claiming that modern democracies simulate a "post-democratic constitution," the term coined by Crouch(2000). Post-democratisation refers to the process of depoliticization in which material and cost-effective politics substituted the ideals and political sphere; the conflicts have been oppressed due to consensual politics, and in general, the economy and status-quo have expanded influence on public life (Ritzi, 2014). The main differences between deliberative and radical democrats are that the latter emphasizes the role of political contingency and emancipation in democratic development, while the former focus on the discursive rationality and cooperation. The radical democratic view can further challenge resource-mobilization, the political process, and elitist perspectives on democratization because these theories dismiss the role of discursive reality in political decision making (Ritzi, 2014). Measuring social movements and democracy with the help of radical politics and discourse theory is rather rare in this literature. The role of tenants movements in Poland and discursive practices between media social movements and politics in South Africa are the most relevant cases (Chiumbu, 2015; Jezierska and Polanska, 2018). The radical political framework has been applied by various social movements and new social movement studies (Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Robinson & Tormey, 2008)

Radical Democratic perspectives on democratic politics affirm the initial research question that social movements and protests can function as meaningful democratization forces since the post-democratic approach proposes that "democracy is a permanent and endless process of emancipation that goes along with conflict and disagreement that neither can nor should be resolved" (Ritzi, 2014). Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe further develop the radical stance drawing upon the diverse fields: post-structuralism and

post foundationalism (Ferdinand de Saussure, 1960), psychoanalysis (Neill, 2011) and Post-Marxism (Gramsci, 1999).

To conclude, there exists a considerable body of literature on the relationship between social movements and democratization. Most of the social movement literature employs traditional social movement theories: political process, resource mobilization, and constructivist paradigms (Mcadam, 2001; Tilly, 1974; Kriesi, 1991). The democratization literature being inspired by transitology approaches stress the role of institutional democratization, elite cooptation, and economic modernization and perceive social movements as a passive agent threating the democratic transition (Huntington, 1991; Przeworski, 1991). The deliberative and radical democratic streams of the literature suggest the promotion of the societal democratization and extension of social movements to democratic decision-making (Rancière, 1999; Wolin, 2009).

The previous research on radical politics can only be considered the first step towards a more profound understanding of the role social movements might play in fostering democratization. The deliberative and democratic theories show the tendencies of the importance of mobilization. The research question of how exactly can social movements promote democratization remains to be addressed. To move beyond these limitations, building on the theoretical concepts of radical democracy, post-democratization, eventful democratization, and discourse theory, the study offers a more systematic theoretical framework for analysis.

5. Theoretical Framework

5.1. Post-Democratization

As seen in the political context of Georgia, the focus on democratic transitions and the role of democratic institutions can alter the democratic realities with procedural politics and macro indicators, *as well as mitigate the real impact of social protests*. The institutional analysis of democratization overemphasizes the role of the transition of democratic institutions, and draw on the conventional democratic indicators: the rule of law, access to the elections, freedom of speech as crucial indicators (Ritzi, 2014, p. 59). Apart from the evidence from the political context of Georgia, why is the post-democratization perspective on social movements more relevant, than the institutional?

The post-democracy assumes that the essence of democratic politics is a societal life (Wolin, 2009). It implies that post-democratization trends in the world reshaped the democratic system with the prevailing tendencies of consensus politics, economic politics preceding the political, depoliticization, and dichotomization of private/public spheres, and the oppression of any conflict. Democratic politics include the struggle between different antagonistic positions (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). In contrast to such views, the institutional view on democratization does not embrace democratic development in the political life outside conventional politics and, accordingly, it does not consider the political effects of social movements. Following the statements of Laclau and Mouffe, that hegemony is not as an imposition of preconditions, but as something that comes out from the struggle of different groups, it is challenging to study the included and excluded social groups, as well as the role of the public sphere and extra-institutional politics via macro transitions and pure democratic indicators(1998). The last argument against the institutional analysis of democratization can be its positivist nature, because in radical democracy, all struggles take place, and hegemonic constellations gain power, only under the fluctuations of political discourses(Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). The democratization from a radical perspective mainly operates through language and communication, leading

to discourse analysis as the appropriate and reliable method for analysis (Ritzi 2014, 178.).

The relevance of post-democratic and radical democratic views paves the way to the theoretical concepts developed by Claudia Ritzi in the analytical framework to evaluate the democratic quality of the political discourse (179-181). Claudia Ritzi (2014, 179-181) drawing on the prominent radical democratic theorists proposes the fruitful analytical perspective on the post-democratic dimensions of new political orders to examine reasonably to what extent the regimes are moving to the post-democratic conceptions:

The first dimension of normative relevance is equality. "all citizens and groups of citizens should be able to have the same influence on the public sphere and present their opinions and interests to a broader political public" (Ritzi 2014, 179). Ordinary citizens will play a minor role in any political discourses in favor of elites, celebrities, economic, and political experts to gain and substantiate their voice, while social movements and other groups cannot represent themselves sufficiently to gain access to the political sphere.

The second dimensions refer to the openness of the non-economic and anti-systemic issues in general. The relative influence of consensual and economic issues arise and dominate political discourses.

The third dimension is the rationality of the discourse or when conflicts become less visible in society. Political problems are being altered or transferred to the market, experts for further deliberation; Political decisions are taken either right or wrong.

By questioning these three pillars in the regimes, the researchers can examine to what degree the post-democratic order secures the regime. *Since* the scope of this research is located on the role of social movements in strengthening democracies from a radical democratic perspective, let us modify the three dimensions mentioned above for the aims of the study. *How can social movements struggle against these three conditions naturalized by post-democratic regimes? The study derives the answers to this questions by reversing these three dimensions to examine them the perspective of social movements, e.g. if the regime maintains the order by constraining the access and limiting representation for the social groups, as mentioned under the first dimension, the social movements can struggle back by expanding the representation of the collective identities in the political sphere.*

So, by reversing the three dimensions, the study proposes three main theoretical components:

Increasing/advancing representation to the new public spaces, collectively forming and constructing alternative democratic conceptions and political demands and collective organization of the democratic struggle against the hegemonic order.

These three theoretical components are in relevance to the equality, openness, and contingency principles proposed by Ritzi in the analytical framework (179-181). This approach thoroughly examines to what degree the agents can make an intervention and produce democratic impact from below. However, the analytical insights presented above open up further discussions critical for the study: How are these democratization dimensions related to the social movements? How to measure and define these three dimensions for the aims of the study?

Since the struggles against the post-democratic dimensions mainly operate through language and communication, changes and consequences of discourses need to be analyzed in the discursive field where all social relations take place over a certain period (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). The discursive turn contradicts the conventional perspectives on the social movements as pure agents in democratization. It instead shifts the focus to the relation between different discourses articulated by the movements and hegemonic structures. Hence, taking a social movement as the mere agent of change can limit a study of discourses and democratic effects. This theoretical challenge reveals the potential of eventful democratization (Della Porta, 2012). Eventful democratization transcends the movements and protests into the chain of interrelated events and mechanisms over a specified period.

5.2. Eventful Democratization

Della-Porta bridging the social movement, and democratization literature develop the notion of eventful democratization in the book "Mobilising Democracy, Comparing 1989 and 2011" (2012). Della Porta's main endeavor is to reveal the processes and mechanisms by which social movements become critical players in the democratic transition. Eventful democratization constitutes one of the three modes of transitions, set out by the author, and refers to the democratic changes through "often short, but intense waves of protest" initiated by social movements and located in the structural context (2012, pp. 1–4). This concept gets over the dilemmas of agency-structure by looking at the moments of democratization and how their interactions create emergent structures and mechanisms (Herzog, 2015, p. 378). Emotional, cognitive, and relational patterns constitute the main mechanisms transforming the contextual settings, wherein movements democratize from below (2012, pp. 1–4). Protests in eventful democratization hold a temporal and unexpected character, as it is questionable to determine and estimate the scrupulous capacity of mobilization and structural constraints against them. Hence, the primary analytical usefulness of eventful democratization is to study the temporalities in the moments of eventful and analyze how coordinative, emotional and cognitive mechanisms interact in the political field linking social movements as initiating agents from below and structural constraints and opportunities. Eventful democratization refers to every intense event that affects the structures and advances social change through any of the mechanisms- new public spaces (Egypt), symbolic mobilization(2012, p.17). In the empirical examples presented throughout the book, the main three pillars of social movements: Framing, resources, and opportunities are analyzed for different countries in the context of eventful democratization. Della porta stresses out "framing of democracy" as an important concept during the social struggles. Although the outcome of any movements can be new election or policy developments, the activists often refer to broader participatory or more radical conceptions of democracies (2012, p. 117). The eventful democratization carries certain constructivist elements as it takes into account the role and meanings of collective identities in the struggle. In short, the notion of eventful democratization by combining and enriching both: social movements and democratization disciplines can add the conceptual and theoretical value to this paper.

5.3. Eventful Democratization Radicalised

While most radical democratic theorists share the similar ontological views, the study actively draws on the notion of discourse and the ontological perspectives developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in their first book Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics (2001). Laclau and Mouffe break up with Marxist essentialism and the dominant paradigm that economic is the foundation of all social conflicts, which reduces all struggles to the level of class. They do it through radicalizing the Gramscian notion of Hegemony. Hegemony for Gramsci referred to the "organization of consent" – the principle of domination through manipulating common sense without violence (Smith, 1998, pp. 161–163).

Laclau and Mouffe reject the predefined objective laws of base/superstructure, and starting the role of material conditions, transferring the Hegemony on the ontological level. The hegemony constitutes the way politics is conducted, and it is political processes that precede over social: politics has primacy(Laclau, 1990 p. 33). Consequently, all groups, classes, and identities are created through discursive political processes (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 107). There is nothing outside the discursive field. From this perspective, successful hegemony refers to "the articulatory practices managed to construct a structural system of differences" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 138).

Laclau and Mouffe never explicitly define the institutional and non-institutional process of democratization and, likewise, the specific function of social movements within it. For them, the process of democratic development is interpreted as the "never-ending struggle for a radical democratic pluralist setting and infinite series of contingent recitations through the extension of democratic forces at many public sites" (Smith, 1998, p. 5). In this vein, different social movements operating against domination need to articulate the demands collectively so that the democratic struggles would affect each other and expand the social spaces. Radical democratization, in this sense, involves the elimination of the structural relations of oppression—such as sexism, racism, and homophobia. Since the social struggle constitutes the foundation of the radical democratic theory, the social

movement and collective struggles get a unique position in the radicalization of democratic discourse and struggle against any hegemonic antidemocratic order (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 159).

Drawing upon the radical democratic and post-democratic assumptions, democratization refers to the constant, contingent, and discursive process of transferring antagonisms into the social sites through collectively articulating demands and reforming hegemonic discourses. Eventful democratization in a similar vein, illuminates the role of social movements in the short term protest cycles and examines how movements and situational context produce the mechanisms, accounting for the transition. Fitting the eventful democratization to the radical democratic stance can enrich the theoretical framework, since eventful democratization allows for studying the movements through events and processes, rejects the essentialist institutionalist paradigms, focuses on democratization from below, and does not solely stress the role of social movements in terms of policy impact or elite bargaining, which is challenging to follow in countries like Georgia.

All these factors reveal the potential for establishing the link between radical democratic perspective and social movements via eventful democratization. So, how to radicalize eventful democratization? In the radical perspective, mechanisms are inapplicable to the extent that they reflect "causal patterns of action producing some outcomes"(Della Porta, 2012). No antagonism or struggle can be reduced to the objective causal chains, and agents do not have a rational self-determining state of nature(Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, pp. 83–84). However, the relational nature remains, since both discursive and non-discursive views assume the relations between agents and structures, with the significant difference - in radical eventful democratization, democratic changes take place within and around signs and discourses.

The radical turn translates all contextual factors and political opportunity structures into the hegemonic discourses. Any social movement initiating the struggle during the eventful democratization becomes subject to discursive formations and hegemonic fixations in the specific context. *In this sense, the radical eventful democratization is defined as a formation and construction of discursive democratic struggles against the hegemonic discourses.*

The radical politics and discourse theory redefines the essence of democratic politics, deviating from the essentialist ontologies and transitional-procedural conceptions of democracy –radical eventful democratization likewise departs from the procedural and institutional understandings of democratization and shifts the focus on the discursive struggles and collective identity formation. While all struggles are the inherent part of the political, not all struggles grow democratically. Thus for the eventful democratization to fulfill itself, it needs to advance democratic demands through the different social sites and rearticulate oppressed antagonisms against the dominant hegemony.

Since the study established the bridge between social movements and radical democracy through the concept of radical eventful democratization, the final point to note is to link the three theoretical dimensions of radical democratization derived from the post-democracy research and answer to what extent the radical eventful democratization can be present in different countries. **The radical eventful democratization can be present, if social movements advance their representation to the public spaces, if they collectively construct political demands and alternative democratic conceptions and if they initiate the democratic struggle against the hegemonic discourses.** These reflections are systematized in the theoretical framework in Figure 1. The methodological framework further defines the empirical concepts shown in the theoretical framework under each dimension.

What is the theoretical and empirical value behind the radicalization of eventful democratization? It offers a different perspective on democratization and democratic development through bridging social movements to radical democratic politics. Future research on the social movement's role in promoting democratic changes can test this framework empirically and supplement conventional social movement concepts. The researchers studying the democratic transitions of the states can incorporate these three dimensions to the democratic indicators, which will provide an in-depth picture of the political situation in regimes. It reveals the hidden realities that institutional and transitology analysis cannot handle. Those premises can be crucial in countries, like Georgia, where the role of elites and democratic procedures are covered or corrupt, the economic influence on politics is increasing, and the country is on the perpetual verge of social struggles, as mentioned in the section about political context.

To conclude, the study applies the proposed theoretical framework to the empirical examples of protest events in Georgia. Instead of the state-centered democratic indicators and guidelines, the idealist views on the democratic sphere is emphasized stressing the role of social movements and democratization from below. Within this line of thinking, the most relevant concept in social movement literature to synthesize the protests and social movements is eventful democratization, and the radical turn of this concept overcomes the epistemological and ontological challenges.
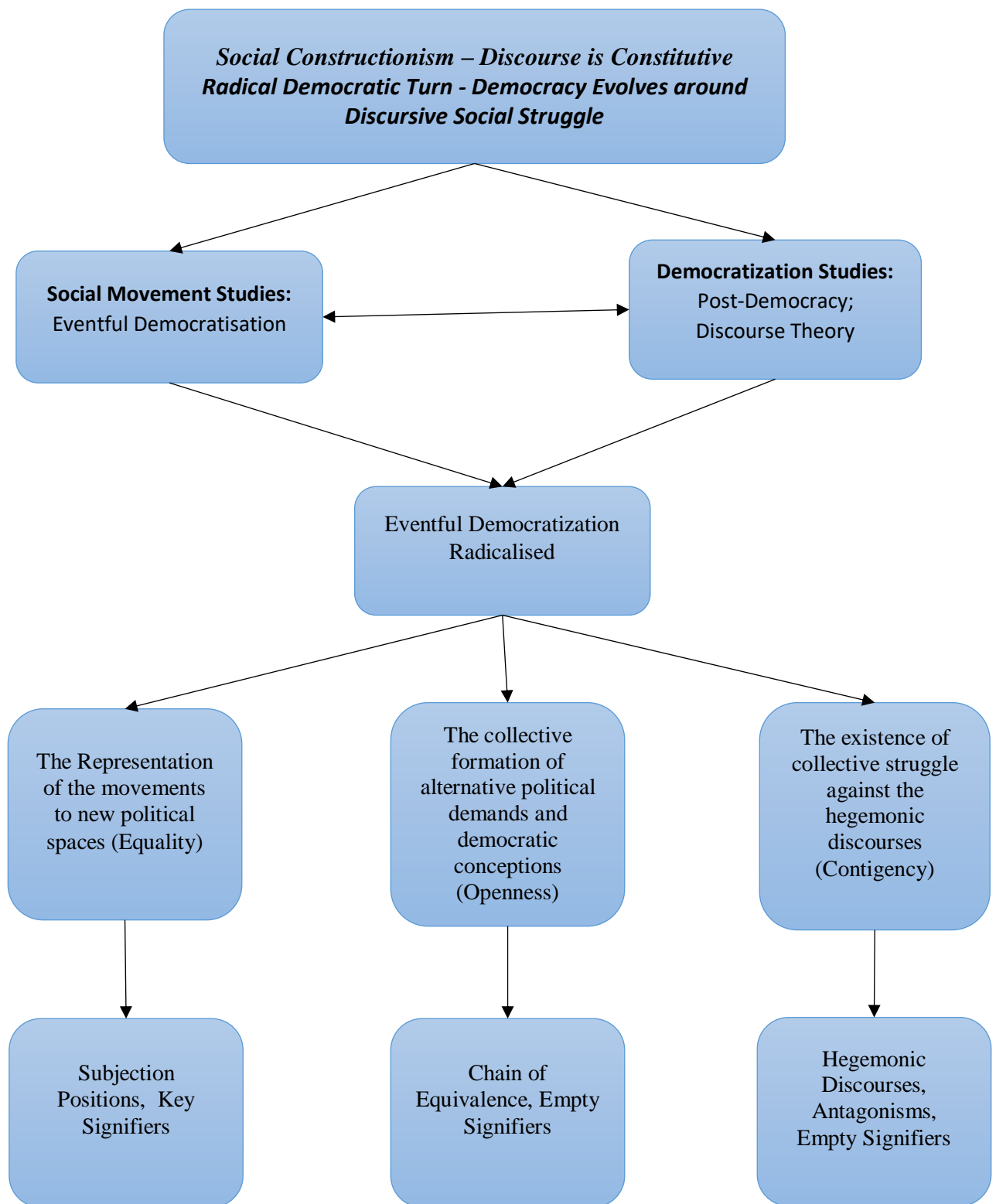
Figure 1 Theoretical Framework

6.1. Philosophical Assumptions and Research Design

The study stems from constructivist epistemology that rejects reality as a universal totality. Truth and meaning are constructed through interaction with the world. Social constructivism is concerned with the social construction of reality and meanings. Hence the reality is continually mediated, and the reality of everyday life constitutes the meaningful order that "fills our life and coordinates us in society" (Berger & Luckmann, 2011, p. 36). The constructivism gained the ground in 1970, opposing the positivist schools. Positivism holds that there exist the observable phenomena outside the researcher, which can be studied through reason and logic by systematizing the scientific data (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2009, p. 19). For Laclau and Mouffe, the social reality is discursive, which does not mean that nothing exists outside the discursive field (Laclau, 1990, p. 100). Drawing upon the Marxist and postmodernist theoretical lines, they question the objective essentialist views on reality and set discourse as a main ontological category, getting closer to social constructionism (Mendonça, 2014). The constructivist approach stresses the role of reflexivity, which is not a natural component of the objective positivist research (Darlaston-Jones, 2007, pp. 21–25). Within constructivist studies, researchers should always identify and challenge personal bias, experiences, and interpretation to see to what extent they might be affecting the interpretation of the data. The main aim is not to discover the truth, but the version of truth (King et al., 1994, pp. 35–39).

The paper employs a single case study since the study focuses on the single case of radical eventful democratization 2012-2018 in Georgia. In qualitative research, a single case study is the relevant research design for learning the relations, as it suggests gathering the data from a single individual, program, or event for "learning more about an unknown or poorly understood the situation" (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). As shown in Table 1, the single case study will trace diverse events in the context of radical eventful democratization 2012-2018. The time-frame of the case is limited to five central events: Peaceful transition of power in 2012, the suicide of Demur Sturua, White Noise Movement - the emergence of first drug policy advocacy movement, the detention of rappers 2017 and repression in the clubs 2018. The sample in Table 1 is representative of the research questions and theoretical framework. Based on the extensive background

research in different media and social movement documents, it illuminates the most critical periods of eventful democratization, in which certain changes in terms of movements and democratization were expected to take place. The study also examines other noteworthy happenings within this timeline.

Table 1 Sample of Events

Year	2012	2013-2015	2016	2017	2018
Main Events	Peaceful Transition of Power	White Noise Movement- the first movement initiated	The suicide of Demur Sturua	Detention of Two Rappers. Massive Rally: "What Else Should Happen"	Raiding the Club; Massive Protest: "We Dance Together-We Fight Together"

6.2. Discourse Analysis

The theoretical framework will be applied to the case study of Georgia through the method of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse analysis. Discourse analytic method is derived from the social constructionist, and post-structuralist claim "that our access to reality happens through language and study of discourses as meaning-fixing devices are essential" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). There are several approaches to discourse analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis, discursive psychology, Ernesto Laclau, and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory. Each of them views discourse differently, deriving from different theoretical and epistemological assumptions. Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) consists of discursive and non-discursive practices, meaning discourse is both constitutive and constituted (Fairclough, 1993). CDA is focused on the text analysis, intertextuality, and production of texts as discursive practices positioned in the field of social practices. Intertextuality becomes essential, as long as (Fairclough, 1993, p. 117). A text with rhetorical signs, discursive practices, and social practices are analyzed in the approach.

As long as the discourses are not only texts but non-linguistic practices and objects, the data is not limited to textual analysis, but finding deep non-textual symbols and archetypes beyond it(Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). So, this paper tries to integrate non-linguistic events such as music and dance derived from the data. The discourse analysis will observe how struggle takes place over the meanings of signs depending on the discourse and continuously investigating what possibilities are excluded from the construction of meanings(Engrail 2017).

6.3. Empirical Concepts

The theoretical framework in Figure 1 proposes the main empirical concepts, applied to the three dimensions with the help of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analysis presented by Louise Philips and Marianne Jorgensen in their book " Discourse Analysis As Theory and Method (2012, p. 50). Let us make these concepts clear before applying them to the theoretical framework.

Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory mainly stems from poststructuralist linguistics, inspired by Ferdinand de Saussure's ideas that signs consist of two sides, signified and the signifier(1960). Their relation is arbitrary, depending on the meanings we attach to the words. Another major inspiration comes from Jacques Lacan (Neill, 2011) - every subject strives to identify itself with the different subject positions offered by the discourses. This process of identification is never fixed and incomplete, because every subject is a subject of lack, continually trying to fulfill desires. Hence, each new identification is subject to new antagonisms referring to the common enemy. The subject position does not, therefore, resemble our primary structural positions, like class, ideology, ethnicity, "as all 'experience' depends on precise discursive conditions of possibility"(Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 115).

Hegemonic discourses are actualized in the articulation of collective identities around specific signifiers and critical nodal points. A nodal point is a central sign linking all other signs. The empty signifier refers to the signifiers that are empty with meanings, and different discourses try to fix them (Smith, 1998, p. 26). The floating/empty signifier is a signifier whose signified is non-fixed. In other words, there are multiple referents, and

different political groups compete to assign their desired signified (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, 50–52). Those signifiers gathered around a central signifier, are called moments (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 50–52). Before entering a discursive articulation, moments are called an elements (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 26).

Since the political precedes social, hegemonic discourse always leads to the contingency, hence it is never fixed to the fullest and can be subject to another hegemonic struggle. Articulation refers to "any practice connecting different elements modifying the collective identity"(Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p.141). Accordingly, new articulation can constantly produce and transform the discourses by establishing new meanings to the existing elements. Antagonisms should be framed via the chain of equivalence in order to be realized in the political. Chain of equivalence refers to the process where different signs combine and develop the chain in opposition to the hegemonic signs:

"Through the chain of equivalence, all the differential objective determinations of its terms have been lost; then identity can only be given either by a positive determination underlying them all or by their common reference to something external" (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 127).

The logic of the chain of differences refers to opposition between different signifiers, in the discursive field of the political, both logic of equivalences or different can never fully constitute each other(Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 129).

The concept of antagonism reveals the essence of the radical democracy approach. The theory of radical democracy, departs from the participatory and deliberative models, claiming that the primacy of political makes the consensus politics impossible (Mouffe, 1992, p. 233). Hence there is no politics without antagonism and social struggles. As Mouffe argues (2000, pp. 101–103) politics should form a framework where agonistic conflict takes place, rather than reconciling them. Radical democratic politics aim to transform antagonism into agonism and mobilize grievances and passions around democratic designs. Andrew Schaap (2016, p. 3) interprets radical democracy as a constitutive aspect of politics, where conflict is unavoidable, all institutions are the outcome of political struggle

Mouffe (2005, pp. 12–13, 2013, p. 3) suggests that, politics is the disruptive and never-ending process. Mouffe explicitly criticizes the established consensual discourses, which

eliminates the core of politics and sets the society is constituted around these limits, and they are antagonistic limits. In such an agonistic political space, anything advancing a liberal consensus in Habermasian or Rawlsian sense is unattainable (Mouffe, 2005). "Any consensus will be a conflictual one, and conflict —or agonism— is an inherent part of democratic politics"(Mouffe, 2016).

In the second part, the paper applies the empirical concepts defined above to the theoretical framework of radical eventful democratization.

The radical turn presupposes the shift from conventional eventful democratization concepts and indicators. Instead of causal mechanisms and contextual opportunity structures, radical eventful democratization focuses respectively on changes in discursive relations and hegemonic discourse as the main contextual structure.

The first theoretical dimension defined as the advancement of collective representation to the new public spaces focus on the collective identity indicators: key signifiers, hegemonic discourses, and their impact on collective subject positions (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002, p. 50). This section of the analysis examines if social movements during eventful democratization struggle against their misrepresentation in hegemonic discourses, rearticulate new subject positions and advance to the political spaces with fixing the alternative signifiers.

The second dimension focus on establishing a chain of equivalence and the investment of empty signifiers with meanings during the nodal points (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p.50). How do the movements during the eventful democratization collectively form and construct alternative democratic conceptions and political demands?

The third dimension refers to the existence of the collective struggle against the hegemonic discourses. Here, the focus is on forming a collective identity against the common enemies with new signifiers and antagonisms - constructing we in opposition to others (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001). Identity is always built on the lack and in opposition to others (Neill, 2011).

7. Data Collection Methods and Analysis

7.1. Sampling

Data collections have two components: In depth-interviews with two social activists from Georgia and online media material and social movement documents retrieved within the limited time frame from 2012 to 2018. The sample of the respondents for the interviews was firstly gathered based on the most relevant data for the study. However, the research process revealed the constraints in terms of getting access to my population of interest. The two activists interviewed for this study covered the full range of topics and questions required for the study. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that convenience sampling has been employed because of the constraints in reaching the target people. Convenient sampling is a specific type of qualitative non-probability sampling method when the sample is determined based on the population what/who is accessible(Lavrakas, 2008).

The second component - the online media material, including news and documents, was searched on the most popular news websites in Georgia: On.ge, Liberali.ge. These are the leading online media websites that cover mostly the drug-policy reform movements in Georgia. I utilized the purposeful sampling and targeted the media, which has in-depth information about the sample of events presented in Table 1. Purposeful sampling can be the relevant qualitative sampling strategy when the researcher focuses on the specific data in compliance with the research aims(Blackstone, n.d.). Sometimes I identified new events or discourses in the media, which helped me include additional information from other online media websites in the analysis.

The study used the strategy of cross-referencing the interview responses with the media material and movements manifest until the sample was saturated around the theoretical framework. Please, see Table 2 for more information about the research data.

7.2. In-depth Interviews

In-depth Interviews make it possible to get the thick descriptions and stories that cannot be retrieved via formal interviews(Boyce & Neale, 2006). It is the proper method when the researcher wants to get a more comprehensive overview of the issues since it provides a historical depth through individual perspectives and humanize the research processes(Health Knowledge, 2010). As the aim of the study is to analyze the democratic experiences of the social movements, in-depth interviews can trace all three empirical dimensions in a better way. During in-depth interviews, the interviewer directs their questions according to the respondents. Based on the in-depth interview practices, the study presents a specific plan of questions, adding a structural component to it (Please, see Appendix 1).

The two respondents are Paata Sabelashvili and Mikheil Jibladze. Paata Sabelashvili is a civil rights activist and founder of the first LGBT organization in Georgia, Mikheil Jibladze was actively involved in green Politics. Both activists played an active role during the protests. Paata has been at the forefront of the protests and is one of the founders of the White Noise Movement, and Mikheil Jibladze is the social activist and member of Georgian Greens. All interviews were planned to take around 45 minutes, and they have been conducted in the Georgian language. Before the start of the interviews, each of the respondents has been asked the permission to tape-record interviews and explained about the anonymity. Both preferred to be identified with their names and surnames within the research. (Please see appendix 1 for the interview guide)

7.3. Online Media Content and Sampling

I examined any content focusing on the speech acts, political manifests, interviews of the activists, politicians, and other groups - representative for five main protests from the Table1. For this purpose, I searched with the relevant keywords - "Drug Policy Movements," "Drug Policies," "White Noise Movement," "Demur Sturua," "What Else Should Happen", "Rave Protest," "We Dance Together, We Fight Together." In Georgian, I searched with these keywords: "ნარკოპოლიტიკა," "დემურ სტურუა," "თეთრი ხმაურის მოძრაობა," "კიდევ რა უნდა მოხდეს," "რეივ პროტესტი." In total, I found ten articles on ON.ge and eight on Liberali.ge. However, some articles provided the functionality to review the development of events via sub-articles and other media websites. For further saturation, I supplemented the data with different international and local sources, party manifests, and videos. Please see Appendix 2 for all media sources and Table 2 for research data.

Table 2. Methodology

Methodology	In-Depth Interviews	Online Media Sources
Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Analysis	-Paata Sabelashvili -Mikheil Jibladze	On.ge -10 News Article Liberali.Ge-8 News Article Other(Manifests, Foreign Sources, Videos)-20

7.4. Data Analysis

Two factors to consider during the analysis was not to eliminate the non-linguistic signs and symbols, and since the discourse is relational and non-fixed to examine discourses over the periods. Data has been studied and systematized based on diachronic discourse analysis (Marttila, 2015). The study focuses on the change of discourse overtime to interpret how social movements can make the democratic impact. Hence, all empirical properties were analyzed over the different time-periods and in relation to each other (Marttila, 2015).

The empirical analysis was oriented on meaning-making relations between the three main properties derived in a theoretical framework. Under the first dimensions, the study focused on the articulation of new subject-positions, re-articulations, hegemonic discourses, and key signifiers, analyzed over time and in relation to each other. The second dimension conceptualized as alternative political demands and democratic conceptions examined the actual articulation and broadening of political demands. How did movements during the eventful democratization through the chain of equivalence combine signifiers with other signs in terms of democratic revisions and political demands? The third dimension examined the possibility of social contingencies and the presence of authentic struggles through the concepts of floating signifiers, antagonism, and a common enemy. This part analyzed the construction of a collective identity against the other and how the hegemonic discourse has broadened it over time.

After the analysis and related findings are derived, the study identified the common phenomenal aspects or overarching characteristics, accounting for the radical eventful democratization. This type of analysis, named as collocation, is relevant to the discourse analysis, even though it tries to derive the ideal type of objective phenomena (Marttila, 2015). These factors outlining main positive and negative dimensions accounting for the radical eventful democratization are presented in the last Table 6.

8. Analysis

8.1. The representation of the movements in the political spaces

The discourses on drug activism and drug consumption added fuel to the fire in the political space of Georgia in 2017-2018 massive protests. However, it kicked off in 2012-2013 years in the transitional period, when the opposition party "Georgian Dream" gained a constitutional majority, formed a new government, and went on to set up new policies (Amiranashvili, 2016). Up to 2012-2013, the hegemonic discourses labeled the drug user like a criminal and "narkoman" – famous Russian word referring to the drug user with a negative connotation. This demonization has been on the whole the consequence of the so-called zero-tolerance policy discourse pushed forward by the ex-president of Georgia Mikheil Saakashvili in 2006:

"Zero Tolerance for petty crimes, conditional sentences for drug possessing should be abolished; they need to go to prisons" (Vardiashvili, 2013).

Amid the political implementation of the violent discourses by the ex-president, people faced 14 years in jails for possessing small amounts of light drugs, and the police forced the ordinary citizens to go through a THC detection Test from blood or urine(Rekhviashvili, 2014). The security forces often intimidated and threatened citizens to reveal the drug-related persons around them.

Paata Sabelashvili (personal communication, December 3, 2019) who was arrested for the possession of a small amount of marijuana, compares his detention period to the detention of the founder of White Noise Movement- Beqa Tsiqarishvili in 2013:

"I was detained in 2009, during the presidency of Misha (third president of Georgia-Mikheil Saakashvili), I was perceived as a criminal everywhere. Unlike me, Beka had good friends and gained huge support when he was jailed."

Following the traditional narratives of Georgia, drug discourse has fixed the sexual, religious identities and other subject positions under one conceptual umbrella-criminal and offender:

"When the police detained me in 2009, my community marginalized me. Since I was openly gay, it was not ethically correct for them to consume the drugs. On the contrary, in the drug users, being openly gay has been a huge obstacle to establish and integrate myself when working with drug users repressed by the punitive mechanisms of the state" (P. Sabelashvili, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

Here Paata presents himself as being ascribed to the single subject position for both: sexual identity and drug user - the identity of the criminal. It was evident how repressive drug discourse in equivalence with heteronormativity discourse fixed different subject positions under the master signifier - criminal and offender. So the criminal discourse interpellated by the government underdetermined the subject positions that could have been antagonistic to each other. "the subject is always overdetermined, and they are only underdetermined when the government naturalizes the discourses" (2002).

Since 2012, the new government of the Georgian Dream granted the amnesty to thousands of offenders, promising the decriminalization of drugs and dehumanization of drug-related practices (Amiranashvili, 2016). Paata reveals that in 2012, the partial hegemony of drug policy discourses as criminality and inhumane practice slowed down (personal communication, December 3, 2019).

New possibilities showed up: Intersectoral working committee has been formed, organizing around five central governmental bodies working on drug policy reforms. In 2012 December, the Social and Health Committee in Parliament proposed the bill for the shift from prison sentences to high administrative offenses and substantial penalties (Amiranashvili, 2016). Nevertheless, the state has not enacted any laws regarding decriminalization, the abolishment of drug test practices, rehabilitative, and damage prevention services in the 2012-2015 years.

"We do not have any plans for decriminalization and reviewing drug politics. We need to shift our focus on democratic consolidation, mountain urbanization and not on the promotion of people smoking marijuana freely"- this was the official statement of Garibashvili, the security minister of Georgia (Netgazeti, 2015).

While one can trace the opportunity window for policy change from the new government in 2012, the ruling party rearticulated the discourses of drug politics from steady hand and zero-tolerance by the ex-government to the drug decriminalization as a threat to traditional values, religion, and healthy lifestyle. The statement of Garibashvili contrasts mountains in Georgia as ritualistic, sacred places for locals to drug consumption as the negative and unconventional way of life.

2015 was the critical period of the collective identity formation within social justice and drug activists. Beqa Tsikarishvili, being perceived as a civil hero by Paata and different groups, founded the White Noise Movement (Indigo, 2019). A court in Georgia had fined Beqa with 2,000 laris ($830) for possession of 69 grams of cannabis, replacing a 14-year prison sentence, softening punishments after his appeal to the constitutional court (Liberali, 2014). These events led to the social campaign "Beka Is Not a Criminal," paving the way for further consolidation and developments of the decriminalization of drug movements in 2017-2018 (please see figure 2.)

The second respondent, social activist-Mikheil Jibladze, looks back on this period and the emergence of new political and cultural factors, attractive for ordinary citizens:

"Everything started by the campaign "Beka is not a criminal." Beka was a guy who had massive networks and supporters and managed to transform the drug policy advocacy into leftist stuff. Plus clubs and different cultural practices stimulated the movements more since clubbing combined with politics gained the attention in the people, and White Noise Movement stood out" (2019, December 6, Personal Communication).

Figure 2 Posters from the campaign-" Beka Is not a criminal."On the top – "the city is calling," in the bottom- "Beka is not a criminal." Retrieved from Netgazeti (2014)

Paata reveals new tools and attractions to build the collective group consciousness:

"White Noise movement is any noise and sounds that mask other sounds. It is a similar noise to when you switch on the TV. We felt it was time to end the fear and start the noise. Everyone was a volunteer in white noise with different skils, and we aimed to create the noise, what would go public. It was like hysteria, and we added the second element to the Noise - sirens, music, dance to form the collective identity in people's brains. The dance, noise, and chaos have created such adrenaline that people subconsciously got addicted to it."

According to Chantal Mouffe, critical artistic practices play a crucial role in suppressing the hegemonic discourse by representing and visualizing, who is repressed" (2007, pp. 5–7). The white noise, sirens, colors, symbols - all anticipated their subject positions as the oppressed and marginalized need for help. Did it produce completely new subjectivities? In 2016-2017 White Noise Movement crammed the streets protesting the tragic death of Demur Sturua, who committed suicide because local police officers pushed him to report marijuana growers in the community (On.ge, 2016). The tragic death confirmed that abusive practices from the institutions have not faded away as it was declared. Drug policies called for real changes.

This case is the first time when White Noise Movement Along With Auditorium 115 – Left-leaning group of students from the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University spearhead the protests with sirens, colorful torches, and smoke bombs and the messages that "state killed Demur Sturua"(Liberali, 2017).

The discourses in the period of 2015-2016 were different from 2006-2014 when the collective groups had to prove they were not criminals, actively labeled as regressive, and harm to society. The drug policy movements, struggling to unfix the criminality and dominant discourse, articulated the state oppression on a broader level. They shifted the focus from drug user to repressed identity – to the individuals coming from the peripheries oppressed daily by the violent practices of law enforcement agencies. The generalization of the hero of white social movement - BEKA via billboards, torches, video clips, colorful shirts, formed the discourse about the repressiveness of the system that required to be confronted. The ideological context of spontaneous demonstrations has been ideologically left-leaning, excluding the right-libertarian social groups and parties during this period.

To sum up this period before the massive protests, for over ten years, both governments in Georgia fixed the drug policy discourses around the negative signifiers: non-traditional, harmful for society, the criminal. In this discursive field, the social movements came out the voicing more and more human rights violations and state repression cases, framing the left-leaning discourse of drug policy reforms and politics. Subsequently, the social movements gained new collective identities different from drug users, offenders, and immoral. The citizens in the movements mobilized around the feeling of injustice, against the silence in elites and segregation, constructing their subject positions around justice, inclusion, and anti-system further and further.

Another critical juncture has been the collaboration of drug activists with rave clubs and dance floors in Georgia- "Mtkvari" and "Bassiani." Bassiani labeled itself as one of the most notable and prestigious dancefloors in the world(Ravens, 2019).

As Paata points out (Appendix1):

"For the first time, we addressed the real excluded people, calling for support, and embraced the settings where they could expose their lived experiences and raise their voice. These were the underground clubs - the place of trust, remembrances, grieves. It was an enjoyable experience; we were in the war! Noninterference and silence referred to being against us because your silence provided the authoritarian system. Finally, the movements went on being sexual; activism became sexual."

What did sexuality resemble, and how did the ordinary civilians and beneficiaries take up the activism? In a similar line with the agonistic model and artistic intervention, techno clubs positioned themselves as the mobilization spaces against the dominant cultures and discourses- such phenomenon is further evident in the next parts of the analysis. Different minority groups, finding its second home in the clubs engaged in the collective identity formation through creative art and dancing on rave beats. All of these cultural practices have been the counter-reaction to the dominant socioeconomic, sexual, or other statuses ascribed to the drug and other related communities. In the end, despite the challenges from the traditional hierarchy rooted in Georgia and lack of social and institutional support, the movements received a broader appeal in the media.

Another critical shift was the transformation of the activism from advocacy and institutional subject position to massive and populist, listening to everyone. As a consequence, in 2017 Based on the NDI survey reports, 70% of the population agreed on further liberalization and abolishment of criminal offenses on the consumption of soft drugs (Amiranashvili, 2016). It sounded like the non-desirable reforms for the government was coming closer. The regime faced the pressure from below since the sustained - drug user identity has been filled with new meanings, getting a broader and attractive application. As seen in Paata's last responses above, one of the most prominent subject positions articulated by the counterhegemonic movements were drug activist, anti-system warriors, and human right warrior. All that tied up with the emerging techno

movements and spaces such as clubs organized against the myths of hierarchy and religious narratives. Still, such movements played a minor role in political life until rave, dance, music, art, and political protest were brought together in one way constraining the discourses.

In 2017-2018, the activists departed from the underground and decided not to escape but face reality outside the club settings. This way, the repression became the privilege (P.Sabelashvili, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

The next two demonstrations: "What Else should happen" and "We Dance Together, We Fight Together" reveal the climax of the eventful democratization.

The detention of rap duo Birja Mafia carrying the psychoactive drug MDMA inspired the first massive demonstration in the center of Tbilisi, capital of Georgia(Netgazeti, 2017b). Thousands marched in support of them. The protests were followed by the Facebook post by the son of Billionaire Bidzina Ivanishvili - "#FreeBirjaMafia #თავისუფლება" and posts from the prime-minister that Georgia's drug policies need to be softened(Netgazeti, 2017a). Nearly ten thousand protesters lit up the mobile phones since the government turned off the lights (Netgazeti 2017a). This rally clustered different rappers and communities, who were segregated and politicized. The discourses by the state in the voice of vice-minister and celebrities were supportive and positive towards the mobilization groups(On.ge, 2017c). The conventional politicals faced the decisive moments when, on the one hand, they had to sustain the stability and support security forces and, on the other hand, support liberalization by challenging the activists' claims(On.ge, 2017d). The conservative groups, religious institutions still propelled the new discourse as regime disrupters and criminals (On.ge 2017d). At some point, the government decided to fix the floating signifiers - human rights warrior and liberalization since it constructed the broader chain for collective mobilization and tried to move the movements back to their old subject positions of drug dealers and a threat for youth(Indigo, 2019). In the meantime, police released the birja mafia members(On.ge, 2017e). Following these events, in November 2017, the constitutional court granted Girchi party members the petition to lighten up for the use of marijuana (RadioLiberty, 2017).

Figure 3 Rave Revolution retrieved from Faxinter.news*(Faxinternews, 2018)*

On 13 May 2018, special forces raided the most prominent nightclubs, "Bassiani," "Mtkvari," and "Café Gallery," searching for drug dealers, used force, handcuffed the guests (Sanaia, 2018). Nearly 60 people, including the owners, have been detained. After the raids, ten thousand people went to the parliament, chanting, "We Dance Together, We Fight Together."

The nightclub atmosphere has been intensified, transforming the demonstrations into the rave, as seen in figure 3. The international media showed the progressive Georgian youth fighting for liberation and standing for freedom of expression (Ravens, 2019). One of the organizers of the rally - Anna Subeliani, started dancing on the memorial of 9 April 1989 in Tbilisi (Liberali, 2018a). The Soviet army used tanks and gas to kill the peaceful protest of independence of Georgia. This symbolic dance represents a shift from an outsider and an underground identity to the liberator and independence warrior for everyone. Dancing on the sacred monument was the message to the society that this country belonged to

everyone, and everyone's fathers fought for its independence.The protests gained a massive appeal in broader public and media channels and increased the debates on drug politics and policies in society.

Paata makes clear how the protests got a different character (personal communication, December 3, 2019):

"We were in the clubs, under the stadium, in our bubble, and when they even restricted our existence and prohibited dancing, we came out and showed up to the ordinary public and citizens and their children, that we exist and we are normal people similar to everyone. The population got exposed to techno, and even the middle generation started anticipating it. When the founder have been detained during the night, the different communities with wigs headed directly to the protests."

The ideological connections between the left and the right movements, in general, have faded away to increase representation around empty signifiers: unity, liberation, Georgia, and extension of the drug protests as such. Different right-wing politicians and activists, as well as Girchi, supported the demonstrations, linking their libertarian view on drug legalization to the protests (Sanaia, 2018).

As Mikheil (December 6, 2019, Personal Communication) concludes: "For a moment, everyone had access to the microphone, and people without any affiliations to the protests decided to make some speeches. The protests lost its ideological and political character. However, one positive thing that never happened before was that politician was not allowed to come up with speeches."

The rally in this so-called populist momentum has been trying to extend the chain and make certain counter-hegemonic moves. The protests focusing on subcultures and dance communities struggled to add new meanings to Georgia, independence, national unity, such as dance for freedom, liberation, and human rights. There were the multiple concatenations of primary signifiers: From drug activist to the raver/liberator/progressive, from immoral to the alternative/attractive/sexual, from underground/subcultural to anti-systemic.

In the meantime, the State counter reacted with certain decisive decisions. First, they officially announced that drug policies should be finally changed as soon as possible. The Minister of internal affairs showed up on the demonstration and apologized for the raids publicly on the demonstrating saying- "Bodishi," meaning sorry in Georgian, showing the commitment to reform and develop the working committee by the members of White Noise Movement and other groups(Liberali, 2018b). For this period, the ultraconservative counter groups spearheaded the counter-demonstration, with Nazi salutes, chanting "death to the enemy" (Tabula, 2018). Moreover, the Georgian church blamed everything to the main demonstration, defending the far-right groups:

"The statement and behavior of the youth gathered in front of the parliament: gave grounds for a counter-demonstration"(Patriarchate, 2018).

The conservative public and orthodox church labeled activists as "drug dealers and LGBT propagandists," pushing the peaceful demonstrators to occupy their spaces(Intermedia, 2018).

Later, after the apologies and promise of Gakharia that the government would move policy reforms forward, the protesters felt the pressure, as they could not handle the anger of counter groups anymore (Kevanishvili & Xidasheli, n.d.). So, following the excuse from the minister activists and ordinary people started to diffuse as neo-fascist groups began circling the entire demonstration area, forbidding everyone to join the rally or leave it (Tabula, 2018). In some episodes, people were beaten up. Around this time, police made corridors between the groups. Later in the evening, the internal Minister of Georgia provided with buses to transfer the activists safely from the place with fire (Intermedia, 2018).

Large groups of peaceful protesters got back in shadows again and surrendered from the main square. The police, Ministers, religious, and conservative groups fixed the discourse of drug movements around LGBT propaganda, immorality, and a threat to Georgian nationalism in the initial populist momentum. While the shift from underground clubs to the open independence square has constructed the subjects as free citizens, liberators, fighting for justice, the protestors have been actively labeled as minority-small elitists group (Indigo, 2019). This made it difficult to hegemonize the discourses around the

movements the radicalism during the protest waves has been moved to the working committees, White Noise Movements as an organization unity faded away and stopped activities for some period (Indigo, 2019). After the six months of the active working process, the hopes for the changes has been eradicated, while the activists and movements for some period moved to advocacy processes and unending political bargaining, distancing itself more and more from the beneficiaries and vulnerable groups (Indigo, 2019).

The government discourse effectively constructed the systemic policy advocate subject from the protesters, which was mutually exclusive to the identity of liberator and identity warrior. Time after time, alternative possibilities have been excluded, and particular discourse naturalized. The government opened the clubs three weeks after the end of the protest (On.ge, 2018a). The politicians maintained the status quo by keeping the counter-protesters and drug movements apart. They have animated the peace-making process during the protests, even though their heavy tactics precipitated the crisis before.

8.2. Collective formation of alternative issues and democratic conceptions

The groups taking part in the rallies and protests differed in terms of ideological, political, and issue framing. These differences have been articulated and under articulated within different repertoires of action. The first dialectical type of relationship was evident between White Noise Movement and Political Center "Girchi." Political Center "Girchi," which means a "pine cone," in Georgian, was founded on the values of libertarianism and classical liberalism (Political Center-Girchi, 2019). Girchi, from the first periods of emergence, utilized innovative tools to struggle against establishment politicians. They stationed their TV channels and set the legalization of drugs their primary issue on the political agenda (Political Center-Girchi, 2019). One major success was when, in 2017, due to their complaint, the constitutional court decriminalized the consumption of cannabis, the decision applied to criminal offense and not fines, or administrative offenses (RadioLiberty, 2017). The constitutional court noted that restricting consuming cannabis legally was against individual rights for personal self-development. Following the decision of the constitutional court, Girchi organized the Cannabis Festival, where the leader of the organization Zura Japaridze announced to do a civil disobedience act by publicly cultivating marijuana and enabling coffee shop type of commerce, where they could sell and consume the cannabis (On.ge, 2018b).

"We have the right to do whatever we want to our bodies, to harvest, cultivate and sell the marijuana,"- the leaders of Girchi claimed through all protests (On.ge, 2017a).

They were also publicly promoting the role of legalization of drugs in Georgian economy and flow of tourists (Japaridze, 2019; On.ge, 2017b) -

"The legalization will increase the Georgian economy by 2 billion gel with four hundred thousand increase in tourist flows. The budget will be filled with 1 billion, leading to fifty thousand new employment opportunities".

For Girchi, the empty signifier - drug decriminalization became the nodal point through its combination with economic benefits, business sector development, individual rights, negative freedoms, and individual freedom. The non-linguistic practices such as videos, festivals, and protests reveal such a pro-liberty free-market approach (Political Center Girchi, 2019).

In the same period, Auditorium 115 was found in the 115-the room of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University (Mandaria, 2017). Their primary issues were the education policy reform and the abolishment of the artificial student governments serving as an electoral safeguard for the dominant party and collaborating with the intelligence and security services in Georgia (Mandaria, 2017). In their manifest, one can find clear left ideological messages (Liberali, 2016a).

This is how the manifest of Auditorium 115 describes drug policies in Georgia (2018):

"You will hear the voices of the people who use drugs to escape daily struggles, those who were victimized to the police repressions. You will hear the voices of the workers who died in the workplace and who continue to work in the harsh working conditions."

White Noise Movement constituted the largest group and organization based and inspired by the brave move of the founder Beka Tsikarishvili to appeal to the constitutional court. Remedies for repressive drug policies in Georgia focused on humane and care-based drug policy (Liberali, 2016b).

White Noise Movement promoted education/prevention, treatment/rehabilitation, harm reduction, and end of repressive practices from performance agencies(Indigo, 2019). The White Noise Movement was mainly focused on the single issue frames with a details platform and agenda of drug reform in Georgia.

Even if the issues and primary signifiers for the articulation of claims for all social groups were different and there was a significant ideological distinction between left/right and individual/collective paradigms on drug reforms, the activists from different parties and groups got united around the claims to end repression and injustice from the state. In most massive and small rallies organized by White Noise Movement, Girchi had been a huge contributor with its young membership. Girchi played an active role in all protests: "Noise for Movement," What Else Should Happen," and the last "Raveolution" or "We Dance Together, We Fight Together." Extending drug policies from issue-specific signifiers like "my body, my problem" to the broader signifiers of "Injustice, Repression, and undemocratic" was a tactical move from all stakeholders to consolidate and pressure the government. White Noise Movement and Girchi even prepared the appeal together for the decriminalization of marijuana to the constitutional court in 2017 (RadioLiberty, 2017).

Paata mentions Girchi both as a significant contributor and a massive threat (personal communication, December 3, 2019):

"It was our duty to work with all groups, we were rallying in different cities and building alliances with all groups, besides explicitly homophobic or sexist ones. Girchi was the first party we met. They realized that we had different agendas. However, it was essential to work together and not to damage each other. In the end, it seems to me that they instrumentalized everything-tragedies from harsh drug policies via branding. They believed in the free market, and that is all; most of their acts were more political, that that is why their support was a bit risky."

Apart from linking the right and left claims of drug policies into one chain of equivalence through the sense of unification around a common cause was invoked by other non-linguistic unifiers- Bassiani(Indigo, 2018). Bassiani was the alternative political space, and the so-called Bassiani generation constituted a temple for all ideological poles: libertarian and socialist youth, creative people, artists. Even though it featured a specific ravers community, it incorporated people from totally different backgrounds and crafted with alternative anti-systemic ideologies (Indigo, 2018). The government's decision to occupy the private recreational space for local youth triggered the empowering stimuli for different movements to promote alliances. The myth of desired west, progressive values reinforced by the official Western support (from different DJs and Communities) extended the political space beyond Bassiani to different mainstream media discourses (Electronic Beats, 2017).

As Paata (personal communication, December 3, 2019) supports this argument:

"We could not frame the rave protests as ideological and left-leaning since the problem was universal. I do not want to get down my left colleagues, but we never emphasized that we were left or right wings, it makes no one, since all protests are leftist. Most of us were left consciousness, but we did not want to discredit or press other groups, even the clubs have commercial business nature-oriented on profits. We did all to disseminate the leftist and solidarity ideology in the clubs, to promote equality. It never happened in Berghain; you need to withstand your privileges to be a cool guy and to love the dancefloor."

The movements needed to "create a chain of equivalence among the various democratic struggles against different forms of subordination"(Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, pp. 17–18). Rave Protests represent the escalation of different democratic struggle under one chain of equivalence – dance for equality and freedoms. The dance united not only active advocacy groups but sexual minorities, oppressed groups, mainstream liberal elites, and media (P. Sabelashvili, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

On the rave protests, people demanded the resignation of the minister of internal affairs, who ordered the raids and the prime minister (Sanaia, 2018). It was the first time when movements openly challenged the system and stimulated social change through dance. The real extension of the political was ongoing in these moments- shift from single policy reform advocacy to the dance. Vibrations grew into the political act, wielding the solidarity and extending the negative public image of the government. It was the first time when the disenfranchised citizens entered the political space promoting the alternative cultural protest. Public confounded by the images of protests started discussing, moralizing, or demoralizing the rallies.

Mikheil Jibladze emphasizes the importance of dance, however, disagrees with the potential of it:

"In the beginning, it was new. It was a cultural revolution. People are dancing on LGBT flags, Techno, and drug liberalization. However, more and more, it was leading to chaos with zero competence and no real plans. There were revolutionary messages like end capitalism or change the regime. Nevertheless, the total mess with no direction could not manifest the message box correctly."

Sharing the chain of equivalence between different movements have succeeded in calling the regime into the question. However, after the public apologies from the minister, lack of organization, and upcoming terror from ultra-conservative groups, the movements went back in shadows.

Why could the protests not manage to articulate the antagonisms of ordinary workers, conservative and other oppressed groups? Since these groups constitute a significant portion of the population. The targeting on ravers and clubs set the limits to the chain of equivalence, as the signifiers- drug policy and drug humanization centered on the nodal point of Bassiani and clubbing filled with the meanings of peace, creativity, and dance as

freedom. In a specific moment, the protest reached one fixed totality. Thus, the movements managed to leave their single-issue positions and call for broader transformations of existing hegemonies. In terms of democratic revision, the movements articulated alternative democratic practices and envisioned the shift from representative and procedural perspectives to the participatory modes of democracy. From the deliberative perspective, protests even struggled to extend new political spaces, never seen before in the political history of Georgia. Mikheil (December 6, 2019, personal communication) concludes that "these protests invoked the further emergence of the new movements and political spaces for the future. After the protests, the citizens of Georgia got more attentive and reactionary, arousing tensions on any undemocratic practices by the government."

8.3. Existence of Struggle

The demands and issues articulated by the movements were further reinforced by directing to the common others (enemies). At the beginning of the protests in 2013-2016 years, the main reference to the common enemy was rather dispersed in different social groups. This is the main manifest of the social campaign "Beka is not a criminal"(Liberali, 2014):

"Beka Tsikarishvili is facing up to 14 years in prison, and he is one of the people, whom the state should apologize for inhumane treatment, Solidarity with prisoners, Solidarity with Beka". The campaigners never pointed out the concrete other in the interview and manifest. Still, the state served as a metonymy of power holders in general, being immoral and unjust towards drug cultures, attributing the discourse of criminality to them.

In the same period, Girchi demanded the legalization of marijuana, attributing the blame to the state(On.ge, 2018b). Girchi identified the enemy in collectivist and dictating power holders, who made the decisions that belonged to individual people nor the government (2019). More freedoms – utilized by them in different speech acts and demonstrations rests on the more identification with free market, capitalism and added more positive content to the hegemonic understanding of freedom promoted by the Georgian government. So the collective identity of Girchi was built on the lack of market freedom, freedom for capital, and individual freedom in Georgia. They rarely framed the current government as the antagonist in this fight for liberties instead promoted more abstract enemies such as collectivization, communist past, and heritage.

Following the tragic suicide of Demur Sturua, White Noise Movement with the support from other groups, mostly students from Auditorium 115 commenced a strike in the native municipality of the tragically died person.

These are the central messages following the tragic death of Demur Sturua (On.ge, 2016):

- "The state killed Demur Sturua; the repressive drug politics is still ongoing.

- The State should launch the investigation against the Goderdzi Tevzadze, inciting the person to commit suicide, intimidated, and pushed him to present the information about the identification of village residents who grew marijuana.

- Push the steps against the repressive drug policies forward.

- Create a monitoring group, studying the concrete cases of police treating citizens unlawfully and intimidating locals."

The activists referred to concrete others, mostly names and surnames of police forces and sometimes justice system representatives, who were all described killers and repressors. Here White Noise Movement shifted from marginalized and criminal to a legitimate and credible warrior since it strived to represent the people oppressed by the system. This process of subjectification pointed out concrete persons from the security and police forces.

The Auditorium 115 provided with another statement worth mentioning(auditorium115, 2018):

"We know that drug users are the most socially excluded and economically disadvantaged citizens. Drugs for them is not a joy and entertainment, but the instrument to run away from injustice and grievances, hopelessness, and zero perspectives. State and other social institutions should help to rehabilitate, support in realizing themselves in the society, detention is not a solution, the only place where drugs can be sold or drug sellers intimidated is known everywhere".

"Everywhere" in the statement refers to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, often convicted in working actively with drug sellers. The abstract enemy is individualism and power elites, urbanized centered class, depriving and alienating the ordinary citizens.

In 2017, after the detention of two rapper celebrities, the massive rally with thousands of people chanted, "The war against the people should stop"(Netgazeti, 2017c). In this slogan, the term – "people" is used as a hyperbole conveying first the drug users and drug-addicted as being in the war against the state and second representing the common people. The political context for such a message box was highly reactionary since the detention, and state repression caused the outrage of the protest. Another interesting term referring to the state was fascist with the slogan "Narcofascism should end"(Netgazeti, 2017b). The perspective on the state as the fascist rule can be referenced in Paata's replies (personal communication, December 3, 2019):

"I remember how, during the raids in the clubs, my friends were dragged down on the roads. It was like when fascists lost the war, their wives have been beaten through the corridor of shame. It was like this scene, and we had the weird feeling that something unfair and strange was going on."

The term "system" was still actively in the slogans like "System is stinking" to refer to the police and specific ministry, not the structure of power relations. These protest actions and strategies were more dispersed, with no single common enemy, and on the whole, the state managed to calm down the protesters by releasing the arrested rappers. The sense of we as a collective identity pointing out the common other's image was hard to trace.

The sense of we was solidified in the rave protests, which had a clear empowering role. The idea of "We Dance Together, We Fight Together" went beyond the state institutions as a killer and repressor. In this new subjectivization, the techno clubs played a particular sacred purpose, and therefore raiding the clubs and announcing to close it had a radical effect on the protesters.

"In the clubs, we wanted to change the narrative, that police forces have transparent buildings and fight for the better future of our children, we needed to change with the help of media, help of the people in the clubs" (P. Sabelashvili, personal communication, December 3, 2019).

Dazed Digital describes the story of techno protests:

"It is not about the right to use drugs. It is about fundamental human rights when you have to spend your life in prison for a tiny amount of drugs. Our drug policies are from the Stone Age. No one ever managed to get thousands of people out in the streets to advocate for the policies, in the way our generation has managed it. Bassiani Houroom nights have been instrumental in expanding tolerance and normalizing the LGBTQ+ community in the city; many people get ostracizes and cut off from families when they come out, they find new families in the clubs'' (2018).

The raids did not symbolize the actual raids on the drugs for the protesters as the government official framed it, but an attack on their collective experience, moments, and way of life that they have built for years. The decriminalization debate here intertwined with the politics of those involved in cultural and entertainment spaces, building an alternative creative culture. The enemies were identified not an unjust treatment or concrete civil servants, but the government, their illusory democracy and mainstream culture in general

On the placards, most messages symbolized the protests as the alternative democratic space and democratic progress (Bochkashvili, 2018; Dazed, 2018; Kevanishvili & Xidasheli, n.d.): "We do not want another Putin here," "Our love is louder than your fear."

Paata clarifies these democratic redefinition practices within the protests (personal communication, December 3, 2019):

"We never wanted to sell the drugs on the dance floors; we were promoting prevention, rehabilitation, and the statement that the human rights walked on the lines of inhumane drug policing in Georgia. We tried to reach all segments with these statements, even Lana Gogoberidze-the older Georgian actress".

"The dance for freedom"- The social movements for one day created the momentum when democracy as a main nodal point for the ruling party has been transposed as a floating signifier.

The White Noise Movement demanded the resignation of the minister Giorgi Gakharia and Prime Minister Giorgi Kvirikashvili (Bochkashvili, 2018). The demonstrators were waiting for the official statement from the institutions Though they only got the unofficial comments, which means the government was silent and the protesters vowed to stay on the square until the resignation

Before these massive protests, the state maintained the status-quo by fixing the given promises to the activists. However, the shift from oppressed and marginalized to active and empowering struggle revealed the challenges for the government. The enemy was not the concrete civil servant or police, but the structure, concrete entity with anti-democratic nature, referred to Putin. For the first time, the hegemonic discourse of democracy has been re-articulated by the movements with the signifiers: human rights, freedom, self-legitimation, participation. The political space extending from Bassiani underground to the freedom square attracted thousands of people and covered the governmental discourses for the momentum. The conflict was on the rise, and the limited state was evident since main democratic legitimation and voices have been transferred to the communities being antagonistic towards the system, demanding the resignation and social change.

After ultraconservatives started circling and pushing peaceful protest, the struggle against the state changed its nature. More and more two opposing movements were blaming and referring to each other, leading to the naturalization of the status quo (Bochkashvili, 2018). The rave movements, instead of pushing the system, substituted the state as a real enemy with alternative ultraconservative activists. These ultraconservatives, filled up with negative emotions, tried to avoid the real to fulfill their inner desire -" we are constantly driven to seek compensation for that trauma in the phantasmic realm"(Žižek, 1989). From this perspective, the ultra-conservative groups believed that rave protesters depicted the demonic enemies of the national unity and traditions. Such naturalization resulted in the forced reshifting of the enemy, when the movements on the rave protests called themselves progressive, being on the side of the modern European values and the counter-protesters the dark side, regressive, being backward. In the end, because of the threat, the activists had to split up and disperse. One Sorry from the minister symbolized the desired collective identity to assign the blame to the state, but not to prevent the

government from fixing the hegemony and discourse s(Indigo, 2019). In the next months, the ministry of internal affairs brought back the discourse that the clubs were overcrowded with drug sellers in the clubs, who were against Georgian identity (Liberali, 2018b).

9. Findings

9.1. Representation of Social Movements to the New Political Spaces

This part gives a summary of the key findings from the analysis of the first dimension-representation of social movements to the new political spaces. The critical shifts in subject positions and discourses are reflected below, as well as in Table 3:

- *Zero-tolerance policy positions drug activists as a criminal and drug user subjects. Repressive drug discourse in equivalence with heteronormativity and other traditional discourse fixes subject positions under the master signifier-Criminal and offender.*

- *Re-articulation of drug users from criminals to immoral, non-traditional and harmful to society*

- *The movements start shifting the focus from drug user to oppressed and repressed subject positions, constructing around the frames of injustice and silence from elites.*

- *The emergence of new spaces (clubs) and art styles leads to the collective subject positions organizing against the myths of hierarchy, dominant traditional narratives, and religious dominance through different artistic practices.*

- *Mass protests - Extension of the insider, underground identity to the liberator, social justice warrior, and independence struggle for everyone. Drug activist chains raver/liberator/progressive to the alternative/attractive/sexual/ for everyone.*

- *Re-articulation of movements as a minority, small group, elitist and radical, threatening the traditional values.*

- *The interpellation of drug activists as advocacy campaigners and conventional drug activist.*

Table 3 Representation to the new public spaces

Hegemonic Discourses	Subject Positions	Key Signifiers
Zero-Tolerance Policy	Drug Dealer, Drug User, and Criminal	Sexual Minorities, Criminality Against Traditions and Values
Liberalization as rhetoric	Drug User Drug Dealer	Immoral Harmful to Society
Re-Articulation	Drug Activist	Injustice Silence from Elites
Re-Articulation	Easthetisation of Movements Ravers Artists	Myths of Hierarchy Domination Oppression
Repression against Drugs	Drug dealers and outsiders from Public	Massive threat to youth
Re-Articulation	Insider and Justice warrior	Attractive Sexual Artistic Dancing on Memorial
Movements as spectacles	Minorities Small Groups Elitis	Against People Against Traditional Values
Advocacy and humanization discourse	Advocacy Campaigners, drug activists	Coordination with government

Table 3 is divided into three empirical components: hegemonic discourses, subject positions, and key (master) signifiers. The hegemonic discourses represent the fixed chain of signifiers that positioned and naturalized the subjects around the drug policy discourses during the period 2012-2018.

In terms of the hegemonic discourses, there have been specific shifts and critical moments, when the hegemonies could not fix the meanings anymore. As seen in Table 3, movements constrain and rearticulate state discourses three times: First, they invigorate drug activism to antagonize drug user and criminal positions. Next, they frame themselves as artists, alternative cultures, ravers through aesthetization of drug activism

and politics. Lastly, the movements brace themselves to escape from the comfort zone and go public, framing the rave protest as public and attractive for everyone. These three central re-articulations leading to the extension of their representation could have been spontaneous and short-term, considering that the government managed to reproduce the discourses of interagency policy coordination with drug movements, labeling them as minorities and small advocacy groups. *However, the long path from a drug dealer and criminal to drug activist and from short-term protests to massive public rave embodies the democratic moments worth paying attention to.*

This path resulted in oppressed groups living and dancing in the underground for a long time coming up and extending their identity to the freedom fighter. *The radical eventful democratization, to a certain extent, succeeded in including the excluded groups and rearticulating their identities from the drug user and criminal to drug activist and human rights warrior.*

To what extent did the state fix these counterhegemonic articulations? The new subject positions - conventional insider politician have been naturalized by the state, as seen in the evidence from the post-protest period. Social movements could not manage to constrain the dominant narratives and enter the political realm to the fullest. Nevertheless, it is fruitless to claim that the struggle from 2012-2018 left no positive traces in terms of their representation. *There was a big step forward when movement managed to reproduce themselves as ordinary citizens striving for European values and dancing for peace. They are less demonized nowadays and play relatively more roles in normal political and social life.*

Three evident factors contributing to the advancement of collective representation are an extension of alternative public places, cultural-political innovation, aesthetization of activism, and framing of repression as a privilege.

9.2. Collective formation of alternative issues and democratic conceptions

The second section of the findings, focus on the primary shifts in the chain of equivalence, presented below and in table 4.

Chain of equivalence and main signifiers:

- In the beginning, the movements working on drug policies had no strength to form a chain of equivalence around common issues because of the ideological differences.

- Linking the right and left ideological claims - After the suicide of Demur Sturua, the activists from different parties and groups were united around the claims to end repression and injustice from the state. Libertarian discourses were linked to the chain of injustice, repression, and undemocratic. It was a tactical move from all stakeholders to consolidate and pressure the government more and employ wider diagnostic signifiers like state as a repressor.

- Other non-linguistic unifiers invoked the sense of unification around a common cause - the youth generation could dance freely to the techno beats.

- New nodal point - Bassiani Generation linked libertarian and socialist youth, creative people, artists, even though it still manifested a specific community of the whole society.

- The dance united not only active advocacy groups but sexual minorities, oppressed groups, mainstream liberal elites, and media.

- On the rave protests, the movements openly challenged the system and demanded the social change through dance - dance and vibration became the political act.

- The chain of signifiers could not go wider on oppressed people, workers and regions since drug humanization centered on the nodal point of Bassiani and clubbing. It structured around the meanings of peace, creativity, dance as freedom, which reached the totality for a moment, excluding other communities.

Table 4. Alternative Demands and democratic redefinition

Nodal Points	Chain Of Equivalence	Empty Signifiers
The suicide of Demur Sturua	Beyond left-right ideological claims	Repressive police Inhumane drug policies
Alternative Public Spaces: Bassiani, community clubs, rap protests	Linking exclusionary subject positions	Bassiani generation Against dominant narratives
Political Dance	Minorities try to link to dominant narratives	Democratic rights, Freedom, Participation
Reaching totality as protesters	Excluding regional youth, workers, other minorities	Progressive vs. regressive other.

Table 4. Outlines the nodal points when movements form the chain of equivalence and manage to frame particularisms into the general issue and metapolitical demands. At the beginning of the protests, movements and groups held clear ideological and policy contradictions, portraying the clash between libertarian and left. The repressions directed from state and security forces transcended the ideological boundaries since the systemic repression coming from the state was a collective antagonism for all ideological factions. The rise of clubs and rap movements linked the subject positions, being mutually exclusive before. The so-called Bassiani generation could include ravers, minorities, anarchists, as well as religious communities and other groups. The most critical protest, "We Dance Together, We Fight Together," is the first effort to expand the equivalence around democratic rights and alternative democratic conceptions. At this moment, the democracy framed around procedural and electoral signifiers by the state attained new meanings. The movements actively trying to connect to the dominant narratives framed drug policies in terms of fundamental freedoms and basic human rights required for everyone.

The social movements managed collectively to articulate the contradictory ideological imaginary and link it to the broader conceptions of democracy. The radical eventful

democratization was present since the social struggles compelled governmental policy proposals and rhetorical announcements, countering them with wider united master signifiers. During the rave protests, the chain of equivalence went beyond the linguistic framings, since the dance became the political act, subverting the political rationality and hegemony through emotional vibrations.

Did the movements manage to articulate alternative issues together? For the momentum, the movement gained access to mainstream media addressing drug policies and bridging the new people with different backgrounds to their narratives. However, the chain could not extend itself more beyond the clubbing communities. The protests did not raise the voice on behalf of other oppressed groups, workers, economically disadvantaged in the regions, and even ultra-conservative groups. *Such detachment from the dominant narratives allowed the government to invest in the counter groups and link them to their hegemonic significations, which indicated, that in the end, the counter-hegemony proposed by movement could not convey the issues of the wider public.*

New factors of radical eventful democratization that emerged in the findings of the second dimension are attachment to the dominant narratives, imposing alternative democratic imaginary, and reaching ideological solidarity between the conflicting groups.

9.3. Existence of Struggle

The last dimension focuses on the actual collective struggles against the hegemonic discourses reflected below and in Table 5.

- *The state served as a metonymy referring to the power holders in general, being immoral and unjust towards drug cultures.*

- *The activists point out concrete others, mostly names of police forces and sometimes justice system representatives, who are all described killers and repressors.*

- *The enemy for White Noise Movement and Auditorium 115 is individualism and power elites, urbanized centered class, depriving and alienating the ordinary people.*

- *Before the rave protests, the enemy is mostly attributed to the police and specific ministry and security forces, not the structure of power relations.*

- *After the emergence of clubs and raids, the enemies have been identified not in unjust treatment or concrete civil servants, but the government, their simulated democracy, and mainstream culture and myths in general.*

- *The shift from oppressed and marginalized to active and empowering movements revealed some challenges for the system- The common enemy shifted to the structure, concrete entity with anti-democratic nature, referring to Putin, the president of Russia.*

- *The state regains the discourses by forced reshifting of the enemy from state to ultraconservatives.*

- *Apologies from the minister symbolizes the desired collective identity to assign the blame to the state, but not to prevent the system in further fixing their hegemony.*

Table 5. Existence of Struggles

Common Enemy	Signifier
Capitalism	Against humanization and socialization of policies
Socialism	Against Individualism and free will
Drug Policies	Immoral and Unjust
Police and Security forces	Inhumane Law Enforcement Agencies
State Hegemony The state as a totality	Restricting Freedom Anti-democratic
Ultraconservatives and far-right groups	Backward, financed by Russia

All collective identities were in antagonistic relations with each other. Libertarians and conservatives associated with capitalist paradigms, blaming the Soviet past and socialism as a collective enemy responsible for harsh drug policies, while left-leaning movements blamed individualism and neoliberal policies for the dehumanization of the system. When police and other law enforcement institutions increased the number of assaults, harassments, and physical injuries towards the youth, these boundaries transcended, and blame shifted to the specific institutions for future reforms. The dramatic shift in the collective identities and generalization of the state as the enemy took place on the rave protests when the "common us" nearly reached the hegemonic entity, demanding the social change and promoting alternative social imaginary. The intergroup or intragroup conflicts of collective identities have been mitigated by the identification of the common enemy - State as a whole, fostering authoritarianism, restricting freedoms, and brutally raiding democratic spaces in Georgia.

Before the protests, the symbolic enemies were concrete ideological systems, specific governmental agencies, and security forces. The sense of the us was solidified in the rave protests, which had a clear empowering role. During the rave protests, the momentum of

the real struggle, and the alternative process of imposing the democratic imaginary is evident. For a certain period, all signifiers - democratic policy-making, procedures, nationalism, freedom fixed by the state began floating. The rave protests led to the real struggle in terms of pointing out the total system as an adversary, clashing against the status quo, and manifesting readiness to transform the social reality. However, in the end, the contingency and the hope for the change have been domesticated by the state. The ultraconservative counter groups pretended to represent the majority of the country.

To what extent movements managed to struggle against the hegemonic discourse collectively? The contingency and radicalism of the democratic struggle initiated by the movements were real and authentic, but temporal and spontaneous. The state triggered new illusory antagonisms inside the society when far-right and ultraconservatives marched against the rave protests. At this moment, it was unclear to elucidate how these radical struggle would go on and transform the power relations since the symbol of the enemy shifted from the state to marginalized far-right groups.

The factors from the third part of the findings are the attempts of domestication of radical struggles by the state and the transformation of inter-group antagonisms into the collective struggle against the common enemy.

10. General Limitations

The study faces certain limitations that are further elaborated in conclusion:

Methodological selection - The study is based on the limited convenience sample of two social activists and a purposeful sample of online media material, and social movement manifests. The discourse method and the convenience sampling produce the challenges of generalizing the results (Lavrakas 2008; Marttila 2015). The study mitigates these challenges to a certain extent by saturating convenience with the purposeful samples, by cross-referencing interviews and media materials, and by developing the ideal-type factors for radical eventful democratization in conclusion (Please, see Table 6).

Theoretical selection – The conceptualization of democratization from the radical democracy approach excludes other views of democratization from below, as well as from above. Other critical limitations are the epistemological and ontological premises of the study since the social constructionist take on social movements excludes the rationalist, causal paradigms, such as political opportunities, the role of allies, and democratization macro-level indicators. The constructionist turn affected my role as a researcher and level of intervention throughout the study. Lastly, my pre-understanding of democracy based on western thoughts guided the theoretical integration and conceptualization.

Table 6. Indicators of Eventful Democratization

Radical Eventful Democratization

Advancing Representation

Extension of public places
Innovative cultural and political strategies
aesthetization of activism and politics
Strategic framing of repression as a privilege

Alternative Demands and Democratic Conceptions

Attachment to the dominant narratives
Imposing Alternative democratic imaginary
Ideological solidarity

Existence of Social Struggles

Generalization vs. Domestication of radical struggles
Transcending inter-group antagonisms against common
enemy

11. Conclusion

This study analyzes the role of social movements in democratization by bridging radical democracy and social movement studies. Future research should test this relationship in diverse empirical settings and methodological approaches.

Table 6 examines the democratic performance of social movements in the context of Georgia for three dimensions. In terms of the representation, the movements increased their visibility to a certain extent. They rearticulated and fixed positive discourses towards drug users and drug policies. The main factors of radical eventful democratization were:

expansion of the public sphere and new spaces, emergence of cultural innovations, the aesthetization of politics, and strategic framing of repression. The researcher interested in the fields can further draw on the fruitful literature on these three factors - formation of alternative public spaces (Peters, 2016; Polletta, 1999), emergence of cultural practices and innovations (Mouffe, 2007; Ramzy Alwakeel, 2010) and using repression as a privilege (Della Porta & Diani, 2006; Della Porta, 2012).

In terms of the collective formation of alternative demands and democratic redefinitions issues, the movement articulated alternative democratic conceptions and political demands to a certain extent, which have been translated into the specific policy outcomes in the future. During the massive techno rally chain of equivalence reached the fixed totality temporarily. However, the factors that disrupted the extensions of the chain further where in place: the protests could not reach the diverse social communities and generalize the claims more, which resulted in the diffusion of issues and transformation of radical frames to the conventional policy ones. In the end, because of the week attachments to the dominant narratives, all attempts to impose the alternative democratic imaginary with the new political demands failed. The movements could not deconstruct all demonic depictions about themselves, which was the vital factor challenging the further expansion of movements. The researchers interested in this field can further review the literature: dominant narratives (Benford & Snow, 2000b; Gramsci, 1999; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001), redefinition of democracy (Cohen, 2005; Della Porta, 2012; Smith, 1998).

From the analysis and findings of the last dimension, a certain level of struggle is traceable, especially in the period of rave protests. It was the first time in the history of Georgia when people without any political affiliation spontaneously and reactionary came out and demanded the change of the regime by raving for freedom and human rights. The enemy was the state hegemony, referred to Putin and authoritarianism. The struggle looked authentic until the governments created the alternative counter-protesters to threaten and disperse the peaceful rave protests. This moment forced the protesters to substitute the enemy from the "evil state" with the ultraconservative gangs opposing and threating them, which means the hegemonic discourses have domesticated the massive protest. This can be a strategic mistake when building and initiating the radical struggle since clashing the ordinary citizens from the opposing camp helps to strengthen the

government status quo further and re-create inter-group antagonisms. Following this evidence, a generalization of struggles and transcending inter-group boundaries were the influential factors in the struggle. The new social movement and framing scholarship support these arguments and further enrich it with empirical and theoretical concepts (Benford and Snow, 2000b; Cohen, 1983; Touraine, 1985b).

The alternative social movement theories could have interpreted the results in terms of the non-democratic set of opportunities, lack of mobilization resources, or non-existence of influential allies (McAdam 2001; Tarrow 1989; Tilly 2004). This study complements the traditional social movement research on policy outcomes since specific policy outcomes have been achieved during the radical eventful democratization. It would be interesting to analyze how cultural and discursive democratization supports the policy development process. The constitutional court decriminalized the drugs, and there have been certain steps from the government to depart from the inhumane practices of detaining citizens on a small amount of drugs.

Let us go back to the initial research question - **To what extent the social movements functioned as democratization forces in Georgia 2012-2018?** The findings of all three dimensions: Equality, Openness, and Contingency trace events and discourses that support the reasonable level of radical democratization, taking place in Georgia. There is a combination of factors accounting for the eventful democratization: Alternative political spaces, framing repression as a privilege, aestheticization of movement, cultural practices, and dance, realizing oppressor as a hegemony, redefining the democratic conceptions. The factors preventing eventful democratization are also evident: low level of alignment to dominant narratives, less ideological solidarity between the groups, movements becoming structured totality, rather than multiple and dispersed unities.

Since this research was focused on the single case study in the context of Georgia, the critical component for future researchers interested in this area is to test multiple-case studies with a broader analysis of factors contributing to radical democratic struggles. After the rave protests in Georgia, a certain level of the aestheticization of movements is present in Armenia, 2018 (Demytrie, 2018), Lebanon, 2019(Richard Hall, 2019), which can be a fruitful empirical material to study how cultural practices empower citizens and simulate democratic struggle.

From the social movement perspective, future research can focus on examining the role of culture, especially rave in the emergence of movements in Eastern-European and Middle-Eastern perspectives, since rave and alternative dance went beyond the usual recreational activities and symbolized freedom, democracy as seen in this study.

Future studies might investigate the association between radical democratic and institutional paradigms and develop the theoretical framework combining both approaches that would transcend the contradiction between institutional and radical democratic approach. Combining institutional democratization focusing on democratic indicators and radical democratic dimensions focusing on equal representation, imposing alternative democratic imaginary, and the existence of struggle will become the valuable tool for the democratization scholars in the future. Such approach will provide with more transparent picture about the democratic settings in the countries, where measuring the democratic practices are challenging since the hegemonic practices corrupt the democratic procedures, control and manipulate the opposition and elections.

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Appendix 1.

Interview with the activists:

P. Sabelashvili (2019, December 3). Personal Communication.

M. Jibladze (2019, December 6). Personal Communication.

Interview Questions (Guide):

Main Questions (Can be modified based on the interview process)

1. **Can you tell me a little about the beginnings and emergence of the drug policy reform movements from 2012 in the context of Georgia**?

2. **Can you share with me what was your experience of this protest was like for you?**

3. **In general, how did these 2012-2018 drug protests shape the collective identity of drug movements?**

4. **How did the protest shape the democratic practices of Georgia in terms of policies, institutions, and culture?**

    Probing Questions during the main questions:

    o To what extent has it created new public spaces and democratic challenges to the state and political status-quo?

    o To what extent has it affected actual policy outcomes and transcended democratic procedures?

    o To what extent has it transformed the cultural and symbolic meanings towards drug movements and democratic in general in the society?

    o How have the demands and claims been articulated?

    o Did you witness different groups articulating common grievances together having the common adversary?

    o Which social groups take part or dominate the collective action? How were the enemies framed?

- o Did you witness the collection of different demands and groups under one frame

- o Has it subverted concrete cultural and governmental discourses concerning democracy and drug policies?

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