

1-22-15
1-27-15
1-29-15
2-3-15
2-5-15
2-10-15
TEST: 2-12-15

I. Introduction to the Study of Social Movements and Protest

A. What is a social movement? There are several key points

1. A SM pursues non-institutional collective action

- i) A SM is "unusual behavior"
- ii) Becoming more widespread and expected
- iii) Why does it occur? Why is it necessary?
- iv) Most SM occur in democratic states - where there is freedom
- v) Occurs when channels within state/governments seem/are closed off
- vi) When the state is unresponsive, people go outside of the state for the change they need/want
- vii) Not institutional, collective

b) In democracies, SMs will vary in the mix between institutional and non-institutional action

- i) Organizations can put institutional pressure/lobbying and non-institutional

2. Institutional contention is what we know as politics as usual, which focuses on political parties and interest groups, which are voluntary organizations

- i) Institutional group - voluntary groups / civil society - emerges from grassroots, not formed through political party/ies
- ii) Not all states take civic groups for granted
 - (1) No experience forming groups
- iii) Articulate their interests
- iv) Grievance articulation
- v) Political responsiveness

3. One of the key issues is the responsiveness of political institutions to civil society

B. A social movement is a complex and "abstracted" collective phenomena

1. Social movements are typically made up of many collective actors, which are often not unified

2. A SM is not one organization (SMO), but rather is usually made up of many organizations (SMOs) linked in a network

- i) SMOs motivate their people to be involved in SM - subsume complexity
- ii) SMOs link the overlapping ideas and interests

3. **In fact, SMOs and individuals may come and go, but the movement is bigger than the sum of its parts**
 - (a) Task of mobilization for movements' events is usually done through these organizations
 - (b) People go with friends, groups, etc.
- C. **SMs are involved in contentious action, which means that there are clearly identified opponents**
 1. **SMs pursue group interests that are opposed to the interests of other groups--this imparts the "contentious quality"**
 - (a) Our system is designed to change -- very slowly
 2. **But, there are "lifestyle movements," in which the interests are not so evident**
 - (1) Examples: punk movement (mostly about movement and freedom, sometimes they occupy property, then you get interest contention); hippies (sex, drugs, Grateful Dead; no strong interest that they were pushing; significant as a social trend, changing conceptions about sex and drugs; many people were against their lifestyle), beatniks (50s, countercultural lifestyle movement), hipsters
 3. **Also, religious movements pursue spiritual matters, mostly, and strictly speaking, are more like sects**
 - (1) Can get into very real world things, like opposing lifestyle movements, or the LGBTQ movements
 4. **Finally, there are "consensus movements" such as "Save the Children," MADD, Earthquake relief**
 - (1) No one says, yah I'll let the children die
 - (2) Example: "Mothers against drunk driving" - you don't argue against them
 - (a) It's an organization, not a movement; pursuing concrete interest, lobbies politicians
- D. **SMs generate collective identities**
 1. **This refers to how members think about themselves**
 - (1) People make life choices based on the social movements they may be involved in
 - (2) Environmentalists, feminists
 - (3) People internalize the social movement; people define themselves and who they are, their self-concept, the roles they choose to embrace
 - (4) How internalized the identity is--Facebook activism, or "slack-tivism"
 - (5) Question: what exactly is activism?
 2. **This is a source of the continuity of SMs--they persist over time**
 - (1) You get the same actors participating all the time
- E. **Social movements are collective behaviors/actions**
 1. **This brings a strong dose of social psychology into the analysis via concepts of conformity, group pressure, self-concept**
 2. **Terminological point:**
 - a) **Collective behavior (the term) stresses the social psych elements and the emotional elements**

- (1) Collective behavior studies deal with rumors, fads, cults, religious sects (crazy, radical stuff), but it also deals with social movements, like hippies, as well as political movements, such as the tea party
- b) Collective action refers to rational decision making behind joining a social movement, especially the interests that lie behind a movement**
 - (1) Doesn't look at fads, cults, rumors, urban legends
 - (2) Looks at interests, why people will form a social movement based on interests
 - (3) Free rider problem: joining a movement to see what they will get out of it; joining would not be a rational decision; why should I join this movement when there are already tons of people participating, I will benefit from it anyway

II. The Battle of Seattle

A. This is a good example of a SM action because it's a complex campaign in which there were many participating groups

B. Video, "This is what Democracy Looks Like"

- (1) Meeting of World Trade Org. Ministers (1999), in Seattle
 - (a) Part of the Anti-Globalization Movement (not particularly around anymore) (trend)
 - (b) Different from many movements because it was a global movement, there are not politicians to apply pressure to, there are appointed-by-various-countries ministers, who make big decisions like wage and pay
 - (c) Anti-Corporate Globalization
 - (d) Theme that unites is democracy, or the lack of democracy in these organizations
- (2) WTO replaces GAT (World Trade Organization)
- (3) SM wants a democratic global economy
- (4) Choosing the path of least resistance, losing power and vision, etc.
- (5) World Bank, NAFTA, MAI, WTO
 - (a) Transnational trade agreements
- (6) Last meeting of the millennium for WTO in Seattle, activists blocked the streets to prevent the meetings from happening
- (7) Over 30,000 protestors
- (8) Down with US Imperialism
- (9) 2,000 marched from the south (South American countries and others), and 4,000 marched from the north
- (10) People before profits
- (11) Labor, environmentalists, teachers, people of color coalitions, middle class, working class, poor
 - (a) This hurts the people - so all the people
- (12) Dance party in the streets
- (13) Successfully blocking delegates from entering the meeting venue in downtown Seattle

- (14) Each of us is too tiny, unless we join hands, and then we can begin to address it, physically literally and symbolically is what happened in Seattle
- (15) Police saying, We will clear this intersection if you do not go!
 - (a) Preparing to be gassed
 - (b) OC Spray POISON
 - i) First used in the Vietnam war
 - (c) And then the police started beating people up too
- (16) The protest was a celebration, lots of people having a good time, dancing, sharing an identity, bonding
- (17) And being sprayed by OC and CS also forged a stronger identity
 - (a) Together they can resist

1. Intense emotions--music, dance, chanting --> performances

2. Intense repression --> increases commitment and collective identity

a) An important concept is the "line of proportionality," which the police seem to have passed here

-Broader public can see the commitment and the worthiness of the cause

-Shows how many people are committed to the cause, the public and those they are protesting

-Story in today's paper - (Birmingham or) Charleston mine (NY); non-violent sit-ins, history, old dudes that did this still get together

-Repression and the arrests, refuse to go out on bail, stay in jail as a performance of their commitment to non-violent, direct action

-Also clogs the jails

-Line of proportionality

Did the police in the video cross this line? Yes, in the Battle of Seattle

Police repression of protests, can often be a very effective way to shut it down, when you arrest them

But if the police go too far, then it often increases the protests

b) Repression raises the issue of freedoms, especially freedom of speech and of assembly

-Whose streets? Our streets.

Who paid for those streets? The taxpayers, the public

Protestors have a right to occupy, right? Contrasts with the state's public safety idea. There's no general rule; it's situational.

3. The video captures the complexity of the movement as represented in the Seattle protest

a) Labor was a major participant--AFL-CIO. Smith called these extra-movement groups

American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations --> institutionalized, powerful labor

They are extra-movement -- outside of the movement, because they are institutionalized

Churches are also extra-movement because they pursue primarily spiritual purposes
Participated in the protest in Seattle
Why are labor unions interested in globalization?
Clinton (strong neoliberal, strong promoter of free-trade, NAFTA)

b) Environmental movement organizations--Greenpeace

c) Also, there was the Black Bloc

Group of anarchists, their idea was that none of the coalitions were going to work, they wanted to break some windows

In the movement, which was a coalition, the Black Bloc didn't want anything to do with them

Every coalition has to deal with groups who do not agree with their tactical strategies, have to contend with each other

Tactical disagreement - every social movement faced it

4. Media portrayal of the protests encouraged the rise of Indy Media centers

Internal effort by the protestors as being able to portray themselves accurately

This is back in 1999, no one had smart phones

Using computers and using the web

First step, tactical innovation used - Electronic media

a) Smith discusses how electronic activism was an important tactical innovation of the Seattle protests

Back to the video!

WTO

Labor unions and groups 50,000 people outside the Memorial Stadium in Seattle

When American business prospers, workers don't prosper, when the agriculture business prospers, the farmers don't prosper

Local communities do not prosper through corporations

"We live under an economic system that wants to divide us! But we will not be divided!"

Diversity of people and diversity of tactics

Workers with families, young adults - everyone does the protest slightly different

WellCo Factory in China, 0.16/hour, 77-79 hours per week, fined for talking, arbitrarily fired if pregnant or over 25 years old, they make Tennis shoes for Nike

Broke windows - don't choose a tactic that puts others at risk, need to be more awareness

Statements do need to be made, but not to endanger people on the front line at the edge of the police

"People having to close their stores at the peak Christmas season, it really is an injustice"

People will do anything to defend and promote capitalism
 25-Block no protest zone was created
 Cops are trying to move people out of the downtown area
 "Unbelievable day of unruliness, hard for the police"
 "Anarchy to downtown Seattle" "downtown fell victim to this destruction"
 Corporations build empires across borders, citizens are taught to fear each other...
 People were beaten and shot, had to reaffirm their position and commitment (Tuesday night)
 Met up early Wednesday, and marched through and reclaimed the streets, the blockades
 While some protesters marched into the no-protest zone, steelworkers prepared for a separate demonstration (AFL-CIO)
 Fear by a lot of union officials of the term "direct action"
 Big labor write themselves out of movements in modern day
 Focus applied to the protest in order to split it up
 Peacefully being arrested
 Police were pulling people off buses that were protestors, stopped people in the street, followed people around Seattle, arrested people in a plaza that was supposed to be designated for the WTO protest
 "We all have things in common, doesn't mean we're going to agree on everything"
 Direct Action Network - representatives at the steelworkers protest - coalition!
 WTO negotiations were on shaky ground! Delegates from developing countries openly criticized!
 Malcolm, "Riot is the voice of the people"
 Wasn't a riot - but it was a manifestation of the people's voice

5. Also the focus (audience) of the protests was partly a transnational actor.

Protests against the WTO transcended the national.

Protest: performance

Audience: the target

PARTLY transnational (Battle of Seattle), because it took place in the USA, which is the most powerful in the WTO (global movement of investment and global markets) (USA, Japan, Germany, UK, Canada-most powerful)

Because it took part in USA, to have some leverage on the WTO through US politicians - partly the transnational actor

III. A Performance Approach to SMs: Traditional and Modern Repertoires

A. Spheres of social movement analysis

1. Structural sphere

got Social structure in the social sciences are the most permanent thing we've

a) This refers to relatively fixed relations between people and organizations, such as SMOs, mobilizing structures

Structural sphere, relatively fixed things

Network made up of the different groups - that's a structure
He keeps referencing biological molecules as an associated image
Often social structure has power; especially if we're talking about the state

2. Ideational-Interpretive sphere

b) This refers to the ideas of an SM

Guided by ideas of what is right, wrong, okay, etc.
Important to have these ideas; people act mostly because they're thinking before they act (though not always, of course)
Most of us use cognition prior to action - basic in the social sciences
Ethics, morality
We may discuss American culture - but what in the heck is American culture? It changes and has so much variation
There's a wide diversity of ideational quality when we start talking about this dimension of society and culture
The variability and dynamic of how people think
Where can we meet as humans? We meet in the third sphere

3. Performative sphere

Culture is a performance, that the action quality has to be thought of in terms of how it gets played, how it gets played with others, and how it gets played in the field
Culture is something that is becoming rather than is
Coordination - it's largely an illusion, if you were able to look inside people's heads; so you have to look at the performance, at what people are doing
Repertoire of behaviors, script
Strong symbolic-interactionist quality

a) In SMs this refers to the repertoire of action and tactics

b) This is relatively fixed and understood conception but offers room for innovation and creativity--like a jazz performance

Hong Kong - issue about democracy
When Hong Kong transitioned from being a British colony to part of China, Hong Kong was free and democratic
The Chinese communist party wanted to exercise control
Municipal elections coming up and the communist party wants to choose the candidates who will run - protests against Beijing and its influence in these elections
Pro-democracy protests (he will be posting this ? Email it to us)

c) Also, there is an everyday performative aspect, in which small scale actions of organizing, coordinating, encouraging, discussing, strategizing, socializing, debating --> the larger SM performances

Life is a performance; we're all just winging it aren't we? That's why we need some grace, we need some room
Symbolic-interactionism: society built up from the grassroots, actions that define meanings
The emergence quality of social life

B. Protest performance in the premodern state

1. SMs as we know them today have not always been around

Modern social movement repertoire hasn't always been around

No police force in pre-modern society/state, so the community enacted justice, etc.

Traditional, collective action

2. That is not to say that angry people did not protest, but they did it in the "traditional" repertoire or premodern repertoire

a) Particular

b) Parochial (local)

c) Bifurcated (split into two parts)

Protests are very focused, in the traditional state. Fixed event, get the problem taken care of, and get back to life.

C. The rise of the modern repertoire reflected the changes in the state system that began in Europe in the early 1800s

1. The basic change is embodied in the concept of direct rule

Today the state intrudes in our life all the time

Speeding ticket, W-2s, taxes

Back in pre-modern times, you lived in little villages

There was the Lord and the Sheriff, and that was it

Direct rule: the degree to which the state penetrates

a) This is the extent to which the state penetrates all the corners of its territory and the lives of its citizens

Every time you get something to eat, you pay tax! There is the state!

Bifurcated - the local lord came by and take his taxes and then leave, no national understanding

Direct rule of the mountain villages is moderated because it's small and distant

There are remote locations where the state doesn't touch - question of the penetration of the state - Wild West

a) These were rural, isolated communities

US began as a bunch of isolated communities too

No national identity

Rise of the modern state includes the national identity

Back 300 years, variety of states - empire, city state, etc

3. The modern repertoire reflected the national scope of the state, whose appearance occurred around 1820

The structure of the state, especially in Europe, it was asset ill a permutation of an agrarian , rural empire

Because the industrial revolution hadn't really happened anywhere except Great Britain

Took a while to permeate

In 1648, there was no democracy anywhere, it didn't exist - monarchies and landlords

"The scope of the MODERN state" - captures the concept of a net, of a center, where there are national politics

The power of the king was really limited, in every place
 The key challenge that was faced by the monarch was to keep his country *together*
 The distribution of the land was by the nobility, and they and their own militias, and they say they owe allegiance to the king, but they could say fuck it any day
 Civil war in the USA is an example of this
 Rise of nationalism occurred about this time, before the turn of the millennial, before this most people didn't think of themselves as french or British, thought of themselves as Irish or welsh
 Took Napoleon to create an apparatus, direct rule into the provinces. So that a unified nationalized state could emerge
 Modern state arose when nobility wanted more land, to fight wars, and they had to create an administrative structure that could penetrate the rural lands where the peasants lived, so they could tax them and conscript them into their armies, and then had to make military hospitals, and care for the women left without their fathers and sons
 Benefits derived
 Nationalist state came partially from war making
 Change in state came from political elites, and their needs for defending their territories and demanding more land
 Change in mindset
 Poland disappeared for 120 years when they were conquered by Prussia - other small states saw and then new they'd had to tax and the latest military technology

a) Parochial --> cosmopolitan (national)

Not just protesting a local stealing, protesting taxes, etc.
 Mechanical solidarity - rural people and tar and feathering - manifestation of peasant morality, when people steal, etc. took the law into their own hands, local. Not national
 Cosmopolitan means worldly and sophisticated

b) Particular --> modular

The form of protest went from the noble put up a fence around the communal cow pasture, let's tear it down
 To protesting in the form of marches, and formal protests, closer to demonstrations we see today

c) Bifurcated --> autonomous, or that the focus of protest was a direct line to the national level

D. The rise of the modern protest repertoire was closely associated with the rise of democracy

Be democracy of the founding the founding fathers was not a democracy of everybody - white, landowner, male
 Not a true democracy, by our standards today

People who have power tend to hold on to power, and are not guided by moral democratic principles to relinquish, which is why we need term limits

1. There are four basic de mentions of democracy

a) Citizenship--who is considered a member of the state

Notice, this is different from suffrage

Citizenship require democracy? Can somebody be a citizen without the right to vote - ex, the people's republic of China-it's the "people's republic." Though it really belongs to the communist party in China

The communist part really manages who is able to run to be leader of a village, or a mayor of a city

Most are appointed

You don't have to have a vote to be a citizen

Though this varies, from country to country, and time to time

b) Equality--this refers to equality of influence among citizens

Access to political influence - Americans are lacking in this

Some countries really pass laws that prohibit corporate influence

To structure it and make it difficult for corporate influence to play in politics

Sweden and Norway do this - their economies aren't that big, much more manageable

Moral ethic is very strong, equality

USA has a cultural ethic where rich people get more influence, you worked hard, you deserve this

One of the reasons we can't do better in this

How come we haven't gotten campaign reform - no politician wants to do this because it affects them

Michelle's iron wall (?)

c) Responsiveness--do political leaders respond to the wishes of the citizen

(1) This is a major source of legitimacy for a government

Not responsive governments are pretty corrupt

China - the communist party is supposedly responsive to the people, that they know the heart of the people, though it's

vanguard, it's an elite position to be part of the communist party

The politicians part of the communist party take deals and cuts

The people are upset at the corruption

There has been a huge upsurge in protest in China, a unique kind of protest

Responsiveness is a measure of democracy

d) Protection--citizens are protected by law

Real issue in China

Be Chinese courts had been subservient to the communist party

You would not get a just or fair ruling - not a concept much

There have been efforts to study constitutional law, the practice and administration of law

IV. The study of Social Movements

A. For a long time, SMs were seen as extraordinary collective behavior

Collective behavior (swept up, emotional, lost rationality, consumer by group mind) v. Collective action

Cole gave behavior was the view until people examined it slightly closer - looking at it more systematically

1. **Often they were lumped with panics, riots, hostile outbursts, kooky religious sects.**

B. As the field developed, the pendulum swung. Implement the other way

1. **Hence the term collective action**
2. **The emphasis was on organization, rational action and strategy, resources**
3. **The view also was that SMs were much more ordinary than previously thought, "politics by another means"**

It was social movements that brought political rights to people
Suffragists and the women's vote

It's just doing politics by an OTHER means, outside of the parties

Forming interest groups

Pursuing demands and grievances

C. In US sociology, the dominant theoretical orientation in the 50s and 60s, just prior to this swing, was structural functionalism

View of society that really emphasized, the integration of society, that it is a balanced and fine, clockwork mechanism

Body, organic metaphor

Things that society does to create order, to make sure it stays or goes back to its social organization

So how to we explain riots and social movements in this context?

The dominant view in the 50s and 60s was symbolic interaction

1. **Breakdown theories--the term captures the sense that SMs are a "social crisis." See pp. 33-4**

2. **Smesler (student of Talcot, the father of some theory) and "structural strain" as starting mechanism (+ 5 other elements)**

D. Relative deprivation is related to the breakdown concept, especially in the formulation of Davis's J-curve hypothesis

When there is a break down, when politicians are not responsive, there are SMs, protests

Politics by an "other" means

NOT x collective behavior as previously thought

Part of politics as usual

Smesler - started with the concept of structural strain, that there is an imbalance in society, and then he listed 5 other elements that go into collective action occurring

Mobilizing structures

Relative deprivation! concept related to the breakdown concept - "CA"

When people feel there is an injustice, it's always in comparison to something else

People feel an injustice/deprived in relation to something else

Study session 4 pm Wednesday, Music 215

40 questions, MC, Thursday

1. Relative deprivation reflects a psychological perception that expectations are unfulfilled

2. It raises the question, relative to what?

a) In the J-curve, it's relative to how things used to be

Austerity protests by year and consumer prices, in Latin America

Rise in protests in 1983-1986

With the rise in prices in Latin American and the Caribbean, then the protests began to drop off, with the biggest increases in Consumer Prices - but both Latin America and all developing countries

Absolute deprivation -200-300% increase in consumer prices, poor people, and prices are skyrocketing in 1988
Why aren't they protesting?

It takes a lot of money and resources to gather and protest, make it harder and harder

Protests stopped happening because they were concerned about survival, they were concerned about surviving instead of protesting

Not the poorest of the poor who are protesting, but the people with a certain degree of resources

Got to have a certain level of resources in order to protest
Comparative

Resource mobilization in more advanced countries

J-curve hypothesis was developed in the late 70s, after urban riots in the US, the long hot summers

Expectations are a steady increase, a line slanted upward; the Achievement is that it curves down at the end, and there is a Gap involved

b) Note that relative deprivation presumes a level of resources that permits protests to occur, in contrast to absolute deprivation (these people don't protest)

V. Resource Mobilization Approach

A. This is a focus that does not look at psychological states at all

1. In fact, it recognizes that in a democracy everybody has a gripe

2. So, what makes some groups successfully mobilize and others not at all boils down to organization and resources

It's not that it's just a bunch of angry people (J-curve, just a bunch of angry people)

Now, 2015, people don't just go with a purely psychological argument

Takes a lot for a social movement to be successful, needs resources, vision, etc. etc.

When we think of strategy, we have to think of rationality, going into a movement

B. There is a related approach in RM that focuses on cost-benefit calculation

1. Mancur Olson suggested that movements must deal with the "free rider problem"

It doesn't make any sense from an individual standpoint to protest

The goods of lower student fees, for example, would be shared among everybody

If the protests are successful, then I'll benefit

It won't matter if I'm there or not

2. His answer of how to deal with the free rider problem is by the movement providing incentives

Party after the protest

Money to bail you out if you're arrested

Still an isolated individual making this calculation

a) External selective incentives--these benefits that the movement provides such as transportation, goodies, parties, etc.

b) Internal selective incentives--experienced incentives like friendship and collective identity

C. Another focus in the RM perspective is on prior organization, because this reduces the costs of mobilization

1. Here the focus is on professional SMOs and the growth of large, formal (bureaucratized) organizations

(If you look back in your notes) The study of SMs began by looking at SMs as "extraordinary," weird, unusual behavior

In the study of the field, it swung in the other direction, to be NORMAL

Here we are - movements are professional, almost like a corporate model; big professionalized organizations

It's an efficient way of organizing it

Empirically it's partly true - the organizations that focused on fundraising and calling

Free media - vast majority of SM analysis in western/ industrialized/democratized countries - limitation for protests