

II. POLITICAL CONTENTION

Feb 17

Protest in contemporary democracies. Read Chapter 2 in Johnston, States and Social Movements. Six questions due

Feb 19

Protest in democracies, continued. Read Young and Schwartz, "A Neglected Mechanism in Social Movement Political Influence," in the documents folder in Bb, section II subfolder

Feb 24

The Social Movement Society. Read chapter 3 in Johnston, States and Social Movements. Six questions due.

Feb 26

Professionalization, framing, and the media. Read "The Marketed Social Movement Organization" in Bb, section II subfolder.

Mar 03

Summary and review.

Mar 05

SECOND QUIZ. NO MAKE-UPS, NO RESCHEDULING, NO EXCEPTIONS.

I. Political Opportunities for Protest

A. This is a structural approach to mobilization

1. It looks at political institutions and arrangements

- (a) Social structure is RELATIVELY permanent
- (b) Social movements want to influence politics - to influence political elites, and for them to be responsive

2. The key idea is that there are points of access to political influence for social movements

- (a) The key point of a democracy is that the candidates must then represent their constituents

3. The openness of a political system is the key variable that we are looking at as a source of political opportunity

a) Peter Eisinger's study of urban riots in the US

- (a) J-Curve logic --> people get frustrated and things explode, people protest and then political violence
- (b) Other view - violence is a strategy where all other avenues are closed
- (c) Eisinger's study was done in the 70s
 - i) For example, the number of African Americans on government boards, school boards, municipal things, etc.
 - ii) Looked at these things in various cities - what he found, where violence broke out there was very little representation of African Americans in the political process

- (d) There were very little avenues or opportunities for them to be represented
- (e) In the cities where urban violence did not occur, or protests did not lead to violence, there was much greater political representation of African Americans in municipal conferences and councils etc.
- (f) Gave rise to the whole notion of political representation violence thing
- b) He found that violence was less in cities (during the 1960s) where political representation of Blacks was greater**
- c) In other words, the availability of political opportunities decreases violent collective action**
 - (a) Ferguson: lack of blacks on the police force, blacks in councils, etc.
 - (b) Way to prevent collective violent action = opening political opportunities for aggrieved groups
 - i) Could be religious minorities - Copenhagen, recent religious violence
 - ii) There's no perfect democracies; ideally political access is open to everybody
 - iii) In various dimensions, political involvement can be limited through voter registration requirements
 - iv) If there are more openings politically, then there are less violent collection actions taken, more open means more responsive government
 - (c) Democracy and Protest Level graph - down-ward facing half-moon curve
 - i) With more open (facilitated) democracies, there is less protest
 - ii) With more closed (repressive) democracies, there is less protest
 - iii) In between, there's more

B. There are several factors typically linked with political opportunities

1. Federal systems versus central states

a) Federalized systems offer greater political opportunities than centralized (like France, UK, Sweden)

- (a) Federal system is like the US, gives a fair amount of power to the states
- (b) Federalized: Germany, Switzerland (very decentralized, weak state)
- (c) Parliamentary systems aren't necessarily centralized or federalized

2. Parliamentary systems versus congressional/executive systems

a) Because parliamentary systems have proportional representation, there are more opportunities for political influence for excluded groups (those outside the main groups/coalition)

- (a) Proportional representation - parliamentary - USA does not have this
- (b) Typically parliamentary systems have 4-10 political parties
 - i) Obviously, the alignment along conservative to liberal, generally left to right, there are *many* parties
 - ii) With multiple parties, there is no one majority, like we get
 - iii) The political parties form coalitions, they have to work together
 - iv) The party who wins the most, chooses the prime minister, and there are members from other parties in the cabinet and they have to work together
 - v) If the party(ies) can't agree, the government falls apart, and then they call elections
 - vi) This increases responsiveness
 - vii) Italy for example, called elections nearly every year because they couldn't agree

3. **Availability of allies, meaning coalitions with political parties, NGOs, unions**
 - a) **This was not mentioned in the book**
 - b) **Unstable political institutions means more potential allies**
 - c) **The instability of political institutions makes potential allies available**
 - (a) How do you influence policy?
 - (b) Article "Mobilization and blah blah" - premier social movement journal, published here, sent to Japan, Germany, etc.
 - (c) Politicians have their constituents applying pressure, also corporations apply pressure
4. **Enforcement of policies can be variable, and this opens opportunities for social movements**
 - a) **This refers to agencies that enforce state policies, and not politicians**
 - (a) Federal governments are more scattered, gives social movements more opportunities to influence policy
 - (b) Going on right now with the LGBTQ movement, with regard to the issues of marriage
 - i) Federal government - state laws, federal laws, city actions, 10 years ago the Defensive Marriage Act, and then state law as were passed
 - (1) The complexity opens opportunities for the movements in the state
 - (2) Issue of enforcement now
 - (3) Supreme Court - ruling in favor of legalization of gay marriage in Alabama
 - (a) Alabama court said, we will not abide by this
 - ii) Federal government says this is the policy - it's an element of enforcement
 - iii) Enforcement is not done by politicians
5. **Level of police and military repression**
 - a) **This is an overarching opportunity factor**
 - b) **Note that repression often varies by policy areas in different state systems**
 - (a) In China, 10-20 people are allowed to protest in villages - don't really threaten the communist party
 - (b) China and Korea repress all protests
 - i) Costly - maintain order in the military, maintain HUGE military
 - ii) Would be better to have source of legitimacy - allowing protesting
 - iii) China's legitimacy is the communist party saying "we're the people's party"
 - (c) **STRUCTURAL FACTORS** handout
 - i) Tautological: circular reasoning, really doesn't add anything
 - ii) Mobilization: the process of getting people off their butts and into the streets; a very difficult thing to do
 - iii) You have to interpret the situation
 - iv) **FRAMING** - today's class topic, and framing processes
 - (1) Cultural and interpretive processes
 - (d) Framing: ways we focus on some things and ignore others; lens that allows us to interpret situations
 - i) Basic cognitive process
 - ii) Collective action frame

II. Framing and Social Movement Mobilization

A. Framing is a basic cognitive process that interprets our surroundings

1. In this class, we are interested in collective action frames, which are basic to the mobilization problem of getting people off their butts

a) Namely, to see the situation as warranting CA (collective action)

(a) Example: abortion

- i) Pro-abortion tries to bring more people into the movement by framing it differently "women's right to her body," instead of yes to abortions, it's a kind of spin

ii) Anti-abortion: renamed it "right to life"

B. Research looks at how Sms frame their issue

1. Say, "right to life" versus "right to choose," regarding the abortion debate (more than a debate, there are SMOs in the SMs)

2. Note that this has "spin" quality to it, such as marketing a product to get people to buy it

a) This is called "frame alignment"

b) This takes the form of Bridging (linking frames); frame transformation (say, abortion --> rights); and amplification (catchy phrases)

(a) Successful movement is one with more resources, the more people in the streets, the more successful the movement

3. Frames must accomplish three things

a) Diagnosis--what the problem is

b) Prognosis--what to do to solve the problem

c) Motivation--this gets people active

(a) Professor thinks there's another element - collective identity

(b) Old theories: collective behavior theory, breakdown of that is structural function theory

(c) Framing is a very central concept

III. Political Process Theory--Doug McAdam (main theorist/contributor, book *Political process and African American Insurgency*)

A. This is a synthetic (combines a lot of things) **approach that builds on Political Opportunity Structure Theory (POS) and adds three additional elements**

1. Broad structural change as the starting mechanism of movements

a) Such as, the decline in industrial work, wars, unemployment,

(1) Civil rights movement started in the 50s, even though it's main bulk was in the 60s

(2) There were stirrings in New Orleans and others in 1948 and 49

(3) Battle of Seattle

(a) Emphasis on globalization - people started talking about it in the 80s (30 years ago)

(b) We started noticing these major shifts, n production, in off-shore production

(c) Structural shifts in employment in the USA, people who had working class jobs and families - jobs that supported these families started disappearing

(d) Political Process model (hand out with lots of boxes, flowchart)

b) For example, behind the civil rights movement in the US was WWII, new prosperity in the US, northern migration among African Americans

(1) Big kinds of changes

2. Framing and interpretive processes

- a) Some used the term "discursive opportunities" as a way to capture frame processes, such as extension and bridging
- 3. **Mobilizing structures--these refer to civil society orgs, pre-existing groups**
 - a) This is a basic finding in SM research, that people come to movements via other organizations
 - b) For example, in the Montgomery bus boycott, there is the Baptists Church of MLK
 - c) Bloc recruitment comes from this
 - d) These groups and SMOs are the main conduits
 - (1) For example, churches were the source of materials and resources - meeting places and poster making
- 4. **Repertoires of contention--here we refer to the application of strategies and tactics in the modern SM repertoire**
 - a) The Civil Rights movement drew upon the tactical innovation of nonviolent direct action (or civil disobedience)
 - b) The civil rights movement began a "cycle of protest"
 - (1) Chicano movement, women's suffrage movement
 - c) **Radical flank effect**
 - (1) Not that social movements recruit radicals to be violent
 - (2) SMs are complex, with many moving parts, and SMOs and groups
 - d) **Tactics are the concrete actions in the streets, while strategy refers to the overall battle plan of the movement**
 - (1) Tactics tell you what to do, strategy fits the various things that you do into a broader plan

IV. Social Movement Society

- A. **Several researchers have suggested that in the most advanced democracies, movement mobilization has become an integral part of politics**
 - 1. **Sidney Tarrow and David Meyer used the term, "social movement society"**
 - 2. **Alberto Melucci, suggested the term "movementization of society"**
- B. **There are three main elements in the SMS thesis**
 - 1. **An increase in the volume of protest actions**
 - a) **In Germany, between 1950-1992 there was an overall increase in protests**
 - (1) The main means of measuring protests in the big picture is relying on media reports
 - (2) Has inherent (geographical) biases
 - (3) Rely on NY Times, LA Times (good newspapers), you will still get a bias against protests that happen in Milwaukee or Topeka, etc.
 - b) **In the US, Soule and Earl, found that the size of the protest increased and more people participated in protests**
 - c) **They also find that the protests seem to be larger, which suggests increased efficiency by larger SMOs**
 - (1) Recently, downturn in the number of SMs or protests, but the number of people involved has increased
 - 2. **Institutionalization of protest**
 - a) **More peaceable forms of claims-making have increased while more violent forms have not**
 - b) **Another aspect of this is the rapid growth of NGOs and interest groups that pursue claims through lobbying, public relations campaigns, advising legislations**

- (1) What about protest groups that get permits? Are their protests as effective?
 - (a) Most large protests have to jump through those hoops
 - (b) Media treatment, number they're able to mobilize, the commitment, where they do it

- (2) SMOs get their money from older, middle class people, and millennials often contribute our time, and become employed by these NGOs

c) Institutionalization also results from the extension of the state into new policy areas

- (1) State has to do things responsibly and responsively
- (2) State has to answer to needs, either vote in politicians who will, or protest

3. Moderation of the state's response

a) The rise of the negotiated control model of protest policing

- (1) Seem to protest more politely, state responds with less repressive force
- (2) In the 1960s, the police response to a protest was wading in with billy clubs and arresting people
- (3) Where as the spread of issuing permits, moderates the response
- (4) Facilitation, places for people to park
- (5) Trend in the US, negotiated control, also in Europe
- (6) Response of the police has been moderated
- (7) In the 30s, you could count on getting your head beat
- (8) Protests are not uncommon (worldwide)
 - (a) Algeria, 1000s of protests against fracking
- (9) Many people who were involved in the Occupy movement reported the joy they felt at the community they found in the movement and protests

b) Note the "inverted U" with the upward swing at the end

- (1) At what point does it become so institutionalized that it doesn't become protest anymore? The bureaucratization of NGOs

V. New Social Movements - a European idea

A. The study of SM in Europe had been shaped by the Marxist working-class-capitalist class dichotomy

1. The labor movement as a model of collective action

- (1) In Europe, the people looking at social movements were looking at different things, and the concepts were quite different
- (2) In Europe, there's a strong history of labor movements and socialist parties
- (3) Protest was linked with the labor movement, strong working class identity - they carry lunch pails and get on the subways
- (4) 1980s - rise of new middle class, happened in Europe, what had been happening in the US for a while
- (5) Movements that are not concerned with class conflict, labor v management
- (6) Movements concerned with the environment, women's rights, identity (gay rights)
- (7) Rise of the service sector/tertiary economy

B. After WWII, rising affluence gave impetus to the tertiary sector of the economy (service sector) and "new middle classes"

1. This gave rise to a different set of grievances, ones not based in the class dichotomies

- (1) People who are young, educated, people who transcended their parents working class background
- (2) People who started thinking in new terms

- (3) We have the rise of new identities, and those are the focus
- (4) Shift from the 50s and into the 60s mentality, something about drugs
 - (a) Shift was linked with rising affluence, rise of tertiary sector economy, and rise of the new middle classes
 - (b) Different set of grievances, different passions
 - (c) Not based on class (working class claims, social, unions) dichotomies/divisions
 - (d) In Europe
- 2. These highly educated people. with technological competence, younger, in 20s and 30s, who defend individual rights, equality, and anti-authoritarianism, freedom**
 - (1) The old left (vs new left) was based on the communist and socialist parties - hierarchical parties, authoritarian parties
 - (2) What you do comes down from the top, you better do what you're told to do
 - (a) Which is why the communist party doesn't take everyone
- 3. The 1960s were crucial here (the transition from the old left to the new left, esp. 1968)**
 - (1) For those who survived the war, there was still a highly trained, industrial work force, European economy slowly recovered
 - (2) The 50s were weak years for the European economy
- 4. The shift to a post-Fordist economy gradually occurred at this time**
 - a) Increases in productivity meant a small industrial workforce**
 - (1) Assembly line, specialized assembly line production
 - (2) Movements entering the 70s
 - b) Globalization shifts**
 - c) The rise of the tertiary sector of the economy (service sector)**
- C. A central idea in NSM (new? SM?) perspective is collective identity**
 - 1. NSM are more focused on lifestyles, cultural practices, fighting various form of domination**
 - a) Check the example of Annabelle in the book**
 - (1) Women's movement was an element
 - (a) Women beginning to address limitations on rights, restrictions on basic things such as ownership (names on mortgages)
 - (b) Women's movement is viewed in waves (1, 2, 3, and 4?)
 - b) "Submerged networks" of postmodern progressive identity among NSM activists**
 - (1) Occupy movement covered too much
 - (2) Nobody went to jail in 2008 crisis, movement took on own quality
 - (3) Process of radical democracy became important
 - 2. This question of a collective-identity focus has been a criticism of NSM because collective identity (CI) is common to all movements**
 - a) In labor movements of the past, strong CI and collective solidarity were present**
 - b) For NSM, we can think of grievances that are more removed from survival needs and everyday life pressures**
- VI. Social movement professionalization**
 - A. This too reflects the post-Fordist economy with higher resource levels**
 - (1) Could there be a link with the higher affluence, the surplus that people can direct to issues and social movements

- (2) As the economy develops, resources can develop, social movements can then take their cut, and stimulates more and more SM activity
- (3) Social movement professionalization - the rise of SM professionals, people that earn their living doing this
- (4) The Iron Law of Oligarchy
 - (a) The tendency of SMO to become bureaucracy, to organize, because it's efficient
 - (b) Conveys status, power, when people order others around
 - (c) 'He who says organizations says oligarchy'
 - i) Inevitable process of bureaucratization, or hierarchy, because there's pressures, based on efficiency

B. Organizational isomorphism

1. This occurs via IRS rules for tax status

- (1) The people who work for the SMOs are not after corporate powers
- (2) They've made a career decision, they don't make a great \$ living at it
- (3) IRS thing happens because you have to have a certain kind of record keeping, have to hire accountants, have to organize it a certain way - pressures begin to form the way that the organization takes place

2. Accessing political channels and contacts requires skills

a) Highly educated activists are needed here, often with language skills

- (1) In order to have an affect on politicians, they have to hire people who can make an impression on the politicians

3. Diffusion of what works--innovations that are useful

a) Especially regarding marketing with direct mail and canvassing, telephone solicitations

- (1) Marketing happens all the time, trying to establish a link with dominant cultural themes - exactly what happened with the TM example

C. Are there problems with professionalization?

1. Centralization of power for the sake of efficiency

a) These are not grassroots organizations

- (1) Is there good work being done by Greenpeace? It's not grassroots.
- (2) More and more of the SMOs efforts have to be directed to fundraising because they have to support the staff and the hires
- (3) It is something that fits the present opportunity structure - good? bad? It is what it is.
- (4) Obviously not grassroots organizations.

2. They tame the tactical repertoire

3. Decreases commitment among activists

a) "Checkbook activism"

- (1) Feel good, contributed funds to the cause

Qs 1-36 MC, Write in 38-40

Review article -

SMs target and influence the corporations that oppose their purposes - often more effective than lobbying the politicians.

Frames: basic cognitive processes, help us organize experience, make sense of new situations; socially constructed, individually applied. "Renders events or occurrences meaningful."

Strategized frames and spontaneous frames

Spontaneous: occur on the streets during protests, LHRC Encounter - videos of guy defending himself on trial, negatively frame group think, seeing if people saw something fishy was going on; starting to see the sleazy tactics; most rebelled against the frame given to them which was that dude was already a criminal).

Strategized frames

Persuasiveness

Frame alignment: How SMs make their frames more attractive and persuasive

Bridging: Pro-life and life, connect to other frame

Extending: Pro-choice & choice, cultural themes

Amplifying: slogan, No Child Left Behind

Resonance: degree to which potential SM participants find the frame compelling. Four factors, internal consistency with frame, credibility to the audience, integration with the audience's core beliefs, meaning of frame in everyday experience of audience (Note the last two are classically referred to as centrality and experiential commensurability).

Master Frames: general cultural currents and ideas that are popular. Ex) keeping everything hygienic, vaccinations.

Framing is like marketing's "spin," especially among professionalized SMOs, and is a fundamental strategy.

NSM - New Social Movements

Professionalization: reflects post-Fordist economy

Identity / lifestyle based grievances (green movement, Occupy - slightly against the logic since it has a class dichotomy, it's focused on collective identity; at first reaction to 2008 crisis)

Tendency of a Market SMO to objectify movement members, pay to play - checkbook activists.

SM Entrepreneurs: provide services specifically tailored to SMs, marketing firms who handle conceptualization, design, printing, and mailing for a customer. Any professionalized contractor hired to do SMs work. Organizational skills needed and bought.

Submerged Networks: almost like subcultures, fragile networks, not clearly identifiable. Not so pronounced, not direct connection, barely connected, Oh I hear there's another guy in Houston doing this SM.

Post-materialist: idea is that higher resource level is needed before moving on to post-material goals; veganism, lifestyles. Grievances that define NSM. Need the material in order to be "post-material." Tend to be more elitist movements.

New Middle Classes / Tertiary / service sector economy emergence

Social Movement Society Thesis

SMS coined by Meyer and Tarrow

Characterizes broad acceptance of social movements as a form of regular social and political participation, as Johnston put it, the "institutionalization of protest"

Increase in volume of Protest, Institutionalization of Protest, Moderation of State Response.

More protests are occurring more frequently with more people than ever before. Regularizes protestation and refines it. Less violent, more practiced with more decorum, polite.

Regularization leads to Moderation of State Response, or the mitigation of protest through state and SMO cooperation.

Violent protests in the 60s and 70s (escalated-force policing) and in response to the decorum developing in protesters, shift is seen towards less aggressive methods. Police trained more often in non-violent crowd control, process of obtaining permits for marches and demonstrations, shrinking of public space for protest and limits on First Amendment.

Negotiated Management Model: negotiation and planning of protest demonstration between protestors and officials, permits planning marches....

Political Process Theory - STUDY THE FLOWCHART

Broad structural changes > framing and interpretive processes....

Ex) black bloc during Seattle Riots - radical impetus that caused politicians to say we don't want this violence in our city, we will talk to the not-radical leaders (union people, etc)

State structures and political opportunity (WRITE IN) (32-43)

Federal v Centralized (p 32-43) systems

Easier to find open systems in federal systems

Decentralized/non-centralized/federal (US (3-branches of govt), Canada, Germany)

Centralized (France, Netherlands, Sweden)

Book's example Switzerland v. France

Easier in decentralized Switzerland to mobilize because allows more openings for mobilization since the system, is branched; if this tactic doesn't work on this branch of government, I always have the next branch

France, democratic, centralizes power, tends to be more radical, makes mobilization more difficult, due to perception of govt responsiveness - radical mobilization seems necessary.

Relate to Eisenger - French felt less voiced, they protested radically.

Division of elites, perception of more points of access to elites, elite allies, variations in elite support

Multi-party systems (more often in parliamentary systems, decentralized, includes the USA) *see the emergence of coalitions which give minority parties opportunity*

Enforcement: differences in ability and intent of administrators to enforce policies

Open and Closed Systems

Eisenger

Study on black communities and level of protest, open/closed

Categorization of political open or closedness as a tool to measure protest. Dude studied participation and opportunities for participation within municipal (local govts)

Found that those communities where Blacks had voice (commissions, committees had less tendency to violently protest

The logic here is that politically open states where citizens can participate see less protest, as do states where repression is high. This seems to suggest that states must be certain degrees of opened or closed in order for protest to occur.

GRAPH - inverted U (half moon shape)

X axis: level of protest

Y axis: open/facilitation to closed/repression

When there is so much openness, there is no need for protests.

Protest levels are highest in the middle b/c they are allowed, though politicians aren't as responsive as we want them to be.

Protests don't happen when there's heck tons of repression b/c they are totally unable to.