

# Class 4: Aspects of Social Movement Activity

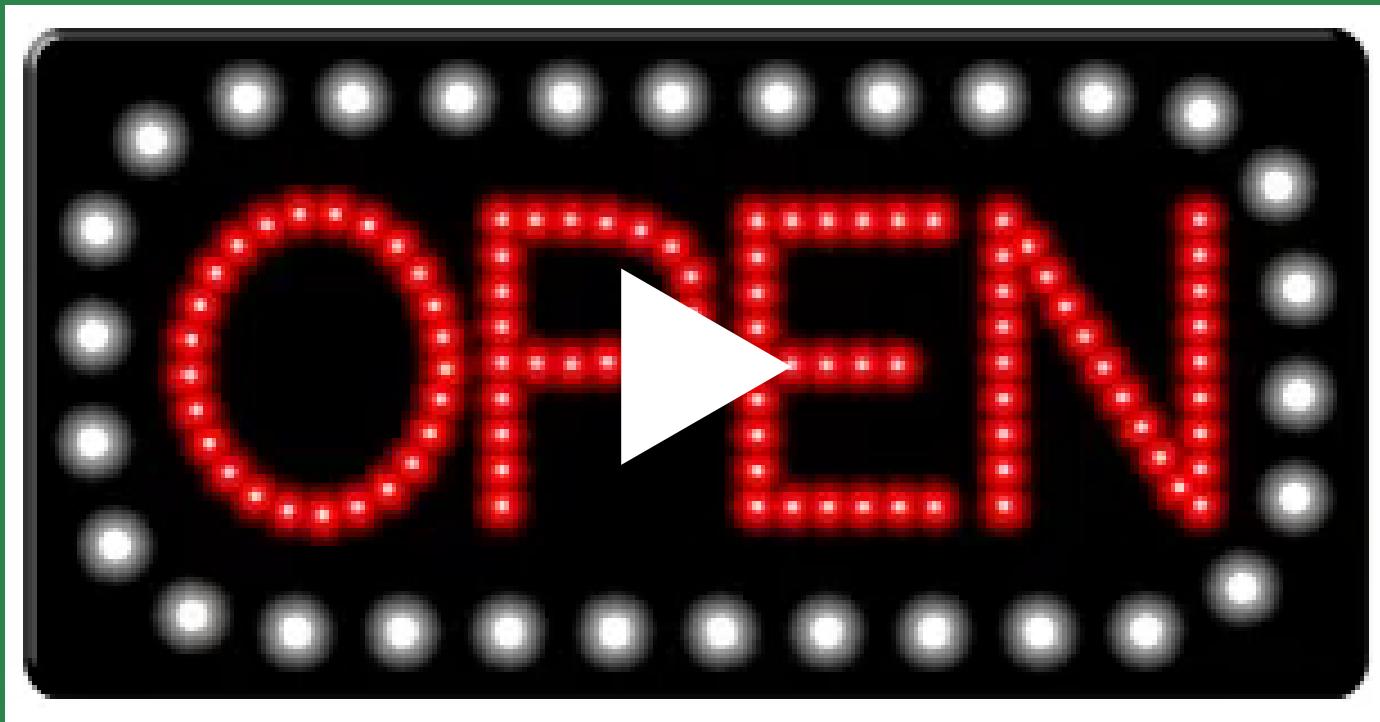
Mobilisation, recruitment, and participation

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

# Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Klausur preview
- Networks
- Poll: org. change and youth
- Organisations
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

# Opening notes



# Presentation groups

December

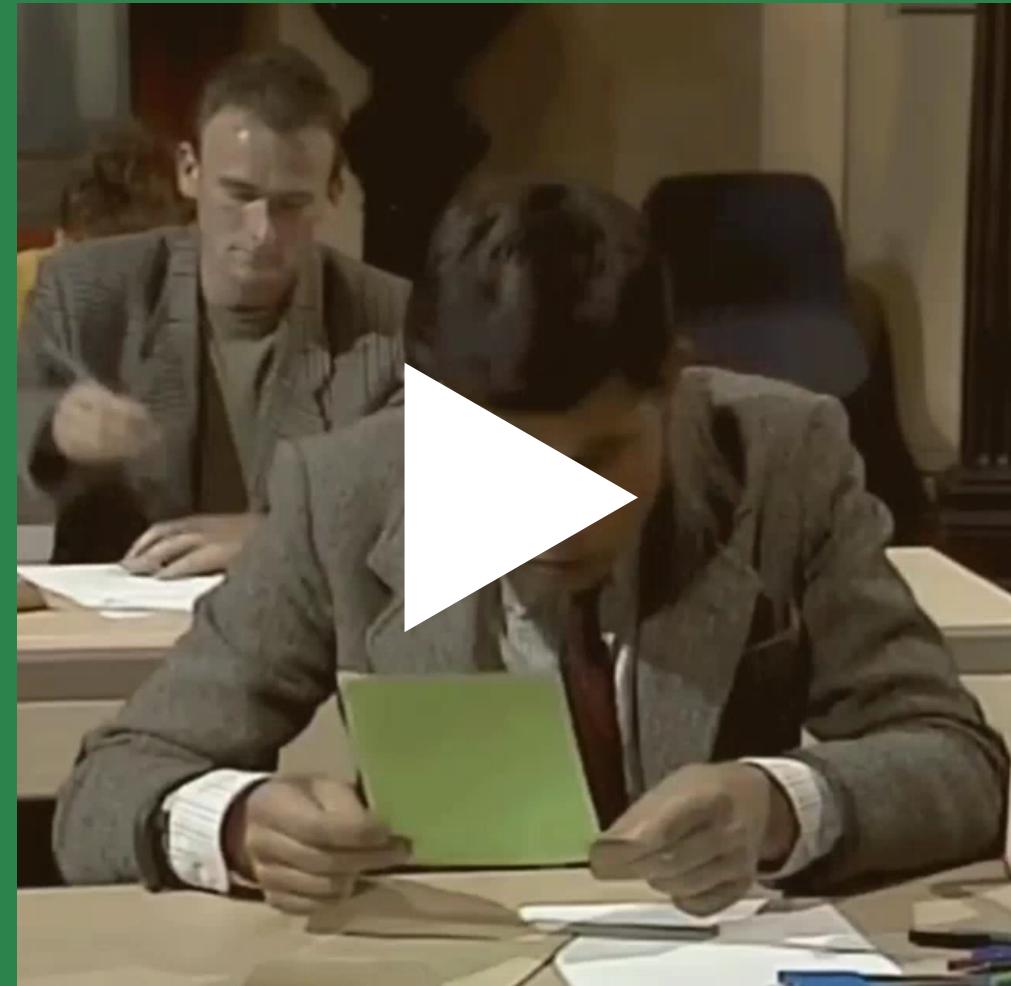
January

## Presentations line-up

Date	Presenters	Method
4 Dec:		TBD
11 Dec:		TBD
18 Dec:		TBD

# Klausur preview

- structure of an essay
  1. Broad introductory response
  2. Elaborate in (sufficient) detail to answer the questions
  3. Describe examples
  4. Concluding summary



# Klausur preview (1)

1. Broad introduction
2. Elaborate in detail
3. Describe examples
4. Concluding summary

*What does 'political opportunity structure' mean? How does it help us understand how movements emerge and (potentially) have an impact? Discuss with examples*

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## 1. Broad introduction

Political opportunity structure (POS) refers to availabilities of resources, institutional arrangements, and histories of mobilisation that shape (facilitating/hindering) movement activity. Different aspects of these components are relevant to different movements. But POS in all cases is an important part of explaining if and how movements form, how they operate, and whether and what kinds of impacts they can have. ...

# Klausur preview (2)

1. Broad introduction
2. Elaborate in detail
3. Describe examples
4. Concluding summary

*What does 'political opportunity structure' mean? How does it help us understand how movements emerge and (potentially) have an impact? Discuss with examples*

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*What does 'political opportunity structure' mean? How does it help us understand how movements emerge and (potentially) have an impact? Discuss with examples*

## 2. Elaborate in detail

POS defines what resources are available for emergent movements to use, whether they can access the public sphere and/or political decision-making, and whether there are viable models of mobilisation and campaigning. While individuals and groups always have some possibility of exercising their *agency*, the *structure* referred to by POS is a powerful constraining set of factors. ...

# Klausur preview (3)

1. Broad introduction
2. Elaborate in detail
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## 3. Describe examples

At a most basic level, POS can refer to the freedom for movements to form, to mobilise and campaign for certain goals. Authoritarian states typically restrict this freedom and offer less space for movements than in liberal democratic states like Germany. Looking closely at specific examples can demonstrate how POS shapes movements. The anti-nuclear movement in Germany, for example, benefited by forming in the wake of 1968-era mobilisations, so models existed for mobilising. Germany's federal state structure presented more 'opportunities' for movements to disrupt implementation of nuclear projects. Critical

events, such as Cold War missile installation and the Chernobyl accident, strengthened the anti-nuclear movement in Germany. And Germany's (PR) electoral system made the creation of a political party (i.e., institutionalization of the movement through the creation of elite allies) a viable option. Germany's virtually non-existent nuclear power infrastructure is evidence of the anti-nuclear movements success in Germany, contrasted with less successful movement activity in, e.g., France....

# Klausur preview (4)

1. Broad introduction
2. Elaborate in detail
3. Describe examples
4. Concluding summary

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## 4. Concluding summary

To assess whether and in what ways movements can emerge, whether and in what ways movements can have an impact, it is essential to consider relevant POS aspects. Movements exercise their agency within the limitations created by POS.

# Networks

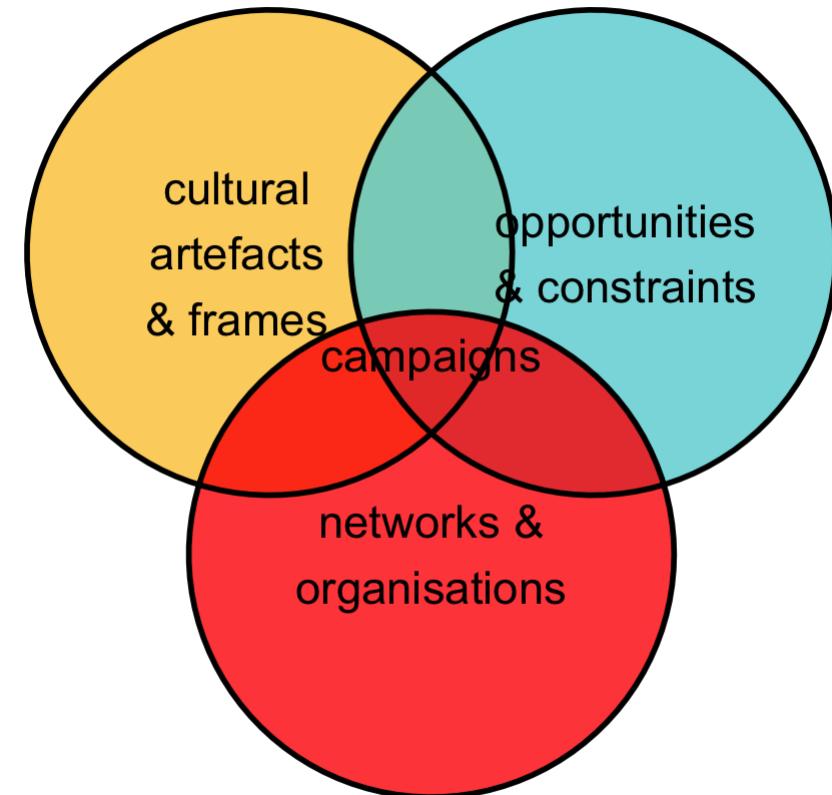
- opening questions
- network membership
- social network example
- mobilising networks and collective action



**What types of social  
networks exist? Where?  
(When?)**

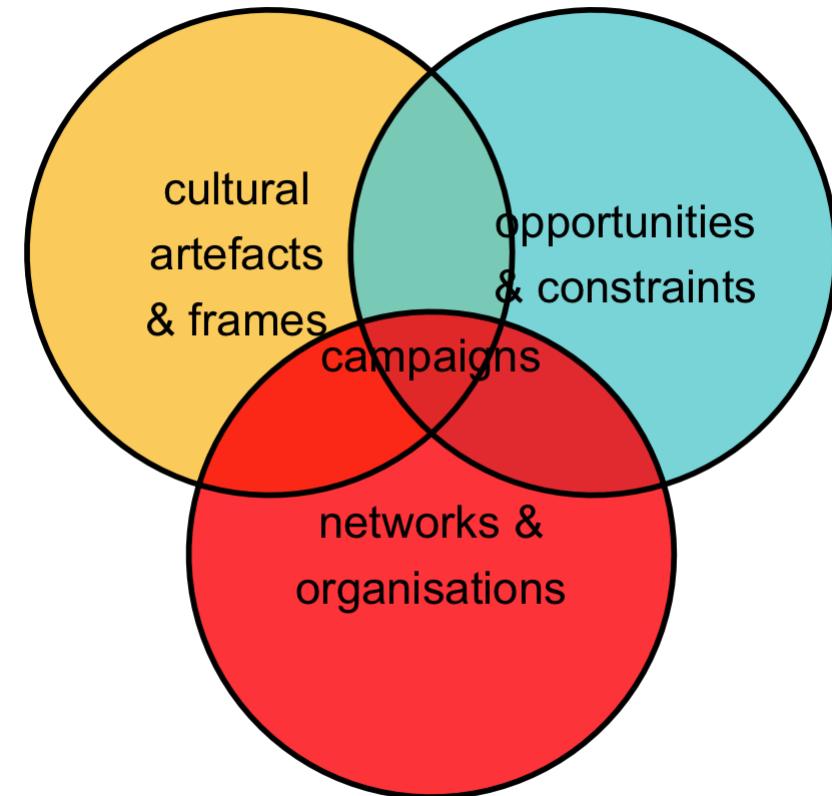
# Network membership

- (nearly) everyone is a member of *multiple social networks*
  - some *informal* and loose
  - others *formalised*, with clearly defined structure



# Network membership

- (nearly) everyone is a member of *multiple social networks*
  - some *informal* and loose
  - others *formalised*, with clearly defined structure
- networks have many functions
  - knowledge/info. sharing
  - coordinating action
  - others?



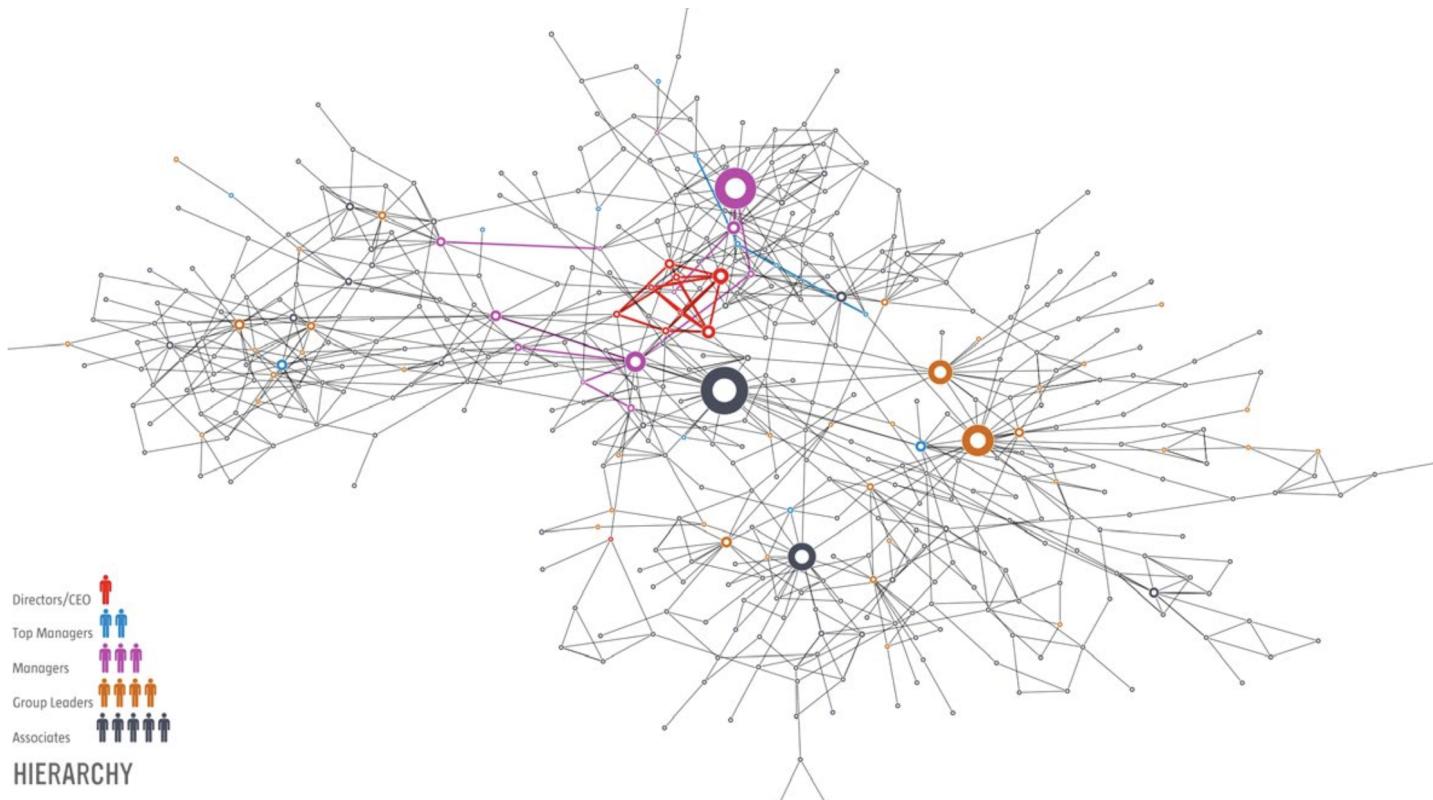
# Network membership



# Social network example - Barabási (2016, 17)

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- now, identifying network influence of ranks in company hierarchy
- no **directors** are hubs. Nor are the **top managers**
- biggest hub (most influential individual) is an ordinary employee



# Social network example - Barabási (2016, 17)

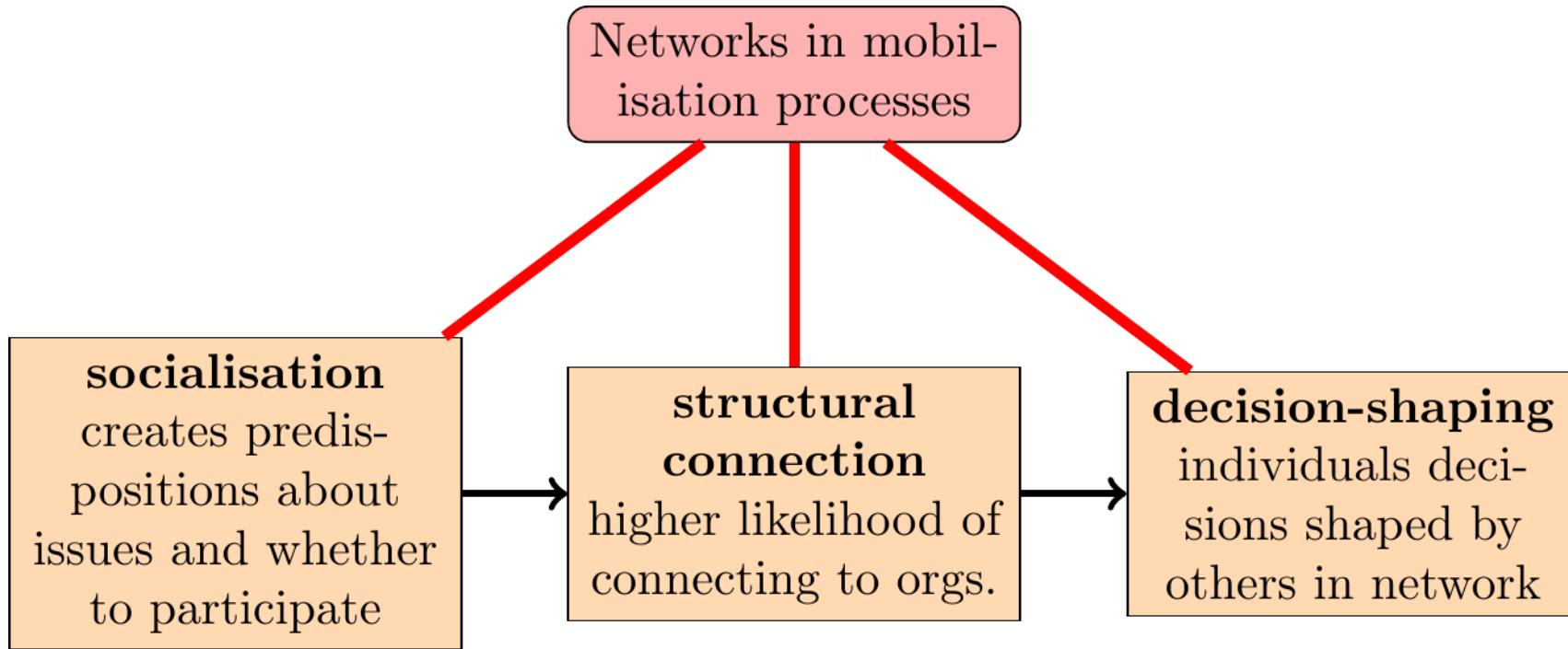
- many employees at most two links from the big hub, an employee in charge of safety issues
  - regularly visits each location and talks with the employees; connected to everyone except the top management; acts as a gossip centre



# Mobilising networks and collective action (della Porta Diani 2009, 115–16)

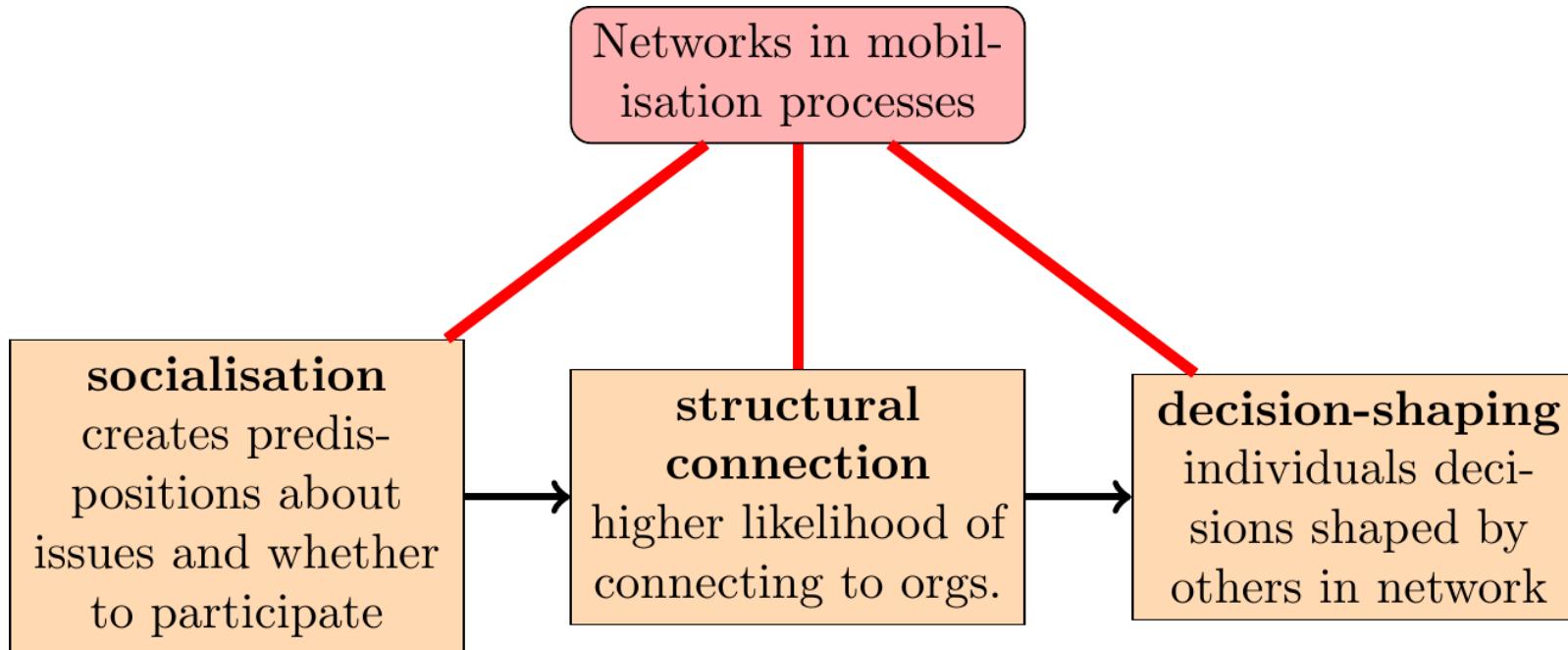
# Networks and individuals' decisions to participate

How do social networks affect decisions to participate in collective action? (2009, 118–19)



Mobilization in social movements frequently occurs through mechanisms of “bloc recruitment” (Oberschall, 1973): cells, branches, or simply significant groups of members of existing organizations are recruited as a whole to a new movement, or contribute to the start of new campaigns (della Porta and Diani 2009, 120)

# Networks and individuals' decisions to participate



Mobilization in social movements frequently occurs through mechanisms of “**bloc recruitment**” (Oberschall, 1973): cells, branches, or simply significant groups of members of existing organizations are **recruited as a whole to a new movement**, or contribute to the start of new campaigns (della Porta and Diani 2009, 120)

what are the mobilising networks in cases you know of?

# Individuals in networks, summing up

- **networks** perform many functions
  - **socialisation** (i.e., acquiring [political] values, beliefs, behaviours)
  - influencing individuals' decisions/sympathies
    - should I stay involved?
    - should I advocate for more radical actions?
    - should I support different leadership?

# Individuals in networks, summing up

- networks are important, but *not necessary and not solely sufficient* for mobilisation of an individual
  - powerful combination of **strong commitment** and **strong ties to other participants** = *continued participation*
  - amenable networks and **frame resonance** are sufficient to mobilise individuals (without need of prior connection to an org.) (cf. **della Porta and Diani 2009, 125**)

# Further on networks... with Manuel Castells:

# Poll: org. change and youth

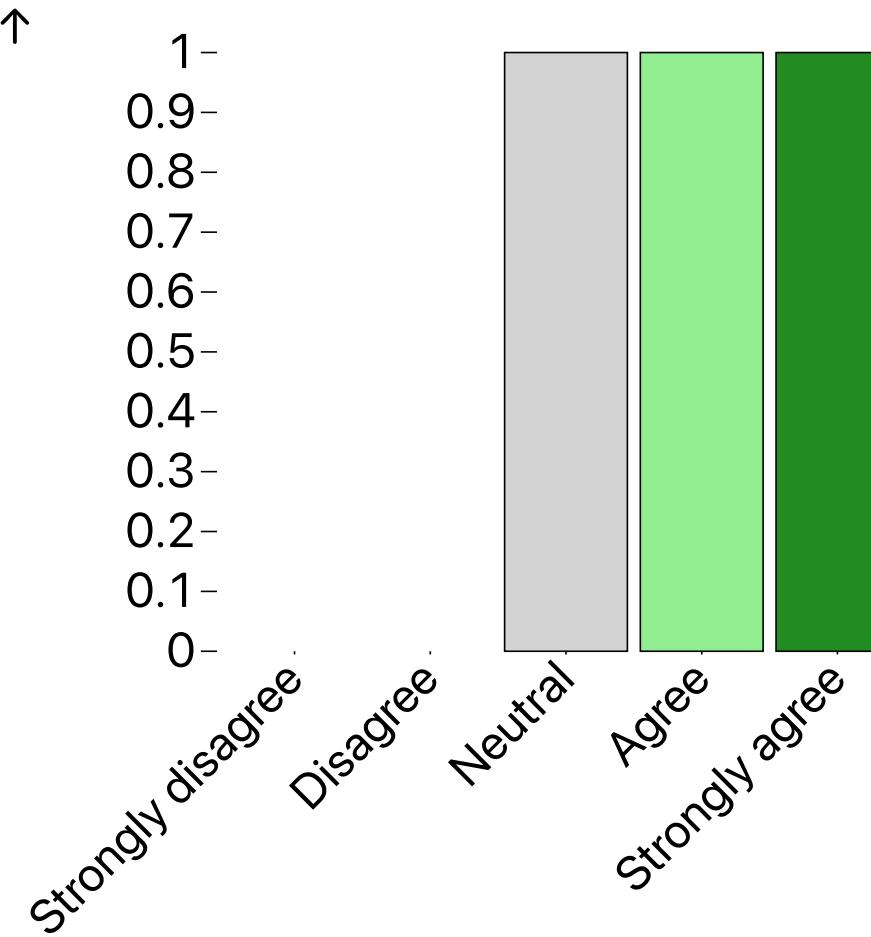


Take the survey at  
<https://forms.gle/soCtvvSX5TKuURp57>

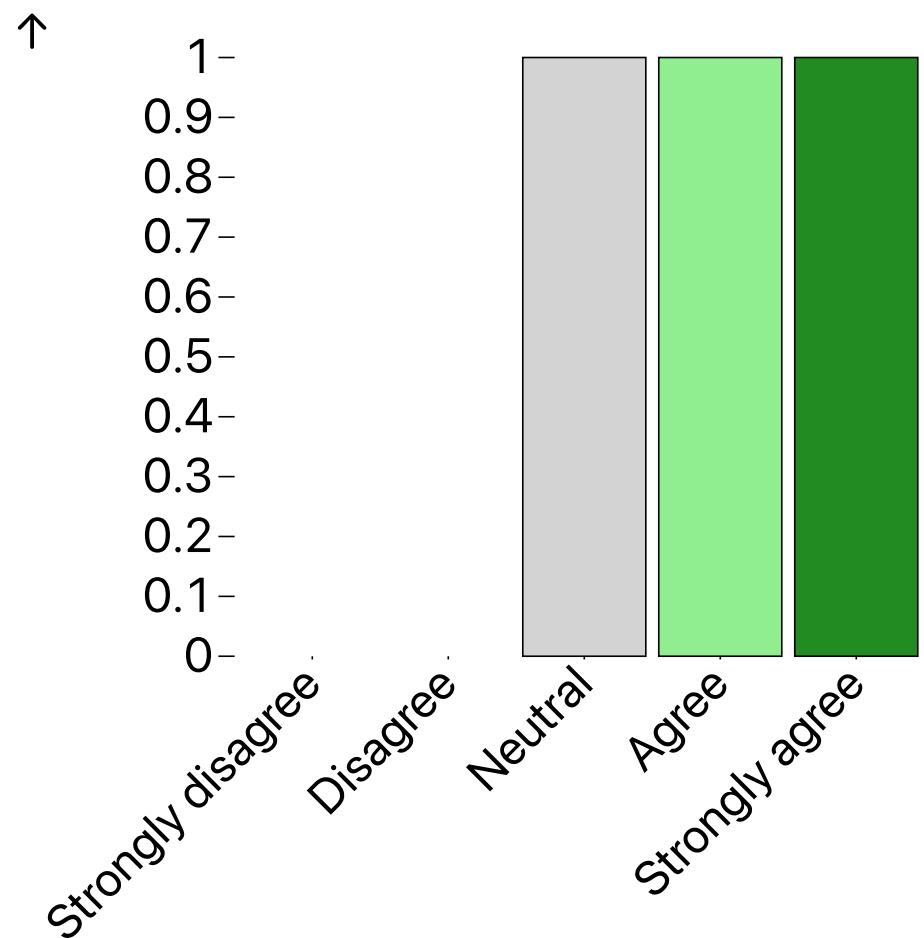
- social media networks have eased mobilisation and expanded movement participation?
- offline, ‘brick and mortar’ organisations are as important as ever for movement activism
- young people more prominent, numerous in activism?
- if young people are more present in movement activism, is it an advantage or disadvantage?

# Poll results (Respondents: 3)

social media eased **mobilisation**,  
expanded participation?

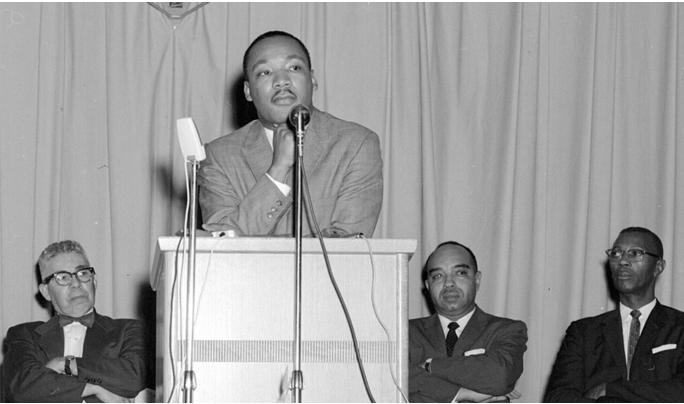


offline, orgs as important as ever

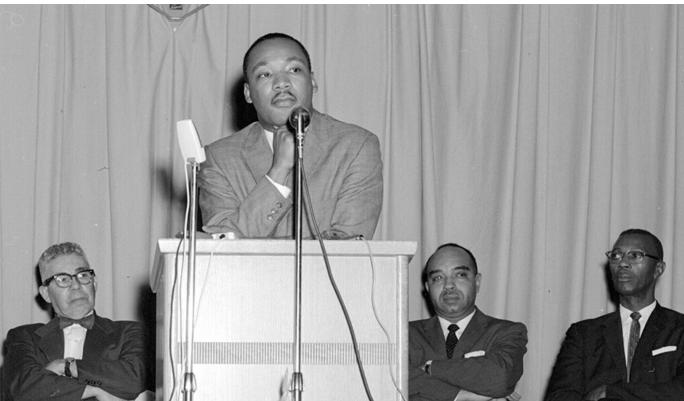




# Old-school organisation (American CRM)



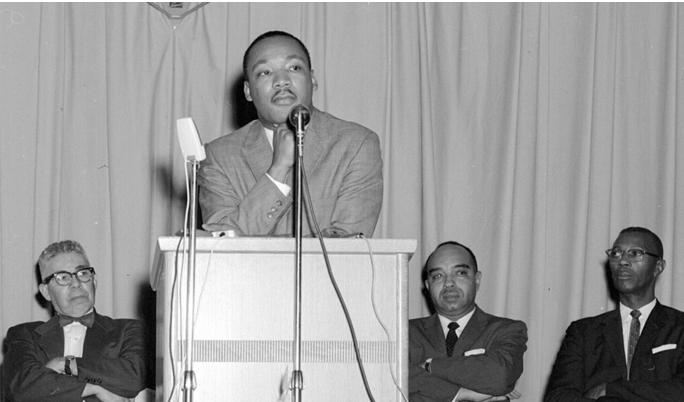
# Old-school organisation (American CRM)



- MLK's 'I have a dream' speech (20.8.1963)
  - delivered previously, in N. California (27.11.1962) and in Detroit (23.6.1963)



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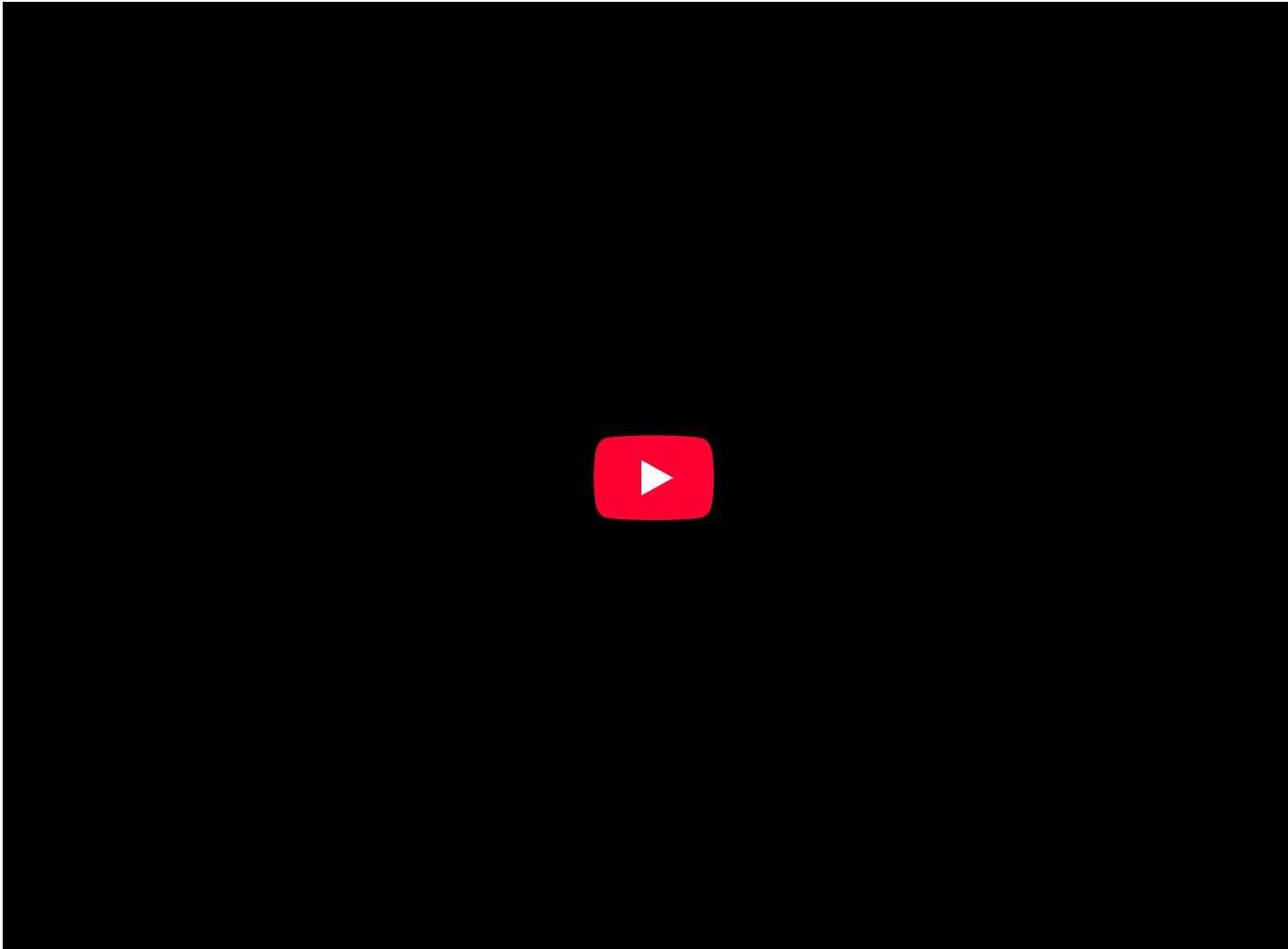


- MLK's 'I have a dream' speech (28.8.1963)
  - delivered previously, in N. California (27.11.1962) and in Detroit (23.6.1963)
- Bayard Rustin: capable, competent organisers in key positions
  - instead of standard 1000-2000 USD sound system, 16,000 USD state-of-the-art system



# Tufekci (2017) on twitter netz, old-school orgs

from start until 5.12



which social media platforms are you on? Could you imagine getting

# Organisations

- opening question
- ‘necessity’ of organisations
- emergence and persistence
- types of organisations
- key developments



What types of social movement organisations exist? What are the key differentiating attributes?

# Necessity of organisations

Movements are not based on networks alone; without some degree of **formal organization**, movements frequently fade away or dissipate their energies. (Tarrow 2011, 146)

BUT... to what extent/degree is *organisation* helpful?

Tarrow (2011, 160): if organisations formalise/institutionalise, may lose capacity for **disruption**; but if they lack infrastructure, they may be unable to **sustain** interaction with allies, authorities, supporters

# Organisations: emergence and persistence

1. orgs emerge out of episodes of contention
2. orgs begin locally and scale up/spread through contention
  - has the internet changed this?
3. key to org survival is interpersonal networks within them (cf. Ganz 2010 on org. structure enhancing strategic capacity)

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- difference between **bureaucratic organisations** and **grassroots radical organisations** – one common org. type distinction



AFL-CIO: heavily formalised org., traditional bargaining

tactics (ineffective), *failed to win concessions from growers*



Cesar Chavez, in plaid shirt, marches with members of the United Farm Workers outside a Delano, California, supermarket, August 25, 1975. (AP Photo/Walter Zeboski)

UFW: experienced leaders willing to listen to new ideas,

org structure facilitating vertical exchange (creates tactical

innovation and strategic capacity), *won concessions*

# Different types of movement orgs. (per Tarrow 2011)

- **Exclusive affiliations:**
  - demand long membership accession, rigid discipline, high level of commitment
  - closed off to outside
- **Multiple affiliations:**
  - not monopolising members' commitment
  - multiple commitments is a source of strength
  - facilitates circulation of information, especially through informal/interpersonal networks

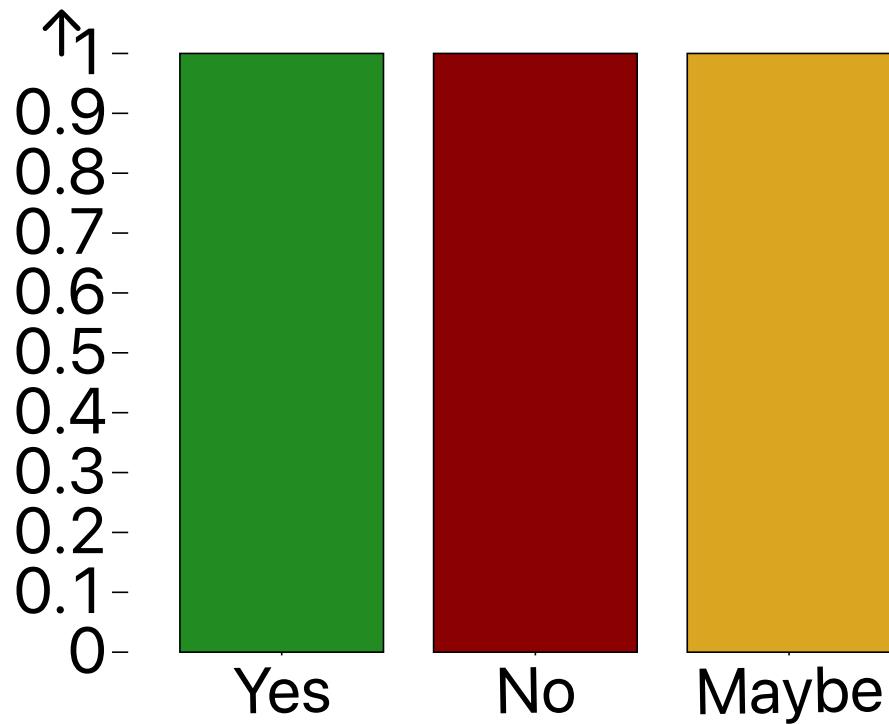
How do these different types relate to our discussion of framing?  
- recall **frame alignment** (esp. '**bridging**' and '**extenstion**')

# SM orgs. - key developments (Tarrow 2011, 133f)

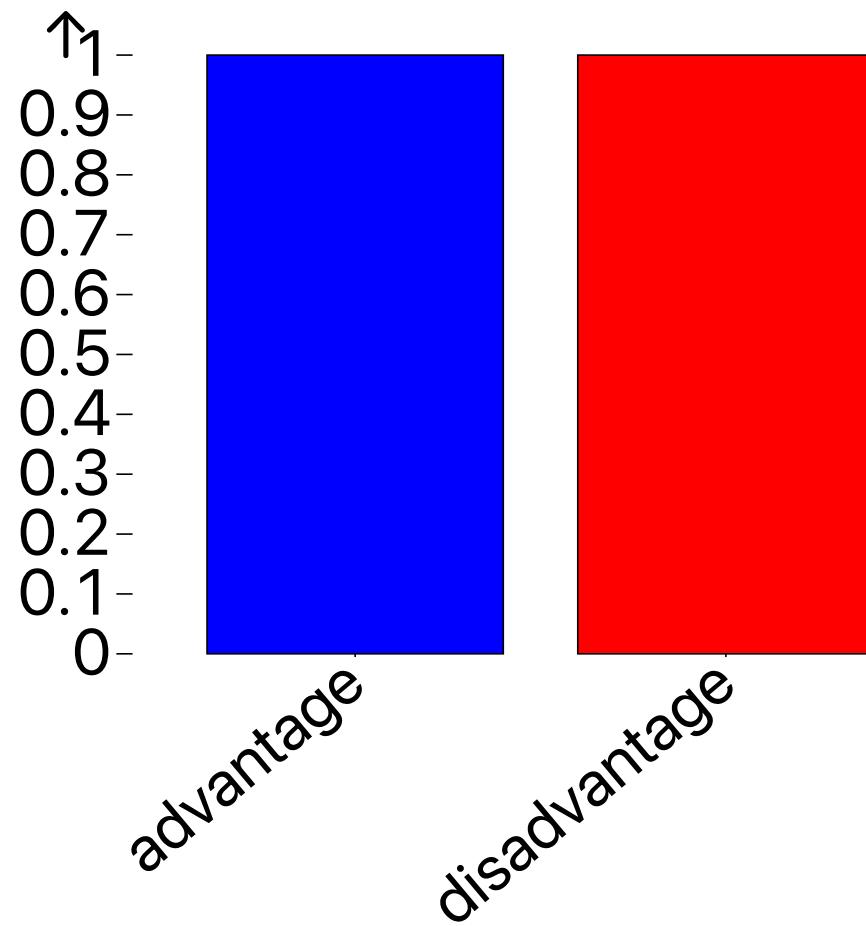
1. enhanced **availability of the media** (TV, internet) in diffusing the influence of movement organisations
  2. increased **amount of money, free time, and expertise available to young people** since the beginning of the postwar boom years
  3. **financial and administrative resources available** to movement organisations from foundations, from governments, and even, in some cases, from business and civic groups
- 
- uses of internet/social media
    - fundraising, share ideology and propaganda, provide training and recruitment opportunities, overcome constraints/counteraction of authorities/opponents

# Concluding considerations

young people more prominent,  
numerous in activism?



if more young people in activism,  
advantage or disadvantage?



# Concluding considerations

# Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here: <https://forms.gle/AjHt6fcnwZxkSg4X8>

Alternatively, please send me an email: [m.zeller@lmu.de](mailto:m.zeller@lmu.de)

# References

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