

Organizational Issues

Professionalization, Patronage, & Effects on Movements

The Issues

1. What organizational forms exist in movements?
2. What was the role of professional organizations and outside resources in the movements of the 1960s?
3. What are the relationships among types of organizations & among types of activists?

McCarthy & Zald (1973 & 1977)

- Critiqued “classical” model of social movements as arising from mass base
- Argued that professional social movements accounted for much of the rise of action of the 1960s
- Professional social movement
 - Paid staff, Movement careers
 - Funding from outside the movement (grants) OR from isolated “paper” members who give money but don’t participate or control the organization
 - Transitory teams: occasional participants in events organized by professionals

McCarthy & Zald vocabulary

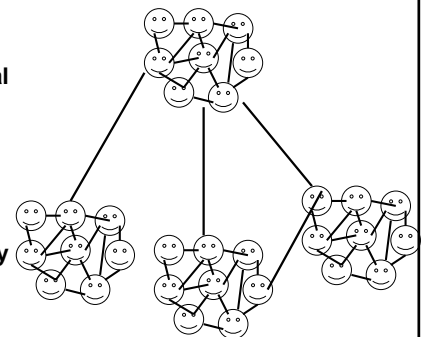
- (this has not caught on but can be useful)
- SMO (organization)
- SMI (industry): all the organizations in a particular movement
- The whole SM social movement includes actions that are not part of organizations
- SMS (sector) is all social movements (around all issues)
- Adherents, constituents, potential beneficiaries, conscience constituents (I defined earlier this term)
- Cadre=leadership core vs transitory teams

McCarthy & Zald claims

- Professional movements increasingly important
- Organizational survival and inter-organizational relations are important
- (theoretical contrasts pp 171-2)
- Resources, especially external resources, determine whether movements rise or fall
- External funding contributed to Black mobilization

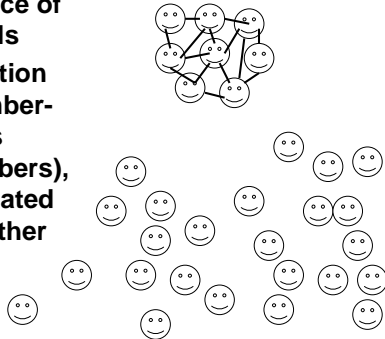
Federated Structure

- National office of professional activists
- Chapters of volunteers
- NOTE: This looks like a bureaucracy but it isn't



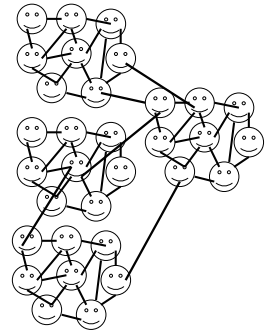
Professional movement

- National office of professionals
- No organization among member-contributors (paper members), who are isolated from each other



Gerlach & Hine

- The organizations of a social movement is typically
 - Decentralized: power & authority tend to be distributed
 - Reticulate: net-like connections
 - Polycephalous: many-headed, multiple leaders



Gerlach & Hine: advantages of this structure

- Segmented appeal: different groups can appeal to different constituencies
- Loose coordination through coalitions
- Can keep the opposition off-guard, as different groups can demand different even inconsistent concessions
- Not dependent on any one leader: less risk of cooptation or repression

Finnegan: Affinity Groups

- Much of this article discusses the Seattle protest (giving vivid examples of events) and the WTO issue, which we will return to later, when we watch a video about the protest
- There is also a lot about tactics in here, to which we will return
- The organization issue is affinity groups: decentralized groups of people who know and trust each other empowered to act on their own within the framework of broadly-defined parameters linked by communication networks

Actual movement structures

- Whole social movements are complex
- Combine organizations with different kinds of structures: some fairly bureaucratic, others informal
- Some movements are relatively centralized in a single organization & a single leader

Clemens: Organizational Repertoires

- Argument structured as debate against Michels Iron Law of Oligarchy
- Her main point is that the women's movement used many different organizational forms and created new ones that adapted to their circumstances
- Their innovation expanded the US repertoire and in many ways structured how movements do politics in the US now

Wapner: Transnational activism

- This was included in the organization section but as I read it, the most interesting parts seem to me to be the discussion of strategies and tactics, which we will discuss more after the quiz
- For organizations, the point is the existence of this organizational form: the transnational alliance or coalition or network

Staggenborg: Professionalization

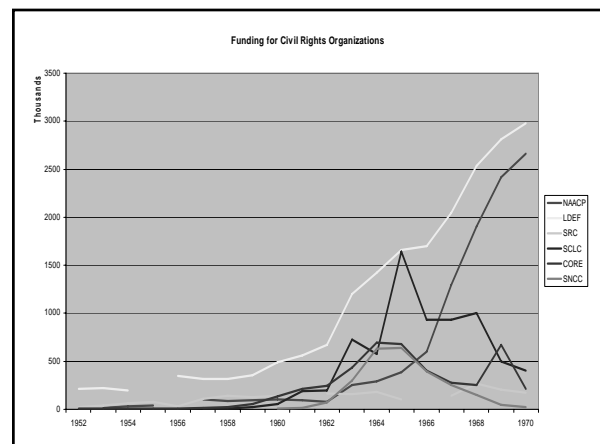
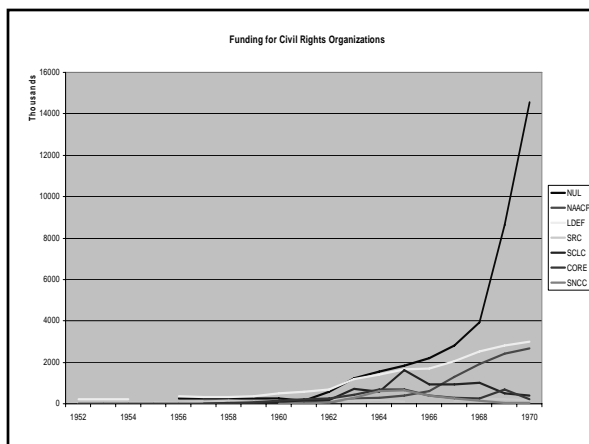
- Data are pro-choice organizations over time
- Movement entrepreneurs who start movement organizations are different from movement professionals who maintain them and have movement “careers”
- Professional activists tend to formalize organizations = formal membership lists, voting rules, governance structures
- Formalization & professionalization of movement organizations stabilizes them in unfavorable conditions
- Professionalized movement organizations shift toward more institutionalized tactics & facilitate coalitions

Piven & Cloward: Poor People's Movements (1977)

- Disruption produces benefits for the poor
- Opportunity to disrupt arises when elites are divided due to crisis or electoral realignment
- Organizations “tame” movements and blunt their disruptive potential
- Movements decline in impact as their organizations grow
- There was a BIG debate about this in the 1980s. Overall conclusion is that the “taming” effect is there but organizations sometimes help groups win. It depends on the context, the movement, the specific organization. Feeds into later discussions of movement dynamics.

Haines (1984) Radical Flank Effects

- Effect of there being a more radical organization (or broader disruption) on success of moderates.
 - Negative effects: radicals cause backlash, hurt moderates
 - Positive: radicals cause disruption, create threat which helps moderates
- Examines funding across time for Black organizations
- Finds that funding for the movement as a whole and moderates specifically increased between 1950 and 1970
- Interpretation: militancy by radicals INCREASED funding for moderates

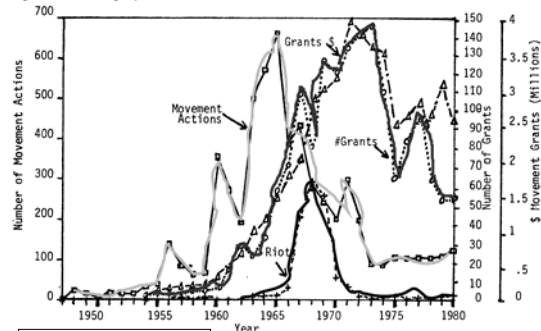


Jenkins & Eckert 1986

- Examines effects of professional organizations & elite funding on the Civil Rights Movement
- Combines newspaper data on movement events with funding data
- Question 1: What was role of professional organizations & outside money on movement initiation?
- Question 2: Did elite funding coopt or channel the movement?

Mobilization precedes external funding

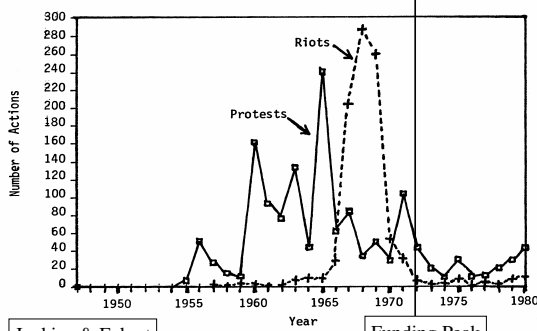
Figure 2. Black Insurgency and Foundation Grants, 1947-80



Jenkins & Eckert 1986

Timing of Black Protests, Riots

Figure 5. Black Unruliess, 1955-80

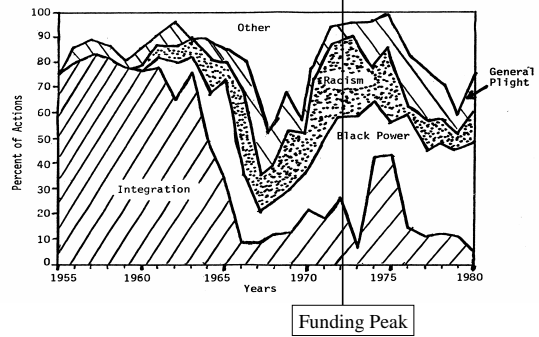


Jenkins & Eckert

Funding Peak

Issues addressed by Movement

Figure 6. Major Issues in the Black Movement, 1955-80



Funding Peak

Interpretation (Jenkins & Eckert)

- Funding for Civil Rights organizations declined after 1973, once movement disruption had declined
- Funding was targeted on more moderate organizations, especially as the movement cycle continued past the mid-1960s
- Funding "channeled" movement organizations in more moderate directions
- But there was some funding to known militant organizations which appeared to have been intentionally meant to support them, not to coopt them
- Funding did not seem to distract movement from more militant "Black power" agenda

Generalization of patterns to other cases

- Insurgency starts local, smaller groups, disruptive
- Insurgency draws in resources which fund organizations
- The organizations persist after the insurgency declines
- Funding for organizations declines when the threat is gone