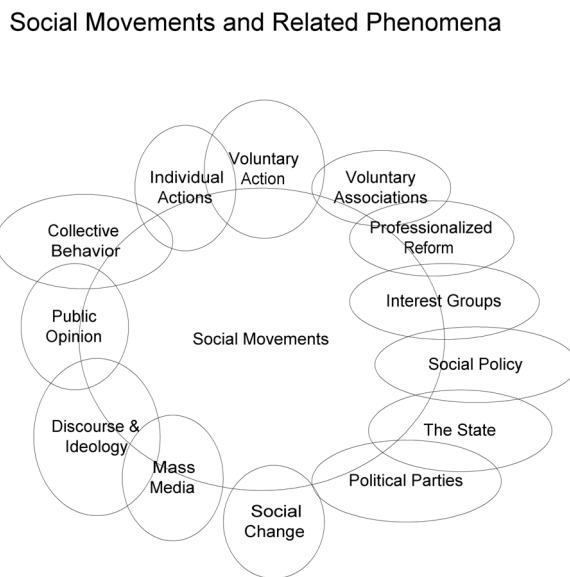


Lecture Notes: Overview of Concepts/Theory in Social Movements

Part ONE

Identifying what we are studying. Our study is organized around the phenomena of social movements, but we do not restrict our attention only to social movements. Instead, we study movement processes, that is, the processes that occur in social movements, recognizing that all these processes also occur in other phenomena. The following graphic may aid discussion:



Social movements overlap with and shade off into each of these. Old idea was that there was the world of normal democratic politics, and movements were a frightening aberration that threatened the stability of democratic society. People writing in the 1950s really said that it was antidemocratic to picket or demonstrate to try to force legislators to vote the way one wanted. We are now in a world where social movements are seen as part of democracy, as creating a path to democracy.

When we study social movements, we can't sort them into piles: this is a movement, this isn't, and we'll study only pile A. We can't learn useful things about movements by insisting that we will examine them only at the level of a movement as a whole. We study what happens in movement organizations, and that will be the same as much of what happens in non-movement voluntary associations. That's OK. We'll study what happens in a riot, and much of the process will be the same regardless of whether it is part of a movement or not. There are general processes by which ideology and public opinion develop, whether relevant to a movement or not. Mass upswellings from below are often linked with elitist interventions from above, and we have to know how those elite interventions work if we want to understand social movements, and not

just discount them.

[This principle applies to term papers. The thing you study does not necessarily have to be itself a social movement, as long as it is relevant to the study of social movements. You can study a goal-oriented voluntary association, or public opinion on an issue, or the personal changes people experienced from participation in a movement event. Or the movement and nonmovement efforts that went into passing (or defeating) a piece of pro-movement legislation. Or you can focus on a phenomenon or process that occurs both within and outside social movements.]

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

You cannot study a whole SM at once. It is too big, diffuse, shifting. You cannot analyze all aspects of it at once: cannot simultaneously consider individual motives, historically determined social-economic forces, and interorganizational dynamics. Social movements have no distinct boundaries, but research must be bounded. You can study specific processes that occur within social movements. You can study individual backgrounds or motives, recruitment processes, ways in which people become committed, patterns of organization, ways in which totally different types of campaigns interact and affect each other over time, factors that lead to certain types of outcomes. You can examine patterns and processes within certain kinds of events: riots, public opinion shifts, formation of organizations, marches, government lobbying.

In studying parts of movements, it is important to look for commonalities and differences between movements. It is false to assume that all movements are alike, that what is true in one movement is necessarily true in others. Eg "generational politics" of 1960s students movements are probably irrelevant to peace movement or women's movement of 1970s and 1980s. But it is also false to assume that every movement is wholly unique, that there are no commonalities.

The social scientific goal is to look for PRINCIPLES that tell you when to expect movements to be similar and in which ways, and when to expect differences. If you are a beginning student in this topic, you do not have to worry a lot about this, just keep in mind that researchers ought to be thinking about TYPES of movements that would be similar to each other in some dimension, and when you do a project, try to think about which types of movements your movement is similar to, in terms of which parts of theory might be relevant. If you are an advanced student, you should be training yourself to look explicitly for principles distinguishing types of movements from each other, should be aware that movements may sort differently depending on what aspects of them you are looking at, and should try explicitly to bound your theoretical ideas with statements of the conditions under which you expect them to apply.

In short, when you are thinking about doing a project, you should be thinking about doing some specific aspect of some specific movement or type of movement event.

OVERALL FRAMEWORK (BRIEF)

We need to start by defining what we are talking about. Marwell and I have developed our own way of thinking about this.

This is how I think it is most useful to look at the field.

A COLLECTIVE EVENT occurs when a number of people act in some concerted fashion. This idea is meant to be extremely general: Crowd assembly, riot, shift in public opinion, social gathering, audience, meeting of task-oriented interest group, etc. [There are lots of collective events which have nothing to do with social movements.]

A COLLECTIVE CAMPAIGN is a series of collective events within a bounded time frame oriented toward the same general SOCIAL CHANGE GOAL which involve the same general group of participants, or the same general type of actions (or both), or which are directed to the same relatively specific goal. [This is the term Marwell and I invented which is not generally used, but which I think is extremely useful and is beginning to catch on as we get more well known.] Some examples: The pro-ERA organizing. The anti-ERA organizing. The drive for National Suffrage in the 1910's. The wave of consciousness raising groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Anti-pornography mobilizations.

A SOCIAL MOVEMENT is a complex set of collective campaigns and other collective events, and social movement organizations, all of which are oriented toward some very general social change goal. Social movements have diffuse boundaries across time, space, and personnel. You cannot draw a clear-cut boundary around a social movement. People on the ground will debate about what a movement means and who is in and who is out. Feminists debate about who is or is not really a feminist. Participants and scholars debate about whether women's mobilizations that refer to women's roles as mothers are part of a feminist movement or not. Melucci's ideas about collective identities can be used here, as can a whole constructionist framework.

A SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATION (SMO) is an organization which is explicitly oriented toward movement goals. National Organization for Women. Abortion Rights Action League. Operation Rescue.

A SOCIAL MOVEMENT SECTOR is the set of all organizations within a social movement, and their inter-organizational relations (coalitions, cooperation, conflict, etc.). The economic language is not popular, and people sometimes just talk about the organizational structure of a movement to refer to this set of organizations and their interrelations.

CYCLES OF PROTEST Social movements don't really have beginnings and ends. However, they do have ebbs and flows in mobilization. Current scholarship focuses on the dynamics of trough periods and peak periods and how they interrelate, instead of imagining a jump from no movement to movement. Of course everything begins at least once, but even here, it is usually impossible for any movement to mark its very first incident. Tendrils of beginnings before there's a mass movement. US Women's movement typically dated from 1848 Seneca Falls convention. But previous events, experiences led up to that. Shifts in issues, organizations,

alliances across time.

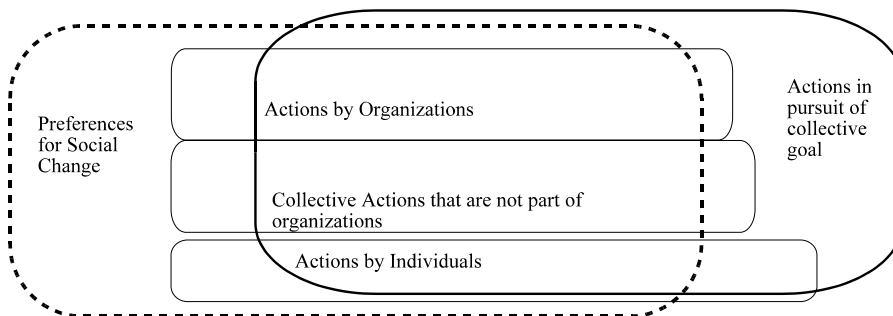
Similarly, things never really end. Instead, you have a hot core of action which fades out, leaving behind organizations and attitudes.

Recent scholarship is really focusing on the interplay between peak mobilizations and organizations and moderation. A current line of work looks very explicitly at the behavior of the regime, and shifting patterns of repression, as a key factor in a cycle of protest.

In short, studying what happens when people try to promote social change. We are especially interested in movements by or for "the masses," that is by or for people who are not rich or powerful. But we do not rule elites out of consideration. First, There can be movements among elite personnel, e.g. state bureaucrats, although we are generally interested in movements involving at least some nonelite participation. We cannot rule out elite participation entirely because such participation often plays an important role. And some "movements" such as that against child abuse are often essentially movements of professionals, i.e. social workers. Especially in limited reform movements, scholarly research often reveals the strong influence of a small core of elite activists. We don't want to stop researching when we find elites. Instead, we want to study just how social change happens.

A common error is to equate social movements with movement organizations. The women's movement includes the National Organization for Women, but NOW is not the movement, nor is it, itself, a movement. Mothers Against Drunk Driving plays a central role in the recent (limited) reform movement concerned with reducing the incidence of drunk driving; but the movement is broader than this single organization.

Picture of a generic whole social movement:



I. A social movement is a complex set of different types of actions by different actors all

oriented toward some general social change goal. (e.g. the peace movement, the women's movement, the black movement). [Marwell & Oliver's definition] Another definition (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) that is more commonly used: a social movement is a set of preferences for social change. Both definitions define the boundaries of an SM in terms of a social change goal, but McZ say the movement is the preferences, while Oliver says the movement is the actions. Other definitions agree about the goal but say the movement is a set or group of people pursuing the goal. For most purposes, you don't need to choose between these definitions, as they generally point you in the same direction. Most social movements have diffuse and vague boundaries, with movement participants disagreeing about who is in the movement and who is not.

A. Adherents support the goals of the movement. Beneficiaries stand to benefit personally from the movement. Constituents are adherents who identify with the movement. If you support the goals but hate the movement, you are an adherent who is not a constituent. Conscience constituents are people who support a movement even though it won't benefit them (e.g. white supporters of black movement, wealthy supporters of working class movement).

B. Participants engage in movement activities; contributors give money to movement organizations. Members would have to be members of particular organizations (see below); a "movement" as a whole is not a single entity with a membership list, but it is common for the term "movement member" to be used casually by non-specialists to refer to participants, contributors, constituents, or sometimes even adherents.

It is important to realize that the "goal" we are talking about can be extremely vague and ill-defined. We may also speak of "movements" during periods of more unorganized turmoil when aggrieved populations collectively express their discontent without articulating well-defined proposals for change. In such cases the "goal" is "make things better for farmers, or peasants, or poor urbanites." In the US in the 1970s and 1980s, most campaigns and movements have been very much like interest groups: fairly well-defined organizations pursuing fairly well-defined goals by seeking to persuade legislative bodies, administrations, or courts to act as they desire. Protest activities have generally been tactical moves within this context. Thus, the vast majority of recent US literature concerns such explicitly goal-oriented actions and the principles which guide them, but this should not be construed as the defining element of our field of study. Of course, there have been many periods in the US which have seen complex movements combining more organized and more unorganized protests. US women's movement looks like this.

SOME CONFUSING TERMS

Collective behavior vs collective action vs collective event. You might think they are synonyms, but they are not (although they are becoming more so).

In American sociology, the collective behavior tradition studied emergent phenomena such as panics, fads, riots, etc. Collective behavior was defined as behavior occurring without the structure of institutionalized norms. Heavy connotations of irrationality, craziness. Even for people who rejected such negative images, certainly behavior that is not everyday, not normal. Defined that way.

Enter a new theoretical generation, one that identifies with movement goals and wants to stress the continuity of movements with everyday political life. The people in movements are going to be conceived as rational actors. What will you talk about what they do? The term collective behavior can't be used, because it has become entirely intertwined with a theoretical approach. So you use the word phrase collective action instead. This comes to connote rational purposive goal-oriented action.

Now, what are you going to do if you want to talk neutrally about people doing something together without inherently implying that their action is rational or irrational, purposive or expressive, governed by institutionalized norms, or not? Either collective behavior or collective action is encumbered by theoretical baggage. So, enter the term collective event, which is so far neutral.

These polarities are beginning to break down. Ten years ago, even five years ago, I always used the term collective action, because I work in the "rationalist" tradition, and would never say that I work in the field of collective behavior. Now I would. The current wave of theorizing is to integrate these different theoretical strands and, as this happens, language is getting less polarized. But there are still these different connotations which you should be aware of.

SOME TYPOLOGIES OF MOVEMENTS

Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements". General social movement. Labor movement, youth movement, women's movement, peace movement. Gradual and pervasive changes in attitudes, sense of self; sporadic, ill-defined protest. no organization. talk, individual action. [same breadth as our idea of whole social movement, but content is different, since we encompass organized action within a whole movement] Specific social movement. well-defined objective or goal; organization, structure. recognized leadership. [this seems more like a movement campaign, or a specific organization.] Can be reform or revolutionary. Expressive movements do not seek to change the social order. Ends in themselves. e.g. religious movements. Revival and nationalistic movements. Revival movements idealize the past; nationalistic movements among a subordinate people within a larger system often have nationalistic elements.

Roberta Ash Garner. (1) class-conscious revolutionary movement, aimed at seizing the state to alter class structure. (2) reform movement. not change relations or production or seize state. (3) counterrevolutionary movement; restore status quo ante. (4) coup d'etat. (5) nonpolitical: do not recognize existence of power differences.

Neil Smelser. (1) value-oriented, serious challenge to basic values of society. [ie radical] (2) norm-oriented, accept values but change rules [i.e. reform].

Aberle. 2x2. Locus of change: society vs individual. Amount of change: total vs partial. (1)

Transformative: total change of society. millennial movements. (2) Reformative: Partial change of society. e.g. NOW, SANE. (3) Redemptive: total change of self. e.g. sects. (4) Alterative: partial change of self, e.g. WCTU, Birth Control League.

Turner and Killian (1st ed). Purpose of movement. (1) Value: emphasis on program for social change. (2) Power: acquire power. (3) participation: gratify through self-expression. In 2nd edition, stress that all movements have all three orientations, but differ in which is dominant.

AN EMPIRICAL INVENTORY. This is not an analytic typology, but it is probably useful to distinguish movements by the types of actions and goals they involve.

(1) Nationalist. Broad-based upswellings of an oppressed population. Deep intertwining of movement and community. Mixture of organized action and mass protest. May pursue either independence (if a majority in a geographic area) or improved status (if a minority). Wide diversity within this group, ranging from nonviolence to armies of liberation.

(2) Collectivist. sporadic, repeated uprisings of an oppressed population, but lacking organized action as part of the whole. peasants.

(3) Narrow reform movements. Organizations or sets of individuals pursuing rather limited reform goals. Often dominated by a very few people. Organizations smallish, goals narrow. If you were worried about definitions, you probably wouldn't want to call these true social movements. However, there is nearly always some larger public opinion about this issue which is affected by movement campaigns, and there are often inter-organizational relations, changes in individual behavior, and even crowd events involved. drunk driving, child abuse.

(4) Broader reform movements. Larger both in personnel and goals. Issues defined to encompass broad social change. Multiple organizations (usually competing), diverse goals, interplay of individual and organizational action, often including peaceful or even disruptive protests.

(5) Movement sects. Small isolated organizations with grandiose and sweeping social change goals but no mass base. Often become most interested in personal change and living the morally or politically correct lifestyle. Dominate their members' lives. Become redemptive organizations, in Aberle's sense.

(6) Top-down mass mobilizations. Those in power encourage or foment mass mobilization or upheaval to increase public support for their programs and policies. Mass demonstrations and propaganda campaigns may activate public opinion. People may be mobilized to use intimidation to force others to comply with government policies. All collective mobilizations, even those started at the top, can come to have a life of their own, and sometimes the mass action goes in directions not anticipated or desired by those who started it. [This category might also apply to some cases of opposition leaders initiating actions which they lose control of.] In other cases, there is no genuine mass mobilization, and there is nothing more than a big publicity campaign, perhaps accompanied by required attendance at rallies.

(7) Ideational, ideological or intellectual or discursive movements. Here I am meaning to point to "movements" whose actions are principally those that involve the creation and communication of ideas. All movements have ideational elements, but there are definitely movements among people who trade in ideas (including academics, artists, polemicists, etc.) Ideational movements are often linked to other kinds of movements.

(8) Cultural movements. Again, all movements have cultural elements, but some movements are principally oriented toward the construction of new ways of living or being.

(9) Religious movements. These might be understood by some as being either ideational or cultural movements, but as religions probably have distinctive characteristics, it is probably useful to think of movements to create new religions or to reform existing religions as a distinctive type of phenomenon.

PART II. An overview of theoretical perspectives

I. Two older traditions

A. European, political sociology. The study of "the movement" the working class movement. The development of social democracy and the working class parties of Europe. Rudolf Heberle, Social Movement.

B. US, collective behavior and social movements as a part of social psychology. A reaction to fascism and Leninism. popular support for totalitarianism. Lynchings. The violence of the French Revolution. Why would people do that? Fear, loss of control. Written generally from standpoint of calm outsider, seeing people overreact. Or from standpoint of fear.

1. "Chicago School" concerned with the creation of new society at the micro level

2. "Harvard School" movements develop in response to social strain.

3. Status politics. people are concerned with their symbolic position in society, not with direct material interests. Kriesberg's interpretation of temperance movement, as fearful middle class fighting immigrants. Trow on McCarthyism, radical right of 1950s, small businessmen, defense of status in face of decline, rise of big business.

II. Resource Mobilization

A. The resource mobilization paradigm originates in the public goods problem, especially Mancur Olson's *The Logic of Collective Action*. Old idea was that all common interests would be acted upon. But Olson points to the collective dilemma: you can hope that someone else will do the work, take the risks, and you can "free ride" and get the benefit without the effort. E.g. if segregation is overturned, if employment inequality is eliminated, you can benefit whether you helped produce the change or not. Olson argued that all collective action was individually irrational and no one would do it on a rational basis unless there were individual side payments for acting, either payoffs for joining or coercion. This was important for problematizing mobilization: making you realize that you could not just assume that interests were perfectly reflected in action.

Most work has gotten beyond Olson. 1) "rational" or not, empirical research shows that people who work in social movements are motivated by collective purposes. 2) nevertheless, the "side payments" ideas usefully points to the importance of "social incentives" of solidarity and sociability and the "purposive incentives" of morality and commitment. 3) instrumentalist cost-benefit ideas remain helpful for understanding strategy and tactics, and the ideas of when people will act and how they will act.

Resource mobilization. Emphasis on organizations, activists,, planning. Benchmark

movements are black movement, antiwar movement. Motives seem transparent. Blacks protest because they are being oppressed. They are trying to obtain desegregation. Antiwar protesters thought the vietnam war was wrong or, at least, that they did not want to fight in it; draft. But grievances alone aren't enough (for blacks anyway), the issue is the capacity to resist. External resources. emphasis on funding, professionalism. McCarthy and Zald. emphasis on political openings, ebbs and flows in repression: Tilly, Oberschall, McAdam "political process" Internal resources. emphasis on group capacities. Morris falls here. Also Freeman on women's movement. McAdam "political process" puts things together; internal group capacity, external political openings, psychological "cognitive liberation" which is sense of possibility of doing something to change things.

B Key assumptions of resource mobilization (from Zald 1992):

1. Behavior entails costs, requires resources. Grievances or deprivation do not automatically or easily translate into movement activity. You may care about an issue, but either not have the capacity or be unable to bear the costs of action. 2. It is not easy or automatic to coordinate the behavior of people who care about an interest. You require communication networks, and the resources and capacities to plan, coordinate, and communicate about an action. Organizing and mobilizing these resources and actions are central activities.

3. Resources can come from within the group of people who care about an issue, but also from outside it.

4. The costs of participating may be raised or lowered by state and elite support or repression. "Repression works." States and elites sometimes foster mobilization of non-elites for purposes of their own, usually conflicts among elites or to bolster the legitimacy of a regime.

5. Movement outcomes are not assured, and are the product of strategic interactions between movements and their targets.

NOTE: Resource mobilization has rational choice cost/benefit social psychological underpinnings, but it is NOT the same thing as rational choice theory. Rational choice or decision theory is about how individuals make decisions. Resource mobilization is about the social structural constraints on collective action.

6. Economists' (et al.) "rational choice" theory works the same as psychologists' "subjective expected utility" theory, EXCEPT that psychologists explicitly recognize that the costs & benefits are PERCEIVED. Klandermans ASR 1984 makes this connection explicit, and discusses how the costs & benefits are socially constructed. People trained in political & cultural sociology who lack social psychology backgrounds often write as if there is a contradiction between rational choice and social construction frameworks when, from a social psychological point of view, there is not.

II. Contrary to much previous theory which had used psychological models to explain individual action, resource mobilization theory said that much of the action occurred in organizations. The organizational capacity of a constituency is thought to be an important predictor of mobilization and success.

A. Especially in the U.S., the vast majority of movement actions are organized by organizations. (But this is an empirical statement, not a definition of a social movement. You can, and sometimes do, have a movement without any organization.)

B. Social Movement Organizations (SMOs or sometimes MO's, movement organizations, or sometimes PMO's, protest movement organizations) are organizations whose reason for existence is the social movement: NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC; National Right to Life, Operation Rescue, National Abortion Rights Action League, Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights; National Organization for Women. In the U.S., almost all movements have one or more SMO's in them (and the big movements have many), but you can have a social movement with no SMO's, and there are other countries in which this is common.

C. Other organizations which exist for other reasons are often important players in social movements, including especially professional organizations, unions, political parties, interest groups, churches and other religious groups (both local congregations and national organizations), social clubs, colleges and universities (and sometimes high schools), mutual benefit associations, and charitable foundations and organizations. "Pre-existing organizations" in social movements parlance. The historical record shows such organizations sometimes starting movements, sometimes joining them in process in "bloc recruitment," and sometimes acting as allies or off-stage providers of resources.

D. There are also smaller special-purpose organizations like neighborhood groups, or ad hoc committees around some issue. Again, these may be a peculiarly American phenomenon, although they have become increasingly common in some other countries. These groups sometimes are parts of, or the origins of, larger social movements. Other times, they just stand alone on their own terms.

E. Much of social movement life is inter-organizational relations, cooperation and competition, coalitions, alliances, conflicts, and disputes. Organizations research and theory has a lot to say about organizations in social movements. However, this theory must recognize that most SMO's (and "preexisting organizations," for that matter) are voluntary associations, and volunteers create rather different organizational dynamics from paid employees. All the organizations involved in social movements, except the Catholic Church (viewed globally), are on the small side. Although the larger ones have paid staff, they do not approach anything like the scale of big business. Those with paid staff have some of the dynamics of small businesses. Paid staff sometimes have the job of coordinating and managing volunteers.

F. Some social movements are rooted in or create communities in addition to or instead of organizations. The constituents of many movements live together in the same regions or urban areas, either in relatively homogeneous areas, or intermingled with others. Even if their areas are physically mixed, many movement constituents have a social community that is entirely or overwhelmingly other movement constituents. They live, eat, socialize, and worship (if they worship at all) with people who share their commitments. They may also study or work together. Movements differ in the extent to which their constituents create communities. (Buechler; also much research, e.g. Kriesi, Opp, Portes, Epstein, McAdam, Morris, Johnston, J. Miller on SDS etc etc etc)

G. Small groups are always important in movements, sometimes on their own, other times embedded in larger organizations or communities. People often decide what they believe and decide what to do within the context of small groups of friends and family. Even big national organizations tend to have small groups within them where people spend their time: local chapters, study groups, task forces, committees, support groups, base communities. (Gary Alan Fine)

H. "Free Space" (Evans and Boyte). People who are being oppressed cannot organize action or create new ideologies if they cannot talk to each other without their oppressors watching. In repressive or oppressive contexts, talking may be virtually impossible. Places where people can meet are crucial. Churches have often played this role, presumably because the religious cloak was at least somewhat protective. Any other available place that opens up can play the same role. In countries which do not repress civil associations, there are many potential places to meet, but often (at least in the US), it is hard to get people out, away from the TV.

I. It is important to remember that the organized parts of a constituency usually (not always) have the most influence in a movement. You need to look at specifically who is organized, not just the broader constituency whom they represent. People can and often do represent the interests of others, and people will often feel that someone legitimately represents their interests even if they are wealthier or more educated. But this relationship is always problematic, and one should never assume either that people do represent whom they claim to represent, or that people have to be from a group to be able to speak for the group.

III. Political process.

A. Model: structure of political AND ECONOMIC opportunities, level of organization within the population, collective assessment of prospects for insurgency. The idea is that there is an ongoing interplay and struggle between those who have power and those who do not. This is sometimes oversimplified as a mechanistic matter of counting political resources, but that would be incorrect.

IV. STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

A. Political opportunities. context. State repression, conventional politics, state crises, all create the contexts within which movement possibilities increase or decrease.

1. ups and downs in state repression. state terrorism, armies in the streets. criminal prosecutions. colleges can be closed, admissions processes can screen out radicals.
2. close elections, swing votes, appeals to the lower classes to win elections.
3. elite support, for their own ends (or to quell protest). elites can and do seek to mobilize "the masses" in support of wars, in attacks on ethnic or racial minorities, in favor of environmental cleanup and women's rights.
4. other movements at the same time create a context of disruption or a model for success.

5. regime crises, general instability. economic collapse. state vulnerability can open the possibility of seizing power, or at least being left alone, but can also make it impossible for the state to do what you want (social provision, protect minorities).

B. Older ideas were simple more vs less protest, but newer ideas are more the relations between structures and what kind of action or protest.

C. Economic structures. What is capital doing. Class relations. Is economy strong or weak. Position in global economy. You need to look both at the nation as a whole, and at the specific circumstances of the groups and local communities in question.

D. Global politics and economics. Who has military power. Who controls the international purse strings. Global pressures often have major effects on the actions and policies

of nation-states.

E. Resources can come from outside the constituency. There is a continuum from completely outside to completely inside with many gradations along the way. The most usual pattern in a protest mobilization is for initial protest and resources for protest to come from inside a group, and the initiators pull in outside resources. Those inside often ask outsiders for financial or political help. Once a protest is rolling, outside money and help often comes in larger quantities.

1. In the US and Europe in the late 1960s and early 1970s, money was often donated by elites to try to channel or control protest into moderate directions; this pattern still is common. Especially in the 1980s and 1990s, other elite money and other support comes from private charitable foundations and organizations, often apparently as movement supporters, not controllers. It is nevertheless true that a dependence on money pulls movement groups in the directions people are willing to pay.

2. This seems especially true for religious groups. Black church in the US, of course. Fundamentalist and evangelical Christian churches in the US seem to be funding a lot of right-wing politics, although there is some evidence that it was right-wing politicians who initiated this activity. Factions of the Catholic Church, and the protestant World Council of Churches and National Council of Churches from the 1970s on had fairly radical ideologies and social change agendas with themes of "liberation theology," "preferential option for the poor," and "peace and justice"; these church organizations were major players in the pro-democracy movements in Latin America.

3. Besides money, outside groups can help create organization. Highlander Folk School in US; Midwest Academy. Communist Party. Brazilian Catholic Church pioneered creation of base communities, which became political force.

4. Early theorists sometimes claimed that external resources were causative: for the civil rights movement, at least, the daily clearly indicate that the protests started first and the external resources followed. Nevertheless, national and, increasingly, international resource flows are important. Labor organizers, communist/socialist organizers have been important. Foundation and church money is very important for supporting social change organizations in the US and, increasingly, around the world. UN and World Bank money is often crucial in determining which projects will happen.

E. It is important to remember that there are always differences within any movement, especially class differences within other movements. Different factions of a movement generally have different political and economic resources, and often differ in their ability to attain their specific goals within the larger movement context.

V. Ideologies, Ideas, Constructions of Collective Identities, Issues, and Frames.

A. To be able to act in a movement, people have to understand the meaning of their actions, they have to decide that what they are doing makes sense within the way they understand the world. This is ideology.

B. Components of a Movement Ideology: Diagnosis = What the problem is and what caused it; Prognosis = What needs to be done; Call to Action = why you need to do it now.

C. Additionally, there is (perhaps only sometimes) a sense of group identity, a "we" that the movement represents and that one is part of. A "collective identity" is usually understood as

a political group identity, as sense of a group's political stance and meaning. Ethnic, racial, or class identities may have something of a similar corporate character. This is related to, but not the same as an individual's sense of him or herself. There are also "activist identities," a sense that one is a change agent.

D. Insurgent consciousness (McAdam) = social change is needed and possible. = sense of injustice (Turner). Three components (John Wilson): (1) There is a problem, change is needed; (2) It is the fault of the system, or of another group, not luck or the individual (attributions); (3) Change is possible.

E. "Consensus mobilization" [Klandermans] = the act of getting people to agree with your ideology or definition of the situation.

F. Frame = a way of looking at a situation (David Snow, Rob Benford, and others) Uses this instead of older concepts of ideology. The frame concept comes from communication & journalism, where there is an explicit idea about how you frame a story, e.g. as crime or a protest. Is the issue equality or rights? I don't believe frame is an adequate substitute for ideology, but it does capture important aspect, and we will be using it a lot in our papers. Is affirmative action about giving preferences on the basis of race, about compensating for past wrongs, or about assuring that minorities are not discriminated against? Are American Indians an ethnic group, or a separate nation? "Frame Alignment" (David Snow, Rob Benford) is the process of getting people in the population to align their frames with the movement. Recent work stresses the interplay between frames and resources and opportunities: you frame an issue a certain way to attract adherents or resources, successful frame alignment attracts resources. The key idea is that the same situation can be interpreted differently. Movement activists as agents actively signifying the meaning of their actions. To frame as a verb: to assign meaning to situations and events. Term frame is borrowed from Goffman

G. "Collective identity" (Melucci) is a term for a group's sense of the meaning of their actions. Melucci emphasizes the idea that self-definition of one's group is created in ongoing process of interaction within group and outside group. Actors produce meanings and collectively construct their situation. [This has strong kinship with US symbolic interactionism within social psychology.] Other theorists of the construction of race, for example, show how people in a society socially create "race" categories, and debate about the meaning or content of those categories, which then become the groups in collective action. Once understood, these ideas can be applied to a wide variety of contexts. There are two versions of collective identities important in ethnic relations. 1) Ethnic collective identities. How do you define your own and others' ethnicity in relation larger groups, and what do you think the boundaries and characterizations of the groups are? 2) Political collective identities. Do you view yourself as part of a political movement, do you view the group as having a political purpose or meaning?

H. McAdam and others stress that consciousness, ideology, and identity develop in micromobilization contexts, the small groups where people know each other and talk. This is why organizations, groups, communities, and free space matter.

I. Mass media play a significant role. The large national media are elite-dominated and tend to pursue their own agenda. The popular understanding of movement events is filtered through media portrayals. There are many studies of the behavior of newspaper and TV journalists, how they do their job, and how that impact on movements and the way they are covered. However, there are also specialized media (newspapers, magazines, radio stations,

books) that circulate within movements and communities, including Black publications, Spanish-language publications, feminist publications, racist publications, etc. These have a major influence on the people who read them.

G. Discourses, long-range communication. Ideas have local character, but they are also global. You can trace the transmission of ideologies around the world. Most of this is very non-mystical: particular people travel or live abroad and bring ideas home, particular books or papers from abroad are read and circulated in a new locale, people organize and write propaganda.

VI. Cycles of Protest. Protest comes in waves, and all movements go up and down. Early political process ideas attributed all of this to exogenous changes in the political system (e.g. party competition). Tarrow's early cycle ideas are fairly endogenous: protest spirals and then dies of its own logic, as activists first try to top each others' radicalism, and then collapse when they cannot get any crazier. Later research in this tradition separates types of actions, and suggests a scheme: early protest is disruptive but nonviolent, police react ineffectively and protest grows; effective protest both generates increasingly effective police response, so that disruption is reduced, and pulls in outside resources supporting the moderates, so that nondisruptive protest and organizations grow while those who wish to continue to be radical and disruptive become increasingly marginalized and increasingly violent; when everything is calm and orderly, resources are gradually withdrawn and the moderate organizations die. Even this scheme is probably overgeneralized, but it is a starting point for thinking about the dynamics of movements.

VII. Movements and Countermovements. Most social movement theory works with the image of one movement which seeks to influence either the state or the general public. But often there are movement-counter movement pairs (e.g. prochoice/proabortion vs prolife/antiabortion; feminist vs antifeminist; antinuclear vs pronuclear power; black movement vs racist white; antiwar vs "support our troops"). In these cases, each side is attempting to influence the state or general population, and they each react to and try to hinder the efforts of the other side. Often, the countermovement has close ties to the entrenched elites, and commonly is created by them only when they begin to "lose." Over time, however, it can often be the case that both sides have elite support, often entrenched in different parts or level of the government.