

RESPONSES TO OPPRESSION & CONFLICT

Individual & Collective

Individualist responses to subordination

1. Individual competitiveness: "I'll show them": work hard, try to overcome domination as an individual
2. Religious or cultural withdrawal: rewards in spiritual, family or social life; ignore or rise above subordination
3. "Internalized oppression": blame yourself for your situation. Reject your own group, identify with dominants
4. Crime: the system is unjust, there is no point in following the rules. Take what you can get away with.
5. Anger and hostility: express hatred to oppressors, try to hurt them if possible
6. Fatalism, defeatism: there is nothing you can do, just endure your fate. Depression.
7. Substance abuse: block awareness of conditions. (Most addictive substances also suppress hunger.)

Collective responses

- Don't just try to operate within the system, try to change the system
- Requires a sense of "group identity" and shared interests
- Requires social or political organization among people so they can act in concert
- Usually people disagree about collective responses

Social Organization

- Social & political organization within groups affects capacity for collective action
 - Geographic concentration/dispersion
 - Governmental or other organization
 - Cultural/religious similarity or difference. Language.
 - Means of communication among those not in direct contact
 - Sense of shared identity, common interests is needed, cannot be assumed if people do not live together & share a common culture (and maybe not even then)

Dimensions of Collective Action

1. Degree of challenge to dominant groups
 - accommodationist, moderate, reformist, militant, revolutionary [social banditry]
2. Integrationism vs separatism:
 - whether the minority group stresses equality and mixing with the dominant group, or
 - separation and difference (and possibly hostility)

Degree of Challenge:

Conservative/Radical Dimension

- Accommodationist = cooperating with the dominant group, accepting subordination or playing by the dominants' rules
- Moderate/Reformist= intentionally seeking change within legal boundaries of the system
- Radical/ Militant = seeking larger changes in a confrontational, aggressive manner
- Revolutionary= seeking to overthrow the present system, by violence if necessary
- [Social banditry = "steal from the rich and give to the poor", social crime. Disruptive, breaks rules, but does not address power structures directly]

Integrationist vs. Separatist

- Assimilationist = Minorities should adopt majority culture, blend into the larger group
- Integrationist = Races should mix, minorities should intermingle with majority, everyone should be treated the same (egalitarian)

VS

- Separatist = Races should be separate, minorities should keep in their own groups
- Nationalist (in this context)= Minorities should have separate culture, distinct political base
- [May include inter-group hostility, aggression]

Two Dimensions Combined

	Assimilationist - Integrationist	Separatist - Nationalist
Accommodationist	Adopt dominant culture, deny or accept inequality	Want to be left alone; accept subordination/defeat; get what you can
Reformist	Legal tactics to pursue equal treatment	Focus on economic & cultural development of your own group; no overt challenge to dominants
Radical - Militant	Disruptive tactics to pursue equal treatment & integration	Assertive or disruptive calls for separation & self-determination; rhetoric disparages dominants
Revolutionary	Violent tactics to produce new regime for all	Violent tactics to produce separate ethnic state

American Indian Political Responses

- 17th-19th centuries, many different responses
 - Much armed resistance
 - Much assimilation, accommodation if allowed: intermarriage, adopt "White" ways
 - Much attempt to maintain self-determination and separation
- 20th-21st centuries,
 - The "dominant" approach is forced assimilation under rhetoric of equality
 - American Indians who WANT to assimilate are generally able to do so, don't need to fight about it
 - Most American Indian politics is separatist or nationalist: emphasize cultural difference and self-determination

American Indian Movements

	Assimilationist/ Integrationist	Separatist/ Nationalist
Accommodationist	"White Indians" live assimilated lives, no connection to reservation, downplay Amlnd ancestry	Want to be left alone; self-destructive behaviors? Economic development without political challenge
Reformist	19 th century: adopt European ways, try to live as equals Today: live assimilated lives, proud of ancestry (like an ethnic group),	National Congress of American Indians. Native American Defense Fund. Etc. Economic development + Legal challenges in defense of sovereignty.
Radical/ Militant	-	American Indian Movement. Militant protests
Revolutionary	-	19 th century: wars of resistance

Ambiguities, cross-pressures

- These are never "pure" types
- MOST American Indians combine pride in being US citizen with pride in being member of a particular tribe, like other US ethnic groups.
 - A minority see themselves only as members of their tribal "nation"
- Links between reservations and urban areas blend integrationist and separatist impulses

African American Political Responses

- African Americans share most culture with European Americans, have always had both impulses in their movements
 - Assimilationist: stress common cultural heritage, desire for citizenship, share "American values."
 - Separatist: stress value of own culture, look back to homeland (Africa), stress economic development, political self-determination.
- Separatism generally stronger among African Americans when Whites are more hostile; integration and assimilation are strong when times seem hopeful

Black Integrationists & Separatists

	Assimilationist/ Integrationist	Separatist/ Nationalist
Accommodationist	today's "Black conservatives"	Booker T. Washington, some churches
Reformist	Urban League NAACP	Some community development groups
Radical/ Militant	M. L. King, Jr. W.E.B. Dubois A. Philip Randolph	Marcus Garvey Malcolm X Louis Farrakhan Some gangs?
Revolutionary	Class Revolution	Freedom Fighters

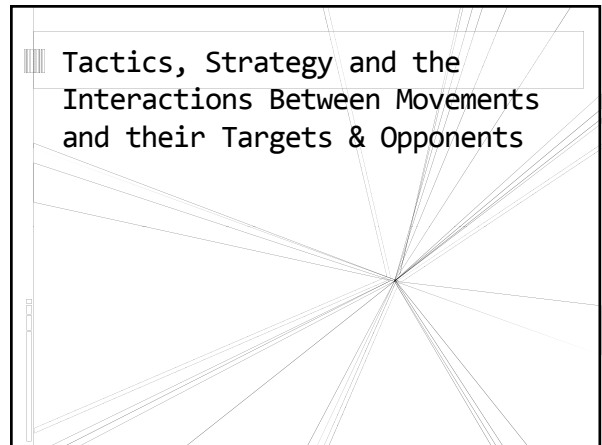
Mexican American Movements

	Assimilationist/ Integrationist	Separatist/ Nationalist
Accommodationist	"Hispanic conservatives"	Fraternal, cultural, mutual-benefit groups & churches
Reformist	LULAC, GI Forum, MAPA; "Mexican American Generation"	Some community development groups
Radical/ Militant	MAYO, school walkouts, MEChA ?	La Raza Unida, Brown Berets
Revolutionary		Tijerina, Alianza de Pueblos Libres (?)

Asian American Movements

	Assimilationist/ Integrationist	Separatist/ Nationalist
Accommodationist	Race-blind conservatives	Fraternal, cultural, mutual-benefit groups & churches
Reformist	Civil rights groups (e.g. JACL)	Some community development groups
Radical/ Militant	Some campus diversity groups	None for Asians??
Revolutionary	?	Filipino independence

Tactics, Strategy and the Interactions Between Movements and their Targets & Opponents



A continuum of tactics

- Education, persuasion (choice of rhetoric)
- Legal politics: lobbying, lawsuits
- Demonstrations: show numbers or intensity of concern (marches, rallies, petitions)
- Economic pressure (Boycotts, selective buying)
- Confrontation, disruption, civil disobedience (Sit-ins, occupations, illegal gatherings)
- Property damage
- Violence against persons

Interactions

- What the movement does is always in interaction with the target/opponent
- Strategy = overall plan for how chance will occur
 - Persuade power-holders to act differently
 - Change public opinion
 - Disrupt normal business, force change
 - Seize power
- Always complex, fluid, evolving
 - Movements always use a mix of tactics, generally have multiple leaders, groups, agendas
- Outcomes always depends on characteristics of the power-holder as well as of the movement

Tactics Use Power & Resources

- Sheer numbers of people
- Military capacity: weapons, armies
- Wealth, control of land, means of production
- Environmental constraints of your home territory
- Control of means of communication
- Symbolic authority: religious, cultural, political

Social Organization Matters

- Social & political organization within groups affects capacity for action
 - Geographic concentration/dispersion
 - Governmental organization
 - Cultural/religious similarity or difference. Language.
- Relations to third parties who may favor one side or the other

Education, persuasion

- Give people information, make appeals to commonly-held beliefs, values (framing and rhetoric)
- Strategic use of language: choose how to say things in ways that will lead others to agree
- Depends upon being permitted to communicate
 - 1950s, advocating homosexual rights was defined as illegal violation of obscenity laws & advocating Communism was violation of sedition laws
 - Politically repressive regimes may prohibit any public opposition
 - Need cooperation of mass media corporations to communicate to larger public

Responses to persuasive strategies

- Intense repression: prohibit speech entirely, drive it underground
 - Strong block to mobilization if you cannot even discuss an issue except with trusted intimates
 - May create hidden movements invisible to majority
- Free speech conditions: not overtly repressed. Responses in general order:
 - Ignore (+ standard disinformation)
 - Ridicule, trivialization
 - Rebuttal, debate
 - Adopt successful movement rhetoric, repackage to make your points in a new way

Examples of rhetorical adaptation

- Mid-1960s, White racists abandon attempts to publicly justify White domination & segregation; employers abandon attempts to justify employment discrimination
 - "state's rights" OLDER rhetoric
 - "reverse discrimination" OR "preferences" OR "traditional way of life"
 - Quoting Martin Luther King, Jr. against affirmative action
- Religious opponents of pornography adopt feminist arguments about violence against women; some abortion opponents adopt similar rhetoric

Petitions, lobbying, court cases

- Stay within the legal bounds of the state
- Democratic, legal institutions are a product of past struggles, have not always been available; product of franchise + court system
- Adapt to specific political/legal environments
- May include "behind the scenes" lobbying for particular bills (e.g. disability rights) OR professional legal strategies (e.g. civil rights)
- All ethnic minorities in US have used legal tactics.

Constraints, interactions for legal strategies

- Ability to use these strategies depends upon social location & available laws/institutions
- Opponents generally can use them too
- Most commonly successful when the movement has some elite backing (splits in elites) OR there is pressure from disruption or electoral strength
- Court cases require legal training, legal standing: tend to reinforce professionalization in movements
- Lobbying is most effective by full-time lobbyists.

Demonstrative & Economic Tactics

- Marches, rallies, vigils
 - Power of numbers, "demonstrate" your support +willingness to be in the street, visible
 - Evolved with franchise & democratic elections
- Hunger strikes, immolation & other symbolic extreme actions
 - Willingness to incur sacrifice takes on a moral standing
 - Cultural understandings essential
- Boycotts & selective buying
 - Refuse to buy (use service): demonstrate economic power.
 - A coercive strategy, but does not break a law

Responses to demonstrative tactics

- If they are illegal or disruptive, they are more threatening; present a greater potential challenge, imply the possibility of stronger resistance
- Public tactics: do they get media coverage? Try to ignore, trivialize.
- Time, place, manner restrictions: limit disruptive potential
- Boycotts: "tough it out."
 - Make secondary boycotts illegal, make it illegal to advocate a boycott (MLK jailed)
 - Make it illegal to organize an alternative (e.g. transportation system in Montgomery)

Confrontational tactics

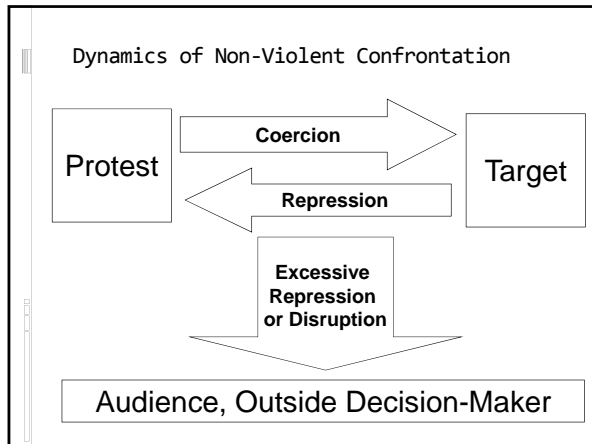
- Goal is to disrupt without being violent
- Strike & sit-down strike: keep the employer from running the business
- Civil disobedience: disobey an unjust law, e.g. sit-in at lunch counter, freedom ride, marriage license for gays, weave textile in India
- Direct action: skirt the edge between legal & illegal. Occupy a public place, march where not permitted, rally at someone's home. Try to cause trouble.
- Make the opponent look bad if they overreact

The question of "violence"

- Both strong and weak groups can use it
- Property damage: is disruptive, a direct coercive tactic
 - Often the weapon of the frustrated, disempowered
 - However US history has many cases of White majority destroying the property & community of minorities
- Violence against persons
 - Traditional peasant attacks on the oppressive landlord
 - Lynching, mob violence: usually the weapon of the strong, the majority (Gamson's research)
 - Some terrorism is the weapon of the weak

Responses to Violence & Property Damage

- DO often spur reforms, can be effective. But they also increase repression.
- Most often the weapon of the strong
 - Much more use of violence in the US by White supremacists than by minorities
 - Majorities are less likely to be repressed when they use violence, more likely to get away with it
- Weak groups that use violence are more likely to be violently repressed
 - A dangerous tactic is to TALK violence without the ability to back it up. "Talk loudly and carry a small stick" is a recipe for destruction.



- ### Movement – Opponent Dynamics
- Tactics when new are disruptive, keep opposition off guard
 - Over time, authorities adapt to tactics, find more effective ways of responding
 - High coercion can backfire on either side.
 - Police violence (if publicized) can increase support for the protesters
 - Protester violence can decrease support for protesters
 - These are highly contingent and contested and affected by underlying levels of support
 - The “moderate middle” is often the audience or target

- ### Paradoxical relations
- The more repressive the regime, the more disruptive a “mild” tactic is
 - If saying something opposed to the government is illegal, then even a pamphlet or speech is threatening
 - If regime is strong enough to repress strongly, can maintain control
 - But legitimacy of regime is weak if maintained by repression
 - Repressive regimes are threatened by any action
 - “Soft” repression CAN be more effective: ridicule, ignore, rhetorical adaptation, small concessions

- ### American Indian Dynamics 19th Century
- War. Indians fighting back labeled as “savages,” justification for further war.
 - Legal tactics brought some concessions, but dominants easily changed their mind
 - Too few resources to win, the other side had too much power no matter what they did

- ### American Indian Dynamics Today
- Disruptive tactics mostly don’t work: too small & isolated to cause trouble for the majority (but may invigorate the activists)
 - A lot of conflicts are between different factions on reservations
 - Symbolic struggles upset majority, gain visibility, increase in-group pride: mascots, off-reservation fishing
 - Most efforts today are on the legal front: sovereignty, treaty enforcement, economic development (including casinos)

- ### Black Civil Rights Movement
- Intense repression in the South
 - Boycotts a traditional strategy
 - Legal strategies & growing political influence opened up spaces
 - The “drama” of civil rights: peaceful Black protest, southern White violence, federal intervention
 - Belief in self-defense strong among Blacks, growing opposition to non-violence
 - Riots shift the drama, coincide with shift of goals

Black Movement Analysis

- For CRM the “opponent” was the explicit segregationist regimes of the White South
- The federal government and northerners were “outside opinion” which could be influenced by the drama
- CRM resulted in greater political power, become “political insiders” in many ways
- But the problems of northern cities did not respond to these dynamics
- Increased police repression in response to riots

Doug McAdam “Tactical Innovations”

- Uses plots of the sequencing of events in the Civil Rights Movement to argue
 - New tactics explain steep rises in events
 - Dynamics of the CRM: protest first, then segregationist response, then federal response
- General argument that police eventually adapt to new tactics and their disruptive potential declines over time
- Data are from the New York Times Index

Civil Rights Events Fig 1

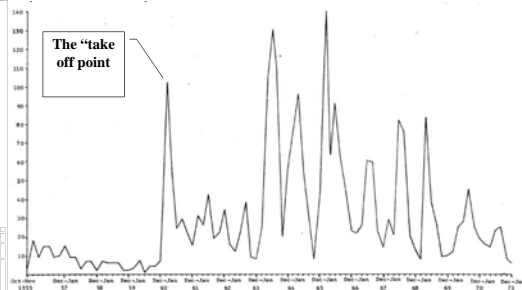


Figure 1. Movement-Initiated Actions, Oct–Nov 1955 through Dec–Jan 1971

Source: *Annual Index of the New York Times, 1955–1971*

Doug McAdam, “Tactical Innovations,” ASR 1093

Civil Rights Events Fig 2

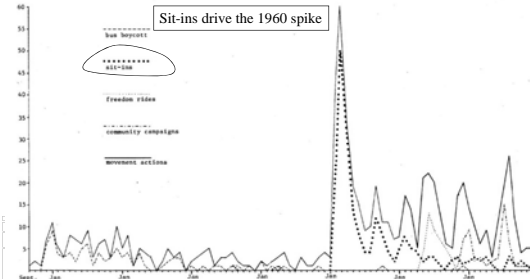


Figure 2. Movement-Initiated Actions, September 1955 through December 1962

Source: *Annual Index of the New York Times, 1955–1962*

Doug McAdam, “Tactical Innovations,” ASR 1093

Civil Rights Events Fig 4

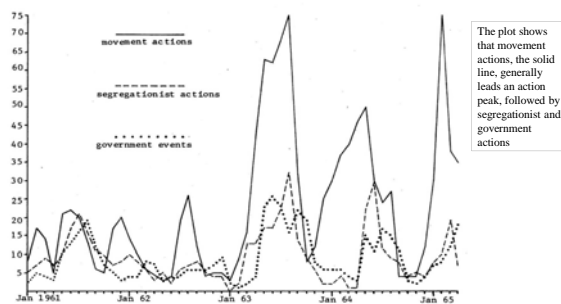


Figure 4. Movement Actions, Segregationist Actions and Federal Government Events, January 1961 through April 1965*

Source: *Annual Index of the New York Times, 1961–1965*

Doug McAdam, “Tactical Innovations,” ASR 1093

Post-CRM protest accords: 1980s & 1990s

- General police shift from repression to intelligence & negotiation
- Try to maintain order through cooperative strategies
- Rules & regulations for protests: permits, hours
- Can avoid arrest if you follow the rules
- Protests become both more frequent and less effective