CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

• Explain the important role of social movements in addressing social problems.
• Describe the different types of social movements.
• Identify the contrasting sociological explanations for the development and success of social movements.
• Outline the stages of development and decline of social movements.
• Explain how social movements can change society.
AFTER EARNING A BS IN COMPUTER ENGINEERING from Cairo University and an MBA in marketing and finance from the American University of Egypt, Wael Ghonim became head of marketing for Google Middle East and North Africa. Although he had a career with Google, Ghonim’s aspiration was to liberate his country from Hosni Mubarak’s dictatorship and bring democracy to Egypt. Wael became a cyber activist and worked on prodemocracy websites. He created a Facebook page in 2010 called “We are all Khaled Said,” named after a young businessman who police dragged from an Internet café and beat to death after Said exposed police corruption online. Through the posting of videos, photos, and news stories, the Facebook page rapidly became one of Egypt’s most popular activist social media outlets, with hundreds of thousands of followers (BBC 2011, 2014; CBS News 2011). An uprising in nearby Tunisia began in December 2010 and forced out its corrupt leader on January 14, 2011. This inspired the thirty-year-old Ghonim to launch Egypt’s own revolution. He requested through the Facebook page that all of his followers tell as many people as possible to stage protests for democracy and against tyranny, corruption, torture, and unemployment on January 25, 2011. Hundreds of thousands turned out for the protests in Cairo, Alexandria, and other cities, prompting the regime’s security forces to seize Ghonim. On January 27, the government tried to stop the growing revolution by shutting down the Internet. Google and many other organizations and individuals demanded Ghonim’s release. He was set free after twelve days and emerged as a heroic symbol of the revolutionary struggle. For weeks the country was in turmoil as police tried to evict protestors from key areas of major cities, but popular momentum for change proved unstoppable. On February 9, hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike around the country, and on the 11th Mubarak was forced to resign, ending his thirty-year reign. Time magazine recognized Ghonim as one of the one hundred most influential persons of 2011 (Time 2013).

Later developments showed that although the events of January and February 2011 ended one dictatorship, they did not achieve democracy in Egypt. The revolution for democracy and social justice in that nation and others around the world continues, but Wael Ghonim’s actions demonstrate how one courageous individual can play a key role in sparking a massive social movement to address social problems.

As described in Chapter 1, the sociological imagination explains the role of social forces in our lives. When people believe that social forces cause a social problem, they often organize a collective effort called a social movement to do something about it. This chapter explores what social movements are, why and how they occur, and their stages of development, as well as their effectiveness in bringing about social change.
WHAT IS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT?

As you learned in the last chapter, a social problem exists when there is widespread belief that a condition or pattern of behavior is harmful. A social movement is a persistent and organized effort involving the mobilization of large numbers of people to work together to either bring about what they believe to be beneficial social change or resist or reverse what they believe to be harmful social change. Social movements are among the most dramatic events the world has ever known. The United States has experienced great movements such as the abolitionist movement to end slavery in the nineteenth century, the women's suffrage movement to win the vote for women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s to end racial discrimination. Along with certain national election campaigns, social movements have become the most important collective force for bringing about change in the country's history.

Social movements can be classified in a number of ways. One can first consider whether the movement intends to bring about or resist change. An innovative (liberal) movement intends to introduce something new with regard to culture, patterns of behavior, policies, or institutions. For example, a liberal movement exists to legalize marijuana. A conservative movement has the goal of maintaining things the way they are (resisting change), such as the movement to prevent legalization of marijuana where it remains illegal. A reactionary movement seeks to resurrect cultural elements, patterns of behavior, or institutions of the past (“bring back the good old days”). An example would be a movement that wants to return to banning same-sex marriage.

Movements can also be classified in terms of which aspects of society are targeted for change. Is change sought in patterns of behavior, culture, policies, or institutions? Are the changes meant to affect everyone, or only a particular group of people? A reform movement calls for change in patterns of behavior, culture, and/or policy, but does not try to replace entire social institutions. Supporters of reform movements appeal to policymakers, attempt to elect candidates, and sometimes bring cases before courts to achieve their goals. Movements involving civil rights, women’s rights, sexual orientation, and the rights of people with disabilities all call for acceptance by the larger culture to ensure equal access to all social institutions but do not aim to replace them. Antiwar and environmental movements are also considered reform movements because they call for changes in government policy rather than sweeping institutional change.

A revolutionary movement in contrast, aims to bring about great structural change by replacing one or more major social institutions. In the eighteenth century, the American Revolution succeeded in changing the political system of the original thirteen colonies by freeing colonists from British monarchical control and creating a democratic form of government. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the French Revolution ended a monarchy and established a republic. More contemporary examples of successful revolutions include the 1979 Iranian Revolution that replaced a monarchy with a fundamentalist Islamic republic, the revolutions that swept away one-party political
systems in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union from 1989 to 1991, and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa that ended the system of white political domination there in 1994. Even more recently, the 1996–2008 Nepalese Revolution replaced a monarchy with democracy, and the Arab uprisings (collectively called the Arab Awakening or Arab Spring), which began in Tunisia on December 17, 2010, changed the forms of government in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, and may affect even more Arab societies in the coming years.

Social movements can also be classified in other ways. The major goal of an identity movement is to spread understanding of mechanisms of domination, including cultural elements such as oppressive language, to destroy debilitating stereotypes, ways of thinking, and talking that are “the means and products of group subordination” (Gill and DeFronzo 2009:212). These movements attempt to create a new identity for the oppressed group “that provides a sense of empowerment, pride, self-confidence and equality” and also actively confront “the larger public’s norms, beliefs, behaviors, and ways of thinking” (Gill and DeFronzo 2009:212). Identity movements develop among persons who perceive themselves to be the target of discrimination based on an ascribed characteristic such as race, nationality, physical characteristics, gender, sexual orientation, or other fixed traits. For example, the feminist movement attacks the traditional view of women as lacking the intelligence, will, emotional stability, or toughness to successfully participate in all areas of life by focusing attention on women who have made great achievements in politics, science, and business. This movement also promotes traits traditionally associated with women, such as compassion and cooperativeness, as crucial to the well-being of society. The purpose of the feminist movement is to provide all women with psychological empowerment and positive identities, and to replace stereotypes that limit their roles or define them as inferior with a global conception of women as equal to men.

Numerous factors can give rise to identity movements, including “exposure to concepts of freedom and liberation that were intended for the benefit of other groups, but have direct liberation implications to the members of another subordinated group” (Gill and DeFronzo 2009:212). Although reform movements can be clearly differentiated from revolutionary movements, other ways of classifying social movements are not mutually exclusive and can overlap. Reform movements to expand the opportunities of certain categories of people and revolutionary movements to free whole populations from foreign control are also to some extent identity movements because of their efforts to beneficially change the cultural identities of disadvantaged groups.

Some sociologists believe that, in the first half of the twentieth century, social movements in the most technologically advanced societies centered on economic goals. These dealt mainly with the redistribution of wealth and income and were based primarily on the industrial and urban work forces. In the second half, there was a perceived shift to identity movements and movements focusing on government policies. These new social movements were concerned with moral and quality-of-life issues and the establishment of new collective identities. Examples of new social movements include peace movements (like the anti–Vietnam War Movement of the 1960s and early 1970s) and
movements focusing on the environment, women’s rights, gay rights, and animal rights. Critics claim that this division is artificial, because movements concerned with moral and quality-of-life issues coexisted with workers’ labor movements during the period of industrialization (Pichardo 1997), and new social movements often have economic as well as moral and identity goals.

Certain movements, sometimes called alternative movements, aim to change a single type of behavior. For example, the temperance movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, similar in focus to today’s antidrug movement, tried to convince people not to drink alcohol because of suspected links to child and spousal abuse, other violent crimes, and social ills. Another example is an abstinence movement. Abstinence movements such as True Love Waits advocate sexual relations only after marriage. Redemptive movements intend to bring about a more total transformation of the individual by encouraging people to adopt a new moral-religious outlook that will affect a wide range of personal behaviors. Examples include religious revivalist or fundamentalist movements that demand a deeper demonstration of commitment to the faith. Transnational movements are active in more than one country. Examples include the women’s, environmental, and human rights movements, and movements promoting democracy. See table 2.1 for a summary of the different types of social movements, along with examples of each. It is important to note that some movements are more than one type. For example, the feminist movement has aspects that permit it to be classified as an innovative (liberal) movement, a reform movement, an identity movement, a new social movement, and a transnational movement.

Student Participation in Movements for Social Change

Student activism ranges from protests against university administrations to mobilizations that have contributed to the downfall of governments. Many students, brimming with idealism, have initiated social movements or joined existing ones. The Social Movements box describes an important social movement action that began with a sit-in at a lunch counter by four college students in 1960. In the years that followed, hundreds of thousands of students became active in the civil rights movement, as well as the antiwar, women’s, environmental, and gay rights movements. Today, students are involved in movements fighting for social justice and human rights and participating in activist groups, such as the new Students for a Democratic Society, successor to the massive Vietnam War-era student organization of the same name.

As noted in the first chapter, one issue spurring youth to initiate protests is the increasing cost of higher education. In 2011, student loan debt reached about one trillion dollars and was estimated to be greater than all combined credit card debt in the United States (Cau- chon 2011). This trend continued into 2018 when student debt reached $1.5 trillion owed by 44.2 million persons (Friedman 2018). In reaction to enormous tuition hikes, thousands of students enrolled in schools in the California State University system have participated in massive


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Movement</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Examples</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Innovative (Liberal)</td>
<td>Introduce new cultural elements, patterns of interaction, policy, or institutions</td>
<td>Legalize marijuana movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>Maintain things the way they are</td>
<td>Keep marijuana illegal movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reactionary</td>
<td>Bring back old cultural elements, patterns of behavior, policy, or institutions</td>
<td>Movement opposing same-sex marriage</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reform</td>
<td>Change cultural elements, patterns of behavior, and/or policy, but do not replace institutions</td>
<td>U.S. civil rights movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Revolutionary</td>
<td>Bring about great structural change by replacing one or more major social institutions</td>
<td>American Revolution, French Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Create positive cultural and personal identities for members of groups that have been the target of prejudice and discrimination</td>
<td>Gay rights movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New social</td>
<td>Achieve moral, quality-of-life, self-actualization, and other noneconomic goals</td>
<td>Anti–Vietnam War movement, environmental movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative</td>
<td>Change one specific type of behavior</td>
<td>Temperance movement, abstinence movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemptive</td>
<td>Total moral change of individuals affecting multiple behaviors</td>
<td>Religious fundamentalist movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transnational</td>
<td>Achieve aims in more than one country</td>
<td>Human rights movement</td>
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protest demonstrations beginning in the fall of 2009. Angus Johnston, a history professor at the City University of New York who studies student activism, estimated that at least 160 student protests occurred in the United States during the 2014 fall semester alone, mostly involving issues related to sexual assault and sexism on campus, university governance and student rights, and tuition and funding (Johnston 2014; Wong 2015). UCLA’s Higher Education Research Institute (2016) reported that in its Fall 2015 survey of 141,189 first-year full-time students entering four-year colleges and universities across the United States, about 9 percent said that there was a “very good chance” they would participate in student demonstrations and protests while in college. This was the highest percentage in the annual survey’s fifty-year history. Those expecting to participate varied from about 6 percent of Native American and Asian students to 7 percent of white, 10 percent
of Latino and 16 percent of black students. The trend toward increasing U.S. student activism appeared to continue (Smith 2017).

Internationally, students are active in social movements in many countries. The Internet, cell phones, and social media have provided new means for reform and revolutionary ideas to spread and inspire millions, and for people to organize and coordinate their actions. This was clearly demonstrated in the protests that broke out in Arab nations beginning in December 2010, described in part in this chapter’s introduction. Since then students have used social media to organize other major protests, including Hong Kong students’ huge prodemocracy demonstrations in 2014 (Epatko and Daly 2014; McKirdy 2017), and many protests in the United States (Curwen, Song, and Gordon 2015). Young people will continue to play a central role in prodemocracy and human rights movements around the world.

Here are several online resources for learning more about current student movements in the United States:

United States Student Association
http://www.usstudents.org/work/debt/

The American Association of University Women
http://www.aauw.org/

Youth Activism Project
http://youthactivismproject.org/publications/

Nation Topics – Student Movements
http://www.thenation.com/node/153/student-movements#axzz2c-qinUdKO

Students for a Democratic Society
http://www.newsds.org/
On February 1, 1960, four African American freshmen attending the Agricultural and Technical University of North Carolina – Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair Jr. (who later changed his name to Jibreel Khazan), and David Richmond – were inspired by earlier protests against racist segregationist policies to sit down at the whites-only lunch counter at a Woolworth’s store in Greensboro, North Carolina. Although the staff refused to serve them, they refused to leave. Hundreds of students participated in lunch counter sit-ins over the next few days, not just in Greensboro, but in other cities and states as well. This launched a boycott of stores with service segregation policies. Responding to economic losses, Woolworth’s desegregated its entire national chain of stores the following July, an important victory for the growing civil rights movement.

**Ask yourself:**

1. What social movements are students/student groups on your campus currently involved in?
2. What movement-related actions or activities have students engaged in recently?
3. To what extent are the students involved in a movement on your campus linked to a national or transnational social movement?

**WHY DO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS BEGIN?**

Because social movements have played such important roles in shaping human history, social scientists have studied them and come up with a number of explanations for why they develop. One approach is to explain why people are or become discontented with a particular condition or pattern of behavior. It is easy to understand why some events provoke widespread anger. For example, if for some reason all of the public school teachers in California were suddenly subjected to a 25 percent cut in pay, you would expect that most California teachers would be outraged and engage in some form of public protest. It’s harder to predict whether other, comparable social situations will produce widespread outrage. For example, the average salary for public school teachers in Indiana is about 30 percent less than the California average, but there have not been any major protests by Indiana teachers about their inferior salaries (Herron 2018; Will 2018). Why not? A number of factors help determine why people react (or don’t react). One major type of explanation is deprivation theory, of which there are two forms.
Absolute Deprivation and Relative Deprivation Theories

According to absolute deprivation theory, social movements develop when people are unable to obtain adequate food, shelter, or other basic needs. However, history shows that people living in poverty over a period of generations develop the cultural outlook that their situation is fated and unchangeable. Similarly, the existence of wide gaps in wealth levels of groups in a society does not seem sufficient to bring about social movements. Social movements, including revolutionary movements, appear to develop not just as a result of deprivation or inequality but because of expectations and moral beliefs concerning fairness and social justice (DeFronzo 2015; Fullerton 2006). In other words, living conditions or political limitations only become intolerable when people come to view them as unacceptable relative to how they think things should be. Gurr (1970:46–56) describes three ways this view, called relative deprivation theory, can develop:

1. Decremental deprivation. Decremental deprivation involves a rapid drop in living standards caused by an event such as a sudden severe economic downturn. People feel deprived relative to their former living standards. For example, after the Great Depression began in 1929, the United States experienced a great surge in participation in the labor movement; more workers joined labor unions in the 1930s than ever before in the nation’s history. The new economic and political power of the great labor unions, such as the United Auto Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, won higher wages, health insurance, pensions, and other benefits from employers, which helped raise millions of workers into the middle class.

2. Progressive deprivation. According to a study of economic trends preceding several major revolutions (Davies 1962), progressive deprivation occurs when a society experiences a prolonged period of economic progress and improved living standards followed by a period of sharp decline. Since people expect things to keep getting better as they had in previous years, a wide gap develops between expectations and worsening conditions. Both the American Revolution and the Russian Revolution of 1917 fit this pattern.

3. Aspirational deprivation. Aspirational deprivation occurs when people gain new information convincing them that their living conditions are unacceptable and can be changed, causing discontent to rise and support for social movements to increase. For example, in the 1960s and 70s many younger Catholic priests and nuns in Latin American countries adopted liberation theology (Berryman 1987), a social justice orientation holding that clergy should confront and criticize unjust social conditions, including poverty and inequality of opportunity, in addition to dealing with spiritual needs. Clergy informed their impoverished parishioners that poverty was not the result of God’s will but caused by the selfishness and greed of certain people, and that these unjust
conditions could and should be changed through group action. In response, many parishioners organized protests and even created social movements to demand change. When these efforts were repressed, some turned to armed revolutionary struggle, as in the successful revolution in Nicaragua in 1979 portrayed in a somewhat fictionalized fashion in the movie *Under Fire*.

People may also experience relative deprivation when they witness a condition or a pattern of behavior that they find unacceptable in terms of deeply held personal moral standards. This helps explain why many people participate in movements even though they do not personally suffer from the conditions they want to change. *Moral relative deprivation* explains why many college students participate in social movements dealing with issues that may be remote from their personal experiences (Gill and DeFronzo 2009:205), as in campus mobilizations against South African apartheid in the 1980s and early 1990s. In that movement the immediate aim was to get colleges to stop investing in South Africa until Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, was freed from prison and democratic elections were held. A more recent example is the student movement against sweatshops (see the Social Movements feature).

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**Social Movements: The Student Movement against Sweatshops**

The US anti-sweatshop movement is one of the largest American student movements since campuses mobilized in the 1980s and early 1990s to force an end to apartheid in South Africa. The elimination of sweatshops is far more difficult because sending jobs to other nations where workers’ wages are much lower has become an integral part of the global economic system. Sweatshops are also a way for business interests to weaken labor unions and limit or lower American workers’ wages.

A sweatshop is essentially any business or manufacturing setting in which workers are very poorly paid or forced to work under harsh or unsafe conditions. Corporations in the United States and other countries obtain products from factories in developing countries in order to increase profits. Sweatshops have also operated much closer to home. Some U.S. businesses hire illegal immigrants desperate for any kind of job and afraid to complain to legal authorities about abusive conditions.
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Resource Mobilization Theory

According to resource mobilization theory, people motivated to create a social movement must have access to necessary resources to succeed (Jenkins 1983). Useful resources include funding, effective leaders, and access to social networks through which new participants can be recruited. Other beneficial resources can be the support of powerful persons, aid from previously established social movement organizations, and assistance from important moral figures who can bestow legitimacy on the movement and its goals. For example, the civil rights movement benefitted from the support of many African American churches (Morris 1986) and their leaders, including Martin Luther King Jr. Their congregations provided meeting places, participants, and financial resources to clothing manufacturers that rely on sweatshops. The anti-sweatshop movement is also working with labor unions in the United States, as hundreds of thousands of American workers in the garment industry have lost their jobs due to this type of corporate outsourcing, and millions have been forced to settle for lower wages or benefits under the threat that their jobs could be shipped to another part of the world.

Anti-sweatshop movement activists want U.S. companies, colleges, and government agencies to agree to and enforce a policy mandating that workers are paid livable wages and are permitted to form labor unions if they wish, and that companies provide safe work places visited regularly by independent inspectors.

For more information, visit United Students Against Sweatshops: http://usas.org/.

What are your thoughts?

1. Do you think that companies that use sweatshops should be prevented from selling sweatshop products in the United States? Why or why not?
2. Do you think that stores should be prevented from selling sweatshop products? Why or why not?
contributions, and their preexisting intercity and interstate connections served as avenues for geographic expansion and long-distance coordination of efforts.

**Political Opportunities Theory**

Another view posits that the level of people’s grievances and the available resources are not sufficient explanations of social movements (Goodwin and Jasper 1999). According to political opportunities theory (also called political process theory) (Meyer 2004), political context is key to explaining social movements and their effects on society (McAdam 1982; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996; Tarrow 1992). Social movements arise at times when political circumstances for their success are favorable. In other words, people only initiate a social movement when they perceive that the political climate will allow them to organize successfully and achieve their goals. In addition, a social movement that is already underway will often attempt to use its influence to make the political environment more favorable.

This perspective focuses on how the external political environment facilitates or interferes with initiating a social movement, recruiting and mobilizing participants, and getting access to resources. On the flip side, it also explores how a social movement influences political campaigns and government policies and how a movement can alter the political context in which it operates (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996). For example, the movement to prohibit alcoholic beverages was affected by the enemy in World War I being Germany, a major exporter of beer, and that many German Americans owned breweries in the United States. Supporters of Prohibition portrayed the liquor industry as foreign controlled and subversive, leading to prohibition, the federal ban on alcoholic beverages from 1920 to 1933.

In another example, the civil rights movement benefitted from increased support and favorable actions by the Democratic Party and Democratic government officials, including the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Bump 2015). This, in turn, caused many African American voters to switch to the Democratic Party. McAdam (1982) and Tilly (1978) argue that for a social movement to develop, the availability of political opportunities must be coupled with a concept similar to the true consciousness described in the discussion of the conflict perspective in Chapter 1. Cognitive liberation is a three-phase change in people’s thinking about a situation (Nepstad 1997):

1. People decide that an existing condition or social arrangement is unjust.
2. They come to believe it can be changed and demand change.
3. They gain confidence that through working together they will possess the power to achieve that goal.

The Social Movements feature illustrates political opportunities theory in the context of two opposing social movements. It also describes how both movements attempt to influence the political environment.
The pro-life and pro-choice movements are two major opposing social movements that clearly aim to influence the political environment. Both have worked for decades to elect government leaders who favor creating and enforcing laws in line with their contrasting positions on abortion and have had tremendous impacts on U.S. politics. The pro-life movement attempts to ban abortion completely. In contrast, the pro-choice movement aims to continue the legal status of and accessibility to abortion in a wide range of circumstances. It also focuses on educating women about contraception to make abortion a last resort. Both movements have significant resources and political opportunities, especially in certain states. The pro-life movement enjoys the support of many evangelical Protestant leaders, bishops and priests of the Catholic Church, and many Republican governors and legislators (especially in southern states). The pro-choice movement benefits from the support of feminist groups and many Democratic office holders (particularly in northern and West Coast states).

In 2011 the pro-life movement persuaded legislatures in nineteen states to pass a record-breaking number of laws restricting abortion (Guttmacher Institute 2011). These included requirements for special counseling and longer waiting periods for those seeking abortions, and banning abortion at or after twenty weeks of pregnancy unless the woman’s life is endangered or there is a substantial danger of major irreversible physical harm. Between 2011 and 2015 thirty-one states enacted a total of 288 additional restrictions on abortion (Ertelt 2016). In the 2016 election, those involved in the pro-life movement mostly supported Donald Trump, who promised to nominate conservatives to the Supreme Court likely to rule in favor of curtailing or ending access to abortion. Fulfilling his promise, President Trump nominated Neil Gorsuch, whom the Senate confirmed to the Supreme Court on April 7, 2017, and Brett Kavanaugh, whom the Senate confirmed to the Supreme Court on October 6, 2018.

What are your thoughts?
1. Do you think that government, either state or federal, should have the power regulate abortion? Why or why not?

Leadership Theory

Leadership theory asserts that the emergence and success of social movements requires exceptional leaders. Leaders can be classified into three types (DeFronzo 2008). Charismatic leaders, usually the type most widely recognized by the public, emotionally inspire others through their words and their actions and by presenting the movement as an essential moral struggle. Famous charismatic leaders include Mahatma Gandhi of India’s revolutionary movement for independence and democracy, Martin Luther King Jr. of the American civil rights
movement, and Nelson Mandela of South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle. An important charismatic leader of the suffrage movement was Susan B. Anthony, who served as spokeswoman of the movement and traveled the country extensively giving speeches calling for women's right to vote (Encyclopedia Britannica 2017). An intellectual leader provides a social movement with ideology explaining the problem, its cause, and the need for action. A movement's ideology should be consistent with widely held values. For example, in the United States this could involve linking the movement with fulfilling the ideals of freedom, individual human rights, and equality of opportunity. An intellectual leader of the women's suffrage movement was Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She authored the “Declaration of Sentiments” (modeled after the Declaration of Independence), asserting that women and men are entitled to equal rights, which was signed by participants at the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Stanton provided her fellow suffragists with radical ideas for the time such as women's rights to own property, serve on juries, receive equitable wages, and withhold sex from their husbands. She also wrote a number of Susan B. Anthony's speeches (Andrews 2015). A managerial leader transforms the ideals and goals of the movement into organization and coordinated action. Carrie Chapman Catt was an exceptional managerial leader of the suffrage movement who organized and led the movement’s “Winning Strategy” plan. This was a disciplined and often successful effort to win the right for women to vote in a succession of individual states by getting states to hold referenda on the issue (U.S. House of Representatives 2017b). As more and more states allowed their women residents the right to vote, pressure mounted on the federal government to do the same. In some social movements, a single person may perform more than one of the three leadership roles.

Leaders must decide on strategy and tactics. In the context of social movements, strategy is a general approach for achieving movement goals. The strategy of nonviolence was employed by the movements led by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. Strategies can include sub-strategies, such as legal demonstrations, collecting signatures on petitions, or illegal but peaceful occupations of buildings. A movement's strategy can be affected by public response and government actions. The anti-apartheid movement led by Nelson Mandela relied on a nonviolent strategy at first. In response to violent repression by the South African white minority government, it eventually shifted to violent resistance involving bombings of economic and military targets and mobile, small-unit (guerilla) warfare. When white leaders finally agreed to democratic elections, the anti-apartheid movement reverted to its nonviolent strategy, which led to Mandela’s election as president in 1994.

While strategy represents a general approach to advancing a movement, tactics are the immediate actions used to implement it. McAdam (1997:343–351) describes several tactics operating within the civil rights movement's strategy of nonviolence: bus boycotts, in which people refused to ride buses until the policy of racially segregated seating was eliminated; the aforementioned sit-ins by African Americans at whites-only eating facilities; and freedom rides, in which African Americans and white Americans traveled together on buses across state
lines to bring public attention to the states refusing to comply with Supreme Court rulings that forbade racial segregation on buses and in bus terminals.

Framing Theory

Framing theory describes the processes through which an individual comes to embrace the ideology of, and supports and participates in, a social movement (Best 2013; Snow and Benford 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986). Advocates of framing theory believe that other theories are all incomplete explanations of social movements. They argue that one of the important tasks of a social movement’s leaders is to present or “frame” a social movement in terms of the core values held by people the movement seeks to recruit. Whatever social structural conditions are present, a social movement is unlikely to develop unless leaders accomplish this. Framing is the process of describing the movement in such a way that it makes sense, appeals to as many people as possible, and fulfills one or more deeply held values. Framing is similar to the process of claims making described in Chapter 1. Snow and Benford (1988) explain that social movements interpret and provide meanings for conditions, actions, and events in a manner that is intended to mobilize potential participants, obtain acceptance and support from the larger public, and undermine the efforts of movement opponents. Framing accomplishes three tasks:

1. Diagnosis. Diagnostic framing explains why a condition or pattern of behavior is a problem and what – or who – causes it.

2. Prognosis. Prognostic framing proposes a solution and a plan of action, including strategy and tactics, for social movement participants.

framing theory The idea that a social movement emerges because of framing: the process of describing a social movement in such a way that it makes sense, appeals to as many people as possible, and fulfills one or more deeply held values.
3. **Motivation.** Motivational framing explains why people need to act to deal with the problem.

The leaders of a social movement try to shape its public image to show that its goal and underlying ideology align with deeply held cultural values. For example, in the United States the leaders of the movements to end slavery and to obtain equal opportunity for women both sought to rally mass support by referring to values expressed in key documents of the American Revolution. Among the most cited is a phrase from the Declaration of Independence stating that all people are entitled to equal opportunities for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

**Multi-Factor Theory**

Despite the attention given in recent years to the theories of social movements described above (such as the resource mobilization, political opportunity, and framing theories), many sociologists are drawn to Smelser’s (1962) multifactor (“value added”) theory for a more comprehensive explanation of social movements. This theory was developed to explain not just social movements but a wide range of collective behavior including riots, vigilantism, collective panics, and crazes or fads. Although Smelser formulated his theory from the structural-functional perspective, the nature of the subject matter and the inherent logic of his analysis results in a theory that has elements in common with the conflict and symbolic-interactionist approaches. Here are Smelser’s six factors that explain the development of a social movement:

1. **Structural conduciveness.** It is the underlying characteristics of a society that make the development of a social movement possible and influence what type of movement emerges. For example, if a government blocks all means of communication, it may be difficult for a movement to emerge. As you have already learned, the development of the Internet and social media, along with the increased use of cell phones, played a major role in the Arab Awakening protests in the winter and spring of 2011 that toppled governments in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya.

2. **Structural strain.** Factors such as absolute or relative deprivation in terms of expectations, aspirations, or moral ideals cause large-scale discontent. In Tunisia and other Arab nations that experienced massive explosions of protest in late 2010 and 2011, people became intensely frustrated by repressive dictatorships, brutal and corrupt security forces, and limited economic opportunities.

3. **Growth and spread of a generalized belief (ideology).** This is the development of a shared common explanation for the cause of the condition generating discontent and a belief that something can and should be done about it. In the Arab uprisings, most people believed the dictatorships to be the central cause of problems and that large-scale protests were necessary to remove them.

4. **Precipitating factors.** These are dramatic events that confirm or justify the generalized belief and provoke people to action. The self-immolation of a poverty-stricken, twenty-six-year-old...
Tunisian street vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, on December 17, 2010, sparked the Tunisian rebellion. He had been harassed repeatedly and then beaten by police after trying to sell produce to support his mother and siblings. This tragic and desperate act against a corrupt dictatorship ignited massive protests against the government, which then spread to other Arab nations.

5. Mobilization. Leaders encourage and organize movement supporters in mass protests and related activities such as boycotts, petitions, campaigns for (or against) certain political candidates, court battles, and other measures to achieve movement goals.

6. Operation of social control. Depending on the movement, those with power in society may support it, attempt to manipulate it by influencing one of the first five factors, oppose it, or even attempt to violently repress it. In Tunisia and Egypt, government repression was overwhelmed by popular protest.

STAGES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements tend to go through a number of stages of development. A well-known model of these stages was developed by Armand L. Mauss (1975). Mauss stressed the importance of focusing on the continual interactions between movements, government, and the larger social environment. His research led him to conclude that movements typically, though not always, go through five phases: incipiency, coalescence, institutionalization, fragmentation, and demise. For some social movements there is also a sixth phase, revival.

Incipiency

The first stage of a social movement, its incipiency, begins when a large number of people become distressed by a particular situation. For example, during the 1960s the government claimed that a war of aggression was being waged against a small nation in Southeast Asia called South Vietnam. Soon many college professors contradicted the government’s story, asserting that the war was a continuation of decades of Vietnamese resistance to colonialism. They claimed that, according to the Geneva Accords, which ended the 1946–1954 “French-Indochina War,” South Vietnam should not even exist as a separate nation. In their view, the fighting was essentially a civil war between the Vietnamese. This conflicting assessment provoked outrage among many college students, who believed that their government had deceived them and launched an immoral and unjustified war, and discontent soon spread around the country. The development of this antiwar movement caused the United States to experience one of its greatest periods of internal strife since the Civil War.

Coalescence

In the second stage, coalescence, a social movement becomes more organized and develops resource-gathering capabilities. Coalescence of the antiwar movement was facilitated by the involvement of veterans of
the civil rights movement, including Martin Luther King Jr. He joined the antiwar movement and participated in the 1967 march from Central Park to the United Nations headquarters, one of the largest antiwar protest marches in U.S. history.

### Institutionalization

As the mass media pays increased attention, institutionalization occurs when the government takes official notice of a movement and tries to cope with it and the movement establishes one or more geographically extensive or even national social movement organizations (SMOs). In this stage the government typically addresses the movement in some way, ranging from promising to investigate the problem that the movement is publicizing to enacting policies or passing legislation to deal with it. In the case of the civil rights movement, the U.S. government acted to bring about desegregation of public facilities and schools and to combat racial discrimination in employment. In responding to the antiwar movement, the government pledged to work for peace, entered into peace negotiations, and began to reduce the number of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. Major SMOs of the antiwar movement included the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Examples of SMOs for the civil rights movement include Martin Luther King Jr’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

### Fragmentation

Fragmentation is the breaking apart of a movement, typically after a period of some success, because movement participants disagree about whether essential goals have really been achieved.
feel the movement’s mission has not actually been accomplished may propose new strategies, tactics, or actions. For example, after the federal government passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, some movement participants became less active. But Martin Luther King Jr. believed that not enough had really been done to help low-income Americans. He and several others then organized the Poor People Campaign in early 1968 in pursuit of more job opportunities and better health care and housing for the nation’s poor (Lohr 2008). In the case of the antiwar movement, despite government claims it was trying to end the war by engaging in peace negotiations and reducing U.S. troop strength in Vietnam, the war continued for years. After the 1968 assassinations of two major charismatic opponents of the war – Martin Luther King Jr. and Senator Robert Kennedy of New York – some deserted the nonviolent antiwar movement (in particular, a group called the Weather Underground) to engage in violent actions, such as bombings of government facilities and corporate headquarters.

Demise
Eventually a movement may meet its demise, or come to an end because it has achieved its goal, lost popular support, or been repressed. For example, the abolitionist movement lost its reason for existence upon slavery’s elimination following the Civil War. The conclusion of the Vietnam conflict in 1975 brought an end to the antiwar movement. In some societies extreme repression can destroy a movement, and this can occur even before a movement passes through the early stages. The Nazi regime crushed Germany’s gay movement in the 1930s–1940s (Broich 2017), and the Argentine dictatorship violently suppressed socialist movements in the “dirty war” of the late 1970s and early 1980s (Finchelstein 2014).

Revival
Although this phase is not a part of Mauss’s normal movement-stages model, he noted that some movements that appeared to meet their demise did not totally end but instead experienced revival, re-emerging in the same or a modified form. For example, once the women’s suffrage movement succeeded in obtaining the right for women to vote in 1920, it appeared to decline for decades. But in the 1960s it began a strong revival as the feminist movement, aimed at addressing a range of issues related to economic, educational, sports, and military equality of opportunity for women. More recently, some view the Black Lives Matter movement as a revival of the 1950s–1960s civil rights movement (Harris 2015).

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE
Social movements can change society in both intended and unintended ways, some widely recognized and others not as clearly understood. For example, the women’s movement of the 1960s opened the
CHAPTER 2

Music has played a major role in energizing supporters of social movements. The famous civil rights anthem “We Shall Overcome” has become a worldwide protest song. It was derived from a tune that had its origins in an early twentieth-century gospel hymn and was sung by striking African American workers in the 1940s. The moving French revolutionary march, “La Marseillaise,” has played a similarly inspiring role for revolutionary movements around the globe. Throughout American history, music has inspired and energized participants in great social struggles including the labor, civil rights, and peace movements (Alterman 2012; Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Lylskey 2011; Rosenthal and Flacks 2012; Weissman 2010).

Today a number of prominent musical artists are involved in social activism. Ani DeFranco, a well-known and admired American singer, songwriter, guitarist, and poet, is active in the women’s movement and has become a feminist icon. Joan Baez is another legendary American singer and songwriter who has participated in human rights and many other social movements. Jay-Z is a rap artist involved in urban antiviolence campaigns.

Bruce Springsteen, who has sold more than 120 million albums world-wide, supported the Obama election campaign in 2008. Before an estimated four hundred thousand people at the Lincoln Memorial the night before Obama’s inauguration, Springsteen performed his own song “The Rising” and sang Woody Guthrie’s “This Land Is Your Land” with activist musician Pete Seeger. “This Land Is Your Land,” widely interpreted as critical of economic inequality, became one of America’s most famous folk songs. Seeger, an admirer and friend of Guthrie’s, was also a legendary folk song writer, singer, and activist and was a supporter of the civil rights, antiwar and environmental movements.

Springsteen used his 2012 album “Wrecking Ball” to express his outrage at the suffering people experienced because of the 2008 financial crisis in the United States. In the April 30, 2012, issue of the Nation, Springsteen is quoted as saying, “I had friends losing their homes, and nobody went to jail… . Previous to Occupy Wall Street, there was no pushback: there was no movement, there was no voice that was saying just how outrageous – that a basic theft had occurred that struck at the heart of what the entire American idea is about” (p. 15).

What are your thoughts?
Visit the websites below to learn more about protest and social movement songs.


https://newsone.com/1460645/top-10-civil-rights-protest-songs-of-all-time/


1. Listen to or read the lyrics of several of the songs on these websites. What do you think are the essential elements of a great social movement song?
way for an enormous increase in female labor-force participation. At the same time, the United States experienced skyrocketing burglary rates. Before long a link between the two trends became apparent. Since burglars prefer to enter unguarded buildings, the increasing number of homes with two working adults provided millions of new vulnerable targets. This, in turn, stimulated rapid growth of the private security industry and sales of home alarms and other security devices.

Because of its democratic political system, social movements in the United States have primarily been reform movements aimed at changing aspects of social behavior and culture and encouraging full and equal participation by all population groups in American institutions. The women's suffrage movement and the civil rights movement both brought about major cultural, psychological, behavioral, and legal changes. In the first two decades of the twentieth century women were not allowed to vote, and for the first six public and private facilities in many parts of the country were racially segregated. Pressure from these and other social movements has played a significant role in overcoming deeply embedded racism, sexism, and ignorance. In the 1950s and 1960s a series of laws and court rulings banned racial discrimination in jury selection, real estate practices and home mortgages, and access to schools and colleges. Interracial marriages and adoptions have increased. The numbers of women and racial minorities in high positions in politics and government, economic institutions, and the military continue to grow.

For the first time in U.S. history, the top two candidates for the 2008 Democratic nomination for president were a woman, Hillary Clinton, and an African American, Barack Obama; on the Republican side, another woman, Sarah Palin, became the party's vice presidential candidate. The influence of the gay liberation movement was reflected in the dramatic change in majority public opinion in favor of permitting same-sex marriage. The cultural shift toward greater equality has been greatest among young adults. Despite all of these changes in culture and institutional access, significant levels of prejudice, discrimination, and inequality of opportunity remain. Continuing gender discrimination in income led to the passage of the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, which President Obama signed into law on January 29, 2009. Legal measures and cultural changes appear to have reduced certain forms of racial and gender discrimination significantly, but it is clear that much more needs to be accomplished in these areas. Since the 1970s economic inequality has increased, upward social mobility has decreased, the middle class is shrinking, and money has become an increasingly dominant influence in the U.S. political system; some even argue that it has become less democratic. These trends have sparked a resurgence of social movements with an economic focus, possibly leading to significant social change in the future.
In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American women engaged in a long and difficult struggle to win the right to vote and hold political office. After decades of protests, the Nineteenth Amendment finally allowed women to participate in elections. Today women serve as governors, state legislators, U.S. representatives, and U.S. senators. Democrat Geraldine Ferraro and Republican Sarah Palin ran as their party’s candidates for vice president in the 1984 and 2008 elections, respectively. And Hillary Clinton, after almost winning her party’s nomination for president in 2008, was nominated as the Democratic presidential candidate in 2016. She was the choice of 2.86 million more voters than Republican candidate Donald Trump, who won the Electoral College.

Women’s rights was a major issue in the 2012, 2016 and 2018 elections. Many Democrats accused Republican candidates and the Republican Party leadership of attempting to roll back generations of women’s rights advances. At stake, according to women’s groups, were women’s right to equal pay for equal work, affordable access to contraception, and the right to choose whether to continue a pregnancy. In the 2012 election, exit polls indicated that 55 percent of women voters cast their ballot for the Democratic presidential candidate, Barack Obama, while 44 percent chose Republican candidate Mitt Romney (CNN 2012). In the 2016 election the gender gap was similar. Exit polls showed women voted 54 percent for Democrat Hillary Clinton and 41 percent for Republican Donald Trump; 5 percent voted for another candidate or declined to answer (CNN 2016).

The results of the 2018 midterm elections meant that there would be twenty-four

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<th>Democrats</th>
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What Is a Social Movement?
A social movement is the mobilization of large numbers of people to work together to deal with a social problem. It is a persistent and organized effort to either bring about what participants believe to be beneficial social change or in some cases resist or reverse change viewed as harmful. An innovative (liberal) movement intends to introduce something new with regard to culture, patterns of behavior, policies, or institutions. A conservative movement aims to maintain things the way they are. Reactionary movements seek to resurrect cultural elements, patterns of behavior, or institutions of the past.

Reform movements call for change in patterns of behavior, culture and/or policy, but do not try to replace whole social institutions. Revolutionary movements, in contrast, aim at bringing about great structural change by replacing one or more major social institutions. Social movements can also be classified as identity, new social, alternative, redemptive, and transnational movements.

Why Do Social Movements Begin?
Theories about why social movements occur include absolute deprivation theory, relative deprivation theory, resource mobilization theory, political opportunities theory, leadership theory, framing theory, and multifactor theory. The most sensible way to understand social movements may be to use a comprehensive multifactor approach that shows how a combination of different elements affects the emergence and outcomes of social movements.

Stages of Social Movements
Social movements addressing social problems can go through a series of stages, including incipiency, coalescence, institutionalization, fragmentation, demise, and possibly revival.

Social Movements and Social Change
Social movements have played an enormous role in combating discrimination against and in expanding rights for various groups in American society. They have and continue to affect American elections at the local and national level as well as those in other nations.

Ask yourself:
1. Do you think there should be a higher percentage of women in government in the United States? Why or why not?
2. Do you think that the two major parties are equally supportive of women in government? Why or why not?

KEY TERMS
- absolute deprivation theory, p. 33
- alternative movements, p. 29
- charismatic leader, p. 37
- coalescence, p. 41
- conservative movement, p. 27
- demise, p. 43
- fragmentation, p. 42
- framing theory, p. 39
- identity movement, p. 28
- incipiency, p. 41
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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Based on what you have learned in this chapter, why do you think some people become involved in social movements and others do not?

2. Select a major social movement and describe what type you think it is and why.

3. Are there any current social movements you would view as revolutionary rather than reform? Explain your answer.

4. Pick a major current social movement, the theory you think best explains its development, and describe why.

5. Pick a major current social movement and describe what stage it is in and why.

6. Pick a major social movement. Which method or methods of sociological research described in Chapter 1 would you use to study it?

7. Describe a recent social movement that succeeded and brought about significant social change.