



POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

(Michaelmas 2012)

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5. Social movements

<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~sfos0060/PoliticalSociology.shtml>

I. New social movements

Hobsbawm, 'Economic Fluctuations and Some Social Movements since 1800' (1952)

1960s:

- new people: students, women, non-whites
- new causes: feminism, peace (anti-nuclear, Vietnam), gay rights, environmental
- new organizational forms: anti-hierarchical
- politicization of everyday life

=> 1980s literature on "new social movements" (Touraine, Melucci, Habermas, ...)

Introduction

Social movement =

- sustained over time
- formal organizations
- goal is to transform (or rarely preserve) institutions
- means of collective action—often including protest
- idea becomes real insofar as it inspires people to act accordingly
- historical form from the late 18th century in Western Europe / United States

Outline:

1. New social movements?
2. Political consequences

Parkin 1968: CND

'Because protest of a class or economic kind in the affluent societies of the west has now become comparatively routinized and stabilized, it would appear that the mainsprings of radicalism derive from issues of a progressively 'moral', non-ideological character.'

<i>working class</i>	<i>middle class</i>
instrumental	expressive
sectional	universal



London => Aldermaston, 1958

New??

- People: suffragists/suffragettes, 1890s-1914
- Causes: peace movement after WWI
 - Oxford Union 'will in no circumstances fight for ... King and Country', 1933
- Forms: communal experiments in mid 19C America, e.g. Oneida Community
- Why is decriminalization of homosexuality “expressive” and “universal”?
- Labour movement constructs identity, politicizes everyday life ...

(Calhoun 1993; D'Anieri, Ernst, Kier 1990)

Potential novelty

- Labour movement conceivably majority—others are not
 - no spectre of 1789 / 1871 / 1917
- Shifting class composition
 - new class of knowledge workers, employed by state, not dependent on private property (Parkin 1968)
- Materialism => postmaterialism (*lecture 15*)
 - environmental movement

2. Political consequences

Mechanisms

1. Coercion
 - inflicting economic cost on antagonists
 - inflicting political cost on politicians
2. Persuasion
 - constructing phenomenon
 - persuading antagonists?
 - persuading other publics
 - indirect effect, even transnational
 - repression can be beneficial



Demonstrating impact

Meta-analysis of 54 movements in U.S. literature:
38 have strong/modest influence (Amenta et al. 2010)



Demarcation requires comparison over time or across cases

- harder for movement for long-term goals / national change

Positive examples

1. Organizing (Amenta, Caren, & Olasky 2005):
 - => Senatorial vote, 1939 and state-level generosity 1936-50
 - + activity of Townshend Clubs
 - + public opinion
 - patronage party
2. Protest (Ingram, Yue, & Rao 2010):
 - => Wal-Mart store opening
 - protest (reduces opening by 2/3!)
 - protest organized
 - successful protest nearby
 - state regulation (maximum store size)
- protest increases Wal-Mart's donations to local causes

Conclusion

- Social movements have shifted over time
 - NSM formula unsatisfactory
 - decline of labour movement
 - shift to postmaterial values?
- Social movements can bring about change
 - coercion and persuasion
 - methodological problem: confounding with political opportunities, public opinion
 - comparison across cases provides robust evidence for positive effect

Unintended consequences

- Inspiring other movements
 - positive/negative stimulus: sexism in 1960s movements
 - political change: U.S. Civil Rights Act 1964, Title VII, prohibits discrimination against workers by sex
- Countermovements
 - Pro-Life, Anti-Gay in U.S.
- Negative?

Winter of
discontent,
1978-9



References

- Frank Parkin, *Middle-Class Radicalism: The Social Basis of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*, 1968
- Paul D'Anieri, Claire Ernst and Elizabeth Kier, 'New Social Movements in Historical Perspective', *Comparative Politics*, 1990
- Craig Calhoun, "'New Social Movements' of the Early Nineteenth Century", *Social Science History*, vol. 17, 1993, pp. 385-427
- Paul Ingram, Lori Qingyuan Yue, and Hayagreeva Rao, 'Trouble in Store: Probes, Protests, and Store Openings by Wal-Mart, 1998-2007', *American Journal of Sociology*, 2010
- Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello, and Yang Su, 'The Political Consequences of Social Movements', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2010
- Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, and Sheera Joy Olasky, 'Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on U.S. Old-Age Policy', *American Sociological Review*, 2005