THE WILEY BLACKWELL COMPANION TO

Social Movements

SECOND EDITION

EDITED BY
DAVID A. SNOW, SARAH A. SOULE, HANSPETER KRIESI,
AND HOLLY J. McCAMMON

WILEY Blackwell

THE WILEY BLACKWELL COMPANION TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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Introduction: Mapping and Opening Up the Terrain

David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Holly J. McCammon

Social movements are one of the principal social forms through which collectivities give voice to their grievances and concerns about the rights, welfare, and well-being of themselves and others by engaging in various types of collective action, ranging from peaceful protest demonstrations to acts of political violence, from pamphleteering to revolution, and from mass vigils memorializing deceased constituents to boisterous gatherings clamoring for retribution, all of which dramatize those grievances and concerns and demand that something be done about them. Although there are other more institutionalized and publicly less conspicuous venues in which collectivities can express their grievances and concerns, particularly in democratic societies, social movements have long functioned as an important vehicle for articulating and pressing a collectivity's interests and claims. Indeed, it is arguable that an understanding of many of the most significant developments and changes throughout human history – such as the ascendance and spread of Christianity and Islam, the Reformation, and the French, American, Russian and Chinese Communist revolutions – are partly contingent on an understanding of the workings and influence of social movements, and this is especially so during the past several centuries. In this regard, it is interesting to note that *Time* magazine's centennial issue (December 31, 1999) included Mohandas Gandhi, the inspirational leader of one of the more consequential movements of the past century, among its three major candidates for the person of the century. Why Gandhi?

> He stamped his ideas on history, igniting three of the century's great revolutions – against colonialism, racism, violence. His concept of nonviolent resistance liberated one nation and sped the end of colonial empires around the world. His marches and fasts fired the imagination of oppressed people everywhere.
>
> (McGeary 1999: 123)

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And "his strategy of nonviolence has spawned generations of spiritual heirs around the world" (*Time* 1999: 127), including Martin Luther King Jr., Cesar Chavez, Gloria Steinem, Lech Walesa, Benigno Aquino Jr., and Nelson Mandela – all prominent leaders of a major, consequential social movement in their respective homelands. A decade after the turn of the century, *Time* again focused attention on social movement actors, naming as its 2011 Person of the Year "The PROTESTOR from the Arab Spring to Athens, From Occupy Wall Street to Moscow" (December 6, 2011).

While one might quibble with *Time*'s estimation of Gandhi's influence, as well as that of the 2011 protestors, the more important point is that some of the major events and figures of the past century, as well as earlier, are bound up with social movements. And that is particularly true today, as social movements and the activities with which they are associated have become an increasingly conspicuous feature of the social landscape. Indeed, rarely does a day go by in which a major daily newspaper does not refer to social movement activity in relation to one or more of the passionately contested issues of our time: abortion, austerity, civil rights, democratization, environmental protection, family values, gender equality, governmental intrusion and overreach, gun control, human rights, healthcare, immigration, income inequality, LGBTQ rights, labor and management conflict, nuclear weapons, populism, policy brutality, religious freedom, terrorism, war, world poverty, and so on. In fact, it is difficult to think of major national or international social issues in which social movements and related collective action events are not involved on one or both sides of the issues. Of course, not all social movements speak directly to, or play a significant role in, major national or international issues, as some are primarily local in terms of the scope and target of their actions. Examples include petitions against the proposed siting of "big box" stores such as Walmart, home-owners protesting the proximate location of a homeless shelter or refugee center, or the expansion of a local hospital, which would increase traffic through the targeted neighborhood. In addition to being local in terms of their constituents and targets, such movements typically go unnoticed beyond the local context because they operate beneath the radar of the national and international media. Nonetheless, such local movement activity probably occurs much more frequently than the large-scale protest events that are more likely to capture the national media's attention.

Because of such observations and considerations, it might be argued that we live not only in a "movement society" (Meyer and Tarrow 1998; Soule and Earl 2005), but even in a movement world. In the Preface to the reissue of his highly regarded historical account of the people, ideas, and events that shaped the New Left in the 1960s, entitled *Democracy Is in the Streets*, James Miller (1994) ponders the legacy of that period, and concludes that maybe its most enduring contributions were cultural. Perhaps so, but only insofar as the cultural includes models for political participation and action. Why? Because whatever the significant consequences of the 1960s, certainly one of the most important was that the movements of that period pushed open the doors to the streets, arguably wider than for some time, as a major venue for aggrieved citizens to press their claims. And large numbers of citizens have "takin' it to the streets" ever since in the US and elsewhere to express their collective views on all kinds of issues, although often at a decreasing rate of increase with variation across types of political engagement and time (see Dalton 2013; Norris 2002; Quaranta 2016; van Deth 2011).[1] For example, in an assessment of forms of political

protest in Western Europe from 1981 to 2009, Quaranta (2016) found that while there has been an expansion of protest in Western Europe, its popularity and diffusion vary by the type of protest, with an increase in the popularity of petitioning, boycotting, and attending demonstrations in contrast to more confrontational forms of protests, such as unofficial strikes and occupations, which have not increased proportionately. Such variation notwithstanding, it is arguable that social movements and the activities they sponsor have become a kind of fifth estate in the world today. If so, then understanding our own societies, as well as the larger social world in which they are embedded, clearly requires some knowledge and understanding of social movements and the activities with which they are associated.

In addition to giving voice and being a conspicuous element in modern society, social movements can also be highly influential, and these impacts can be far-reaching. Not only did the New Left produce a lasting cultural legacy, other movements have done so as well. The women's movement of the 1960s and the 1970s brought profound changes in how women's roles in society were understood (Rosen 2000). The black civil rights movement succeeded in winning not only foundational Supreme Court decisions such as *Brown v. Board of Education*, but the movement spurred the Kennedy administration to initiate steps toward federal legislation addressing racial inequality (Greenberg 2004; Risen 2014). The global environmental movement, a rapidly growing and diverse collection of actors, that simultaneously "reach[es] up to states" and "down to the local communities" to educate the public, monitor environmental degradation, and pressure political leadership, is winning the passage of global pro-environmental treaties and law (Princen and Finger 1994: 11; see also Longhofer, Schofer, Miric, and Frank 2016). Moreover, scholars increasingly examine the biographical impacts of movements. Those participating in movement activism, for instance, experience changes in their worldviews and personal identities, their choices in career and marriage, and their social networks of friends and acquaintances (McAdam 1989). While social movements are certainly not always successful and sometimes the changes they foster are unintended and provoke a backlash, as in the case of the breathtaking movements of the 2011 Arab Spring, their effects can unfold at multiple levels, from the broad political and cultural realms to the everyday lives of movement participants.

Just as social movement activity appears to have become a more ubiquitous social form in the world today, even to the point of becoming a routinized avenue for expressing publicly collective grievances, so too there has been a corresponding proliferation of scholarly research on social movements and related activity throughout much of the world, and particularly within Europe and the US. Taking what are generally regarded as the top four journals in American sociology (*American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Forces*, and *Social Problems*), for example, there has been an increase in the proportion of collective action and social movement articles published in these journals since the middle of the past century: from 2.23% for the 1950s, to 4.13% for the 1970s, to 9.45% for the 1990s and 8.72% for 2006–2015.[2] Also suggestive of growing scholarly interest in the study of social movements is the relatively large number of edited volumes, published since the early 1990s (e.g. Costain and McFarland 1998; Davenport, Johnston, and Mueller 2005; della Porta, Kriesi, and Rucht 1999; Diani and McAdam 2003; Givans, Roberts, and Soule 2010; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001; Jenkins

and Klandermans 1995; Johnston and Klandermans 1995; Larana, Johnston, and Gusfield 1994; Maney et al. 2012; Mansbridge and Morris 2001; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996; Meyer and Tarrow 1998; Meyer, Whittier, and Robnett 2002; Morris and Mueller 1992; Reger, Myers, and Einwohner 2008; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 1997; Stryker, Owens, and White 2000; Van Dyke and McCammon 2010; Van Stekelenburg, Roggeband, and Klandermans 2013). As well, during the past couple of decades scholars have produced a number of social movement texts (Buechler 2000; della Porta and Diani 1999; Garner 1996; Johnston 2014; Meyer 2007; Snow and Soule 2010; Staggenborg 2008; Tarrow 1998), and edited, text-like readers (Buechler and Cylke, Jr. 1997; Darnovsky, Epstein, and Flacks 1995; Goodwin and Jasper 2003; Lyman 1995; McAdam and Snow 2010), as well as a three-volume encyclopedia of social and political movements (Snow, della Porta, Klandermans, and McAdam 2013). The publication of two international journals of research and theory about social movements and related collective actions – *Mobilization* (published in the US) and *Social Movement Studies* (published in the UK) – also points to increasing scholarship in this area.

Clearly there has been a proliferation of research and writing on social movements during the past several decades. Yet, there was no single volume that provided in-depth, synthetic examinations of a comprehensive set of movement-related topics and issues in a fashion that reflected and embodied the growing internationalization of social movement scholarship until the 2004 publication of *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. A more recent addition to this comprehensive genre of original essays is della Porta and Diani's *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (2015), which also opens up the analysis to other fields, such as communication, geography, and history. The current volume is an extensive and expansive revision of our 2004 volume, one that builds further on this growing comprehensive genre of movement scholarship by covering the major processes and issues generally regarded as relevant to understanding the course and character, indeed the dynamics, of social movements, as well as the major intersections between the study of social movements and other sectors and dimensions of social life, such as gender, social class, race and ethnicity, religion, nationalism, war, and terrorism. And, in doing so, it provides broader coverage, and thus is more comprehensive, than other existing edited volumes and texts on social movements. This topical breadth is afforded without sacrificing focus and detail, as each of the contributions to the volume provides an in-depth, state-of-the-art overview of the topics addressed, whether it be facilitative contexts or conditions, strategies and tactics, or a particular set of outcomes. In addition, the volume attempts to open up social movement research to developments in related areas of study. Thus, the last part of the volume is dedicated to "thematic intersections" between social movement research and related fields and opens up the conversation between major social movement agendas and those in related fields. And, finally, in recognition of the growing internationalization of social movement scholarship, the volume was compiled with the additional objective of reflecting this internationalization in terms of both empirical substance and chapter authorship. Our objective with this volume, then, is to provide in-depth, synthetic examinations of a comprehensive set of movement-related topics, issues, and intersections by a blend of a cross-section of established, internationally recognized scholars with a more recent generation of scholars of increasing recognition.

Before outlining how we have organized the contributions that comprise this volume, we seek to establish a conceptualization of social movements that is sufficiently broad so as not to exclude the various and sundry types of social movements while sufficiently bounded to allow us to distinguish movements from other social phenomena that may bear a resemblance to social movements but yet are quite different.

Conceptualizing Social Movements[3]

Definitions of social movements are not hard to come by. They are readily provided in most text-like treatments of the topic (e.g. della Porta and Diani 1999; Snow and Soule 2010; Tarrow 1998; Turner and Killian 1987), in edited volumes of conference proceedings and previously published articles and scholarly papers (e.g. Goodwin and Jasper 2003; McAdam and Snow 2010; Meyer and Tarrow 1998), and in summary, encyclopedia-like essays (e.g. Benford, Gongaware, and Valadez 2000; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1988, Snow and Tan 2015). Although the various definitions of movements may differ in terms of what is emphasized or accented, most are based on three or more of the following axes: collective or joint action; change-oriented goals or claims; some extra- or non-institutional collective action; some degree of organization; and some degree of temporal continuity. Thus, rather than begin with a straightforward conceptualization, we consider first these conceptual axes.

Social movements as a form of collective action

Social movements are only one of numerous forms of collective action. Other types include much crowd behavior, as when sports and rock fans roar and applaud in unison; some riot behavior, as when looting rioters focus on some stores or products rather than others; some interest group behavior, as when the National Rifle Association mobilizes large numbers of its adherents to write or phone their respective congressional representatives; some "gang" behavior, as when gang members work the streets together; and large-scale revolutions. Since these are only a few examples of the array of behaviors that fall under the collective action umbrella, it is useful to clarify the character of social movements as a type of collective action.

At its most elementary level, collective action consists of any goal-directed activity engaged in jointly by two or more individuals. It entails the pursuit of a common objective through joint action – that is people working together in some fashion for a variety of reasons, often including the belief that doing so enhances the prospect of achieving the objective. Since collective action so defined obviously includes a large number of human behaviors, it is useful to differentiate those collective actions that are social movements from other forms of collective action. Social movements entail actors (and their actions) that collectively challenge authorities, sometimes in an attempt to bring about social change, but in other circumstances to prevent such change from occurring. Social movements often use non-institutionalized means of action, such as appropriating and using public and quasi-public places for purposes

other than for which they were designed or intended. But they also sometimes agitate inside institutional settings, including inside the government (Banaszak 2010), schools (McCammon et al. 2017), religious institutions (Katzenstein 1998), and corporations (Soule 2009), challenging and pressuring authorities in these settings. Social movement actors, as David Meyer explains, contest a variety of norms and practices, including law and policy, cultural beliefs and values, and everyday and institutional practices (2007: 10). As Sidney Tarrow notes, collective movement action "takes many forms – brief or sustained, institutionalized or disruptive, humdrum or dramatic" (1998: 3).

Social movements and collective behavior

Parsing collective action into social movements and other forms of collective activity still leaves numerous collective actions within the latter category. Traditionally, most of these non-movement collective actions have been treated as varieties of collective behavior. Broadly conceived, collective behavior refers to group action that tends to be more spontaneous and often emotionally driven, as might occur in mass or diffuse phenomena, such as panics, fads, crazes, and sometimes riots.[4] Thus, social movements differ significantly from most other variants of collective action in that, as we discuss below, social movements are coordinated and planned collective action typically involving articulated grievances and claims.

Social movements and interest groups

Just as social movements overlap to some degree with some forms of collective action, they also overlap with interest groups, which also comprise another set of collective actors that are often equated with social movements. Clearly interest groups, such as Planned Parenthood and the Christian Coalition, and some social movements, such as the pro-choice and pro-life movements, are quite similar in terms of the interests and objectives they share with respect to some aspect of social life. Yet there are also noteworthy differences. First, interest groups are generally defined in relation to the government or polity (Walker 1991), whereas the relevance and interests of social movements extend well beyond the polity to other institutional spheres and authorities. Second, even when social movements are directly oriented to the polity or state, their standing is different. Interest groups are generally embedded within the political arena, as most are regarded as legitimate actors within it, although, depending on the group holding political power, interest groups once considered as legitimate political players may now be deemed outsiders. Social movements, on the other hand, are typically outside of the polity, or overlap with it in a precarious fashion, because they seldom have the same standing or degree of access to or recognition among political authorities. A third difference follows: interest groups pursue their collective objectives mainly through institutionalized means, such as lobbying and soliciting campaign contributions, whereas social movements pursue their collective ends mainly via the use of non-institutional means, such as conducting marches, boycotts, and sit-ins.[5]

Connections and overlaps

To note the distinction among social movements, other varieties of collective behavior, and interest groups is not to assert that they do not overlap at times.