CHAPTER 2

Concepts and Definitions

The Boston Tea Party ... the Committees of Correspondence ... the Fourth of July and the Declaration of Independence ... Thomas Jefferson's words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" ... the shot heard round the world ... the Continental Congress ... the winter at Valley Forge ... George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette ... the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Every schoolchild in the United States has heard these names and phrases, so familiar and timeworn that it is difficult to think about them with surprise and curiosity. But repeat them to yourself slowly and ask yourself about the story behind each one. Why did a group of Bostonians dress up as Indians and dump tea in the harbor? What was in the letters of the Committees of Correspondence? Why would a wealthy slaveowner like Thomas Jefferson write such stirring words about equality? Who fired the "shot heard round the world" and why did the conflict between England and the colonists become violent—could it have been otherwise? Why did the French king send help to antiroyalist insurgents? What values, interests, and compromises are packaged into the Constitution? ·

As we try to answer these questions, we discover that the simple stories of our elementary school days are events and incidents of a complex process—the making of a revolution and the establishment of a nation based on the ideals of the revolutionaries. As we think about these questions, we begin to look at all the elements of a movement—its ideas, its supporters, its organization and strategies. We begin to see the powerful opposition that movements face and the way movement activists attempt to beat the odds to change the reality that everyone else believes is unchangeable.

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I will define movement and introduce terms that social scientists use to analyze the ideas, organization, and strategies of movements. These terms refer to parts or elements of movements and to the processes in which movements are involved. The terms are shared by most of the theories discussed in the next chapter.

11·

MOVEMENTS

Noninstitutionalized Discourses and Practices of Change

What is a movement? A movement is constituted by human beings engaged in discourses and practices designed to challenge and change society as they define it. It is formed by people who, over the course of time, are involved in non-institutionalized discourses and practices of change.

It is important to recognize that, like many terms in the social sciences, "movement" is an abstraction from reality. A movement is not really a "thing"—a physical object like a desk or a loaf of bread. All that really exists in society are human beings engaged in practices and discourses. To put it a little differently, what we call society, institutions, and movements are always human beings engaged in actions, interacting with each other, and using the human capacity for language and symbol (Blumer, 1951).

Practices means *doing;* this doing includes talking, writing, engaging in physical violence, and many other kinds of interactions. Practices can also involve physical objects—flags, guns, desks, books.

Discourses means *saying* something, so a discourse is really one specific type of practice. Discourses can be written, spoken, or electronically recorded. Discourse is usually taken to mean a cluster of statements, not just isolated utterances of everyday life (like "please pass the biscuits"); a discourse puts together statements about what is construed to be reality. A discourse often includes an explicit or implicit rule about what can or cannot be said.

Discourses and Practices of Change   A movement is really a number of people engaged in specific practices and discourses. The discourses are about changing society and/or individuals, about bringing into being a state of affairs that is in some way different from the existing one. The discourse of a movement always says something negative about the existing situation as it is defined by the movement. Even a movement that seeks to preserve the status quo is reacting to fears of impending change. The practices of a movement are those actions that the actors believe will bring about the changes considered desirable.

Noninstitutionalized Practices and Discourses   A movement is people engaged in activities that are not institutionalized. *Institution* is another social sciences term that appears to refer to a thing but really refers to human beings engaged in practices and discourses. To say that practices and discourses are institutionalized means that they recur on a regular basis, persist over time, are to be found throughout a society, and encounter relatively few social controls to prevent them from taking place. Institutions are supported by legitimating discourses, discourses that support the institution by saying it is legal, moral, good for society, and so on; for example, one could say that, in the United States in the 1990s, capitalism—private enterprise and free markets—is pretty well institutionalized. Its practices are recurrent and found everywhere; a discourse of opposition to it is not widely found. Other established practices, like the legal

Other practices are widely found, but not institutionalized. Acts like rape and robbery may take place frequently, but there are strong discourses and practices opposed to such acts. In the United States, the practices of the law treat robbery and rape as crimes, while they do not treat capitalist property claims as a crime or as a problem.

These examples highlight some of the meaning of institutionalized and noninstitutionalized practices, although the reader can see that this definition is not a simple matter, since many practices fall in the middle. These practices are the subject of ongoing negotiations between those who want to institutionalize them and those who oppose their institutionalization. Movements are involved in conflict over what is or is not institutionalized and legitimated. This conflict and negotiation over institutionalization applies both to the goals of movements and to the means they use.

Movement goals are often focused precisely on these practices in the middle, like the formation of churches by cult groups, the legalization of marijuana by libertarians, the establishment of domestic partnership benefits for gays and lesbians, or the extension of rights to publish and circulate information in a society with government censorship of the media.

Although movements are not themselves institutionalized, they often use institutionalized means for attaining their goals; for example, forming political parties or winning court cases. These examples show that institutionalized or noninstitutionalized is not a sharp distinction, but a difference that is itself the subject of dispute and negotiation.

Movements are noninstitutionalized in several ways. Not all movements share all of the following characteristics, which merely suggest some of the ways in which movements fall outside institutions—the routine, time-tested, widespread, and fully legitimated activities of a society.

First, movement discourses and practices may *not be widely shared.* Thus, there is little that is widely diffused or commonplace about them. Compared to the number of people engaged in jobs and families, the number of people engaged in social movements is rather small. Movements range in size from mass movements involving millions of people who may actually form a majority of a country's population—like some of the mass socialist parties in Europe—to small sectlike groups numbering in the hundreds—like the Branch Davidians. But even the mass movements do not include everyone.

Second, movement discourses and practices may be *generally opposed or opposed by people in power,* groups that sociologists call agents of social control. Such groups have the ability to restrict movement activity through a set of practices, for instance through the legal system. These opposing forces are often, but not always, concentrated in the institution of the state, in the political system. For example, in the spring of 1993, the FBI and other agencies of the federal government decided to put an end to the activities of the Branch Davidian cult, which had retreated to a bunker near Waco, Texas, and stockpiled arms. The government's siege of the bunker is an example of social control, of efforts to limit or halt movement actions and define such actions as dangerous or disruptive.

Third, insofar as their discourses refer to bringing about a situation that does not exist, the movement ideologies are *not well embedded in the practices of everyday life*. They thus have something ethereal or unrealistic about them. They are disconnected from practices that people have to engage in to survive on a daily basis and to satisfy physical needs. It is usually much more difficult to "live" one's movement attachment than to "live" one's occupation or conventional gender roles. This difficulty is also inherent in institutionalized religious discourse, but organized religion has developed rituals and relationships that connect teachings to everyday life. Being a physician or a practicing Catholic are identities that are guided by existing rules, roles, and relationships. Living as a socialist in the United States or preparing for the Rapture as a Christian fundamentalist are identities and practices that have to be invented in opposition to prevailing discourses and practices.

Fourth, movement practices and discourses are often newly invented or are new reformulations of other discourses; they are *not yet recurrent and seem not to have "stood the test of time."*

It is important to realize that the distinction between institutionalized and noninstitutionalized is not clear-cut and rigid. The lines are constantly renegotiated among movement adherents, social control agents, sympathizers, the media, and so on. Many movements exist in a disputed area between institutionalized and noninstitutionalized behavior.

Within a movement, some organizations may engage in institutionalized actions, while others do not. For example, some organizations in the environmental movement in the United States lobby Congress, an institutionalized practice. Others (like Greenpeace or local antinuclear power groups) use sit-ins and other forms of direct action, which are usually considered noninstitutionalized.

Movements themselves may be quite conflicted about whether they want to become more institutionalized or not. If they do become institutionalized, they probably expand their resources and their support bases and become more likely to accomplish some reforms. But institutionalization may also make them too routinized or inclined to compromise, and thereby reduce their ability to challenge the status quo.

For example, for many years the NAACP had been seen as rather institutionalized by the media, much of its support base among African Americans and white supporters of civil rights, and the public at large. Its primary focus was on civil rights court cases, which were generally handled by professional staffers and attorneys. In the early 1990s, the organization organized more meetings with radical black groups like the Nation of Islam ("Black Muslims") and participated in gang summits in some cities. These new activities reduced its perceived institutionalization and led to the disaffection of some of its previous supporters, but perhaps gained it new supporters and expanded its challenge to the racial status quo in the United States (Muwakkil, 1994).

In other words, institutionalized and noninstitutionalized are terms whose meanings are negotiated by movements, media, movement organizations, and

external supporters and opponents. They involve constant shifts and redefinitions of actions, rather than fixed characteristics. Let me reformulate my definition. A key characteristic of social movements is that they blur and challenge the distinction between institutionalized and noninstitutionalized practices.

Reform and Revolution   At this point, many texts on movements proceed to classify movements, often distinguishing revolutionary movements that seek total change from reform movements that seek only partial changes in society. Reform movements also tend to use institutionalized means, while revolutionary movements do not and are more inclined toward violence and other extralegal strategies. I am going to be cautious about classifying movements in this way or any other, because these differences are often quite fluid. Movement participants themselves are usually too shrewd to treat the difference between reform and revolution as permanent. All the societal-political movements look toward a major transformation of society and in this sense are revolutionary; reform is often seen more as a cautious first step or an expedient strategy than a final outcome.

Having defined movements as people engaged in noninstitutionalized discourses and practices aimed at changing society, I am now going to define elements of movement practice.

IDEOLOGY

Discourse

Ideology refers to the discourses of the movement, to what people think and say. The ideology is the ideas held by people who see themselves as connected to the movement. A little more specifically, the ideology is the set of ideas expressed by the most active participants (Greene, 1990).

Usually, an ideology has some degree of coherence; the ideas hang together in some way. The discourses are interconnected. The discourses specify some way of looking at reality. They specify what is *really important*. They are a way of making sense of life experiences and situations. The discourses spell out what the current situation is and why it should be changed. They identify some preferable state of affairs that becomes the goal of the movement. For example, Operation Rescue identifies conception as the starting point of life and specifies the overriding importance of protecting the fetus; this goal is central to the movement's understanding of what *really matters* and brings with it the practice of stopping abortion by a large variety of legal and illegal means.

Notice how ideologies carry with them a certain language, a set of rules about how to talk, about how to say things, and about what can and cannot be said. For Operation Rescue, the fetus is an unborn child. Of course, this concern for words is an essential feature of all discourses, not just movement discourses. The choice of words is inherent in the human capacity for language. In this respect, movements are not different from institutionalized discourses. Many in-

stitutionalized discourses also carefully specify ways of talking: The use of a Latin- and Greek-based vocabulary in medicine or of a special terminology in law are good examples of very structured and specialized institutional discourses that participants learn and use in highly self-conscious ways. But, in movements, the participants underline the tension in the difference between their discourse and that of others.

Let's look in a little more detail at ideological discourses. We can say that attention is focused on representations of reality. A discourse presents a certain view of what "reality" is. It attempts to capture the nearly infinite complexity of the world in a number of key images and key terms. It highlights some aspects of reality and ignores or specifically dismisses others.

For example, Operation Rescue focuses attention on the first 9 months of human life and on the relationship of women to their children; fetuses are represented as unborn children and women are represented largely as actual or potential mothers. Pregnancies are represented as unexpected rather than as unwanted. In contrast, the movement to keep abortion legal represents itself as standing for *choice*; women are represented as people with a range of roles. The unborn child of Operation Rescue is a fetus to those who participate in the movement to keep abortions legal. Both movements tend to highlight the issue of the first weeks or months of human life and fetal development. Both recognize that the quality of life of (born) children and adults is an important issue, yet the problems of child care, education, health care, and so on, are not the primary focus of either movement's discourse. Operation Rescue gives little—and largely negative—attention to contraception.

Movement discourses speak about some elements of reality, not others, and this selection of a sphere of discourse contains the *why* of the movement.

Symbols

Differences in representation are easily concentrated and compressed into symbols and slogans: *Life* and *choice* have become dramatic shorthand ways of referring to the legality of abortion. Some current movement theorists prefer to use the term framing for the way in which movements organize their discourses and align them with the values, ideas, and discourses they believe to be prevalent in society; I will return to this concept in the next chapter (Snow and Benford, 1988).

Sometimes, institutionalized discourses set limits to movement representations and a movement ideology has to use "code words." For instance, when former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke ran for public office in Louisiana, he used words like "welfare" to appeal to some white voters' sentiment against poor black people, since direct racial remarks have become off-limits in U.S. electoral campaigns.

Representations are also translated from words to visual images and symbols. A swastika refers to the Nazis and is a way of calling up all they stood for—the Führer, ethnic genocide, anti-semitism, the "Aryan race" and racialist ideas, and so on. The Virgin of Guadalupe—the Madonna represented as an Indian

woman—was a powerful symbol in Cesar Chavez' organization of Catholic Mexican American farmworkers. Her image as a dark-complexioned woman in a blue cloak lined with roses refers to a Mexican tradition that dates back to the sixteenth century, when her apparition gave value to the hopes of the oppressed and conquered Native Americans who had been recently and forcibly converted to the Christian faith. The gay rights movement has used a pink triangle as its symbol, in an ironic gesture; the Nazis imprisoned homosexuals, and just as they made Jews wear a yellow star, they made homosexuals wear a pink triangle. The gay rights movement adopted this symbol, turning its negative meaning into an affirming symbol of solidarity and defiance. An "X" is associated with Malcolm X, who selected this letter to replace the English surname (Little) that linked his family to slave owners; the letter X stands for a break with Eurocentrism and the burden of having been someone else's property.

Some symbols are condensation symbols that stand for everything that the movement is "about"; they are a shorthand for its discourses and practices, ideas and goals. Sometimes a leader, an individual, may serve as such a symbol. Martin Luther King was not only an actual leader and organizer of the Civil Rights Movement, but also a symbol of nonviolent opposition to injustice. The Ayatollah Khomeini became a symbol of the Islamic revolution in Iran; millions of people came to his funeral to express not only their reverence for him as an individual but also their unity with all the goals and hopes of the movement.

In some cases, the leader as a condensation symbol can be said to become the object of a cult of personality or cult of the individual. The term was first used in communist and socialist movements to refer to a worshipful attitude toward Joseph Stalin and, later, Mao Zedong. Socialism in the Soviet Union and China was distorted by an uncritical obedience to powerful party leaders (Deutscher, 1966). This expression always has a negative connotation and implies that movement participants have lost sight of the distinction between the values of the movement and the accomplishments of any individual human being, no matter how talented or important to the organization. It implies that the movement participants have come to worship the individual leader.

Negative Symbols: Scapegoats and Folk Devils

Movements also deal extensively in negative symbols. Some movements scapegoat specific groups in society, identifying them as the source of all evil and calling for their suppression, expulsion, or even extermination in order to begin cleansing and revitalizing the society. When a movement comes to power it may begin its program of change by attacking such groups. Ethnoracist movements like the Nazis and neo-Nazis point to ethnic groups (for example, Jews and Gypsies) in this way.

Scapegoating is also closely related to identifying folk devils, groups that are defined as a threat to vital values and interests (Cohen, 1973). Movements may use folk devils to frame their definition of the current condition of society as one that is evil, threatening, or inadequate. The schools are being taken over by secular humanists, according to parts of the New Christian Right. Jews run

[handwritten margin note: Movements can be cast as folk-devils by non-members (social control agents, media, etc.) (Union Busting)]

Wall Street or Washington, according to the neo-Nazis. Some populist movements may talk about shadowy "elites" whose machinations threaten ordinary citizens.

Not surprisingly, movements engage in scapegoating and identifying folk devils and are often stereotyped and targeted as folk devils by nonmembers, social control agents, the media, and countermovements. "Islamic terrorists," for instance, are folk devils in the United States, probably out of proportion to their actual operations in the west. The "femi-Nazi" is a folk devil that conveniently blends two rather different movements; it is a folk devil used to create loathing for feminism by linking it with a movement that most Americans find repugnant (Nazism). The New Christian Right, on the one hand, and left and libertarian groups, on the other, portray each other as threats to core American values. We will return to some of these processes when we look at movements and countermovements.

Sometimes movements are largely invented, especially by local media, in order to provide folk devils and scapegoats who can be blamed for youthful misconduct, alienation among teens, and other social problems—satanic cults are a prime example (Gaines, 1992).

Practices

An ideology is not only a set of words or visual images. It is also lived in practices. Rituals and routines embody the ideas of the movement. Going to demonstrations, selling movement newspapers, and dressing in a certain style all convey to oneself and others a solidarity with the ideas of the movement. Engagement in these activities is not just "going through the motions." It is an affirmation that the movement is meaningful.

Before leaving the topic of ideologies and symbols, let us note that many movements are not totally consistent in their ideologies. They recognize that their discourses need to be nuanced for different actual and potential supporters. Some theorists use the term constituencies for these different categories of supporters. For example, when the Nazis were trying to gain influence with conservative German political and industrial elites, they represented themselves as anti-Communist and pro law and order. When they addressed crowds of young, unemployed, and uprooted followers they highlighted their "action" orientation, their street fighting ways, and their opposition to the institutions of capitalism.

Movements also shift their ideologies in order to respond to changing environments or correct mistakes in their earlier "line." For example, the Comintern (an international network of Communist parties and movements) realized in the mid-1930s that the policy of opposition to moderate socialists and centrist democratic parties had inadvertently made it easier for the Nazis to come to power; the Comintern shifted to a "popular front" discourse that emphasized common interests among socialist, communist, and centrist forces and laid the groundwork for a Soviet-western alliance against the Axis (Germany, Japan, and Italy) in World War II (Abendroth, 1972).

60

Couching ideology as 'best for everyone'

Ideologies as Universalizing Discourses

Ideologies often make claims that their discourse is good for everyone (or at the very least, for a wide range of people); this claim is what is meant by universalizing the discourse of the movement. Within the ideology there may be goals that reflect the self-interest of some category of people. For example the value of free enterprise may be greater for a business owner than for a worker. The value that feminism places on expanded rights for women is more immediately in the interest of women than of men. But, ideologies have to package these narrower goals in terms that make the ideology appealing to a broad range of people. Historically, free enterprise has been packaged together with freedom in general, which may appeal as strongly to the worker as the business owner. Feminism offers more than an end to male domination; it offers everyone—men as well as women—a society with less hierarchy and less violence.

As specific ideologies are discussed, ways in which appeals to a core support base are broadened and universalized to attract a larger range of participants will be indicated. Only movements with broad-based appeals can put together a bloc of diverse supporters (Gramsci, 1971; Garner and Garner, 1981).

Ideologies and Lies

The term ideology is often used to mean a *false* representation of reality, a false consciousness that is distinct from a scientific one. In addition, it is used to mean a false consciousness that is propagated by the classes that dominate a society economically, culturally, and politically. Here I am not using the term this way; when I speak of a movement's ideology I am not implying that its ideas are false, only that they are coherent and interconnected. A movement that is not in power can be said to have an ideology, just as the ruling classes of a society propagate an ideology that supports their dominance. Here I am using *ideology* in the most general way as a system of discourses, without reference to truth or falsity. Be aware that the term has several different meanings to social scientists.

Can Movement Ideologies Be Classified?

Fluidity in discourse, over time or for different audiences, makes it difficult to classify movements into rigid typologies. Two major typologies are commonly used, however.

Reform or Revolution One typology distinguishes reform movements from revolutionary movements. The former seek to change some aspect of society, some specific institution; in other words, some specific set of practices. The latter seek to change the totality of practices; their goal is to change all institutions, and in their discourse they view "society" as a system that has to be changed completely if it is to be changed at all. Some scholars prefer to use terms like reformative to refer to movements with a limited scope and transformative for movements with the goal of changing the whole social order (Aberle, 1966).

For instance, the Chicago Recycling Coalition is a reform movement; it seeks to change the way individual citizens dispose of trash and the way the city of Chicago handles waste disposal. Its goals are fairly limited, not only in its geographic scope, but also in the set of practices it targets for change. In contrast, revolutionary socialism or Islamic integralism have broad goals of change; in the view of their ideologies, everything in a society should be different—law, politics, the economy, the family. Most important, not only should each of these institutions be changed, but the way in which the institutions are put together—the very form of the whole society—should change.

Sometimes it is not so easy to tell reform movements from revolutionary movements. A movement may appear to target a specific set of practices for change, when, in fact, its goal is a much larger vision of change. For instance, Operation Rescue appears to be a single-issue movement focused on abolishing legal abortions. Is that really all there is to it? Or is that goal only part of a larger goal of transforming family life, gender relations, and the relationship between church and state in American life (Luker, 1984)? Some individual participants might talk about a specific concern—abortion—but others, including leaders, might refer to a vision of society that challenges the individualism and secularism they believe currently prevails. Thus, we will use the reform/revolution dichotomy very cautiously, keeping in mind that a movement may have elements of both, shifting back and forth in different situations or for different types of supporters.

Left and Right?   A second major typology that is often used in the study of political movements is the distinction between the left and the right. This spatial metaphor derived from seating in the Assembly, a parliamentary body that was part of the government of France during the period of the French Revolution. The further left a person sat the more he favored radical measures of redistributing property to poorer people and undoing the power of the monarchy and the nobility. The right was the area of the conservatives, who favored protecting existing property rights and undertaking only limited changes in the political system.

Since then, the core of the left has come to be associated with socialist and communist movements; more generally, it stands for an emphasis on human equality and takes the view that rights to survival and physical well-being supersede property rights. The left is more inclined to make systemic changes. The right is more conservative, less inclined to challenge existing institutions, more convinced that hierarchy and continuity of traditions, rather than equality, are essential in human society, and more sympathetic toward property rights.

Rather than think about left-right as a dichotomy, it is more useful to think of it as a spectrum. Socialists and communists are clearly left; Reagan and Thatcher conservatives (and their successors) are fairly clearly right. There is also a center, somewhere between these two positions. Movements, parties, and points of view can be placed along the spectrum. For example, in the United States, the Democratic Party is left of the Republicans, but not very far left on the spectrum as a whole.

This distinction breaks down at times, however. Left/right really covers several dimensions: One is the attitude toward economic equality—the left is more strongly for it, the right does not give it high priority. So far, the distinction is fairly clear, but the spectrum becomes more complicated when we add other dimensions of ideology to the issue of economic equality. The second dimension is government control over individual behavior. The third dimension is the attitude toward the power of the state in general. Once we add these last two dimensions the spectrum becomes less clear. ·

The left includes forces that would strengthen state power, especially in the economic sphere, and forces that would reduce it, especially in the sphere of personal liberties. Traditionally, the left has been willing to use the power of the state to promote more economic equality. However, there are substantial parts of the left that would like to reduce the power of the state, and especially the power of the state to regulate personal behavior. This libertarian left, which was quite a strong current in the New Left of the 1960s, would like to eliminate or reduce laws like antisodomy laws or harsh penalties for drug use.

The right is generally opposed to having the state do things like regulate business or redistribute tax revenues to equalize economic standing; but some parts of the right are not opposed to having the state regulate personal behavior, so it cannot really be said that all of the right is consistently for less government. Examples of the right's willingness to use government to regulate personal behavior include the Reagan-Bush war on drugs and the passing of laws restricting access to abortions, a policy supported by the right wing of the Republican Party.

 In Latin America, right-wing military dictatorships have intervened deeply in their societies, restricting civil rights and using the power of the state to suppress dissent and prevent political organization. Movements and regimes described as "far right"—like the Italian Fascists and the Nazis—*were active* in regulating and directing the economy. They left enterprises in private ownership but did not shy away from interfering with the market mechanism.

As you can see, the left/right distinction holds up fairly well in the middle of the spectrum. For example, in the United States, we might place Reagan conservatives on the right; next are moderate Republicans and conservative Democrats; then, a bit further to the left, liberal Democrats; and leftmost, moderate socialists. In the middle of the spectrum the terms *progressive* and *conservative* are often used to refer to the left and right positions. Progressives see themselves as working for progress toward more social and economic equality and a more democratic political system. Conservatives see themselves as preserving a more laissez-faire type of economy and more traditional forms of family life.

The problems of the left/right distinction are more serious near the ends of the spectrum. Both ends tend to split over questions of state power; the split separates libertarians from proponents of the strong state, on *both* the left and the right. At the far left, we can find anarchists and left-wing libertarians (pro-economic equality, anti-state power) as well as supporters of centralized redistribution (extensive state involvement in society in the name of a vision of social equality in the future) (Polanyi, 1957). At the far right, we can find right-

wing libertarians (pro-free market, anti-state power) as well as fascists and right-wing authoritarians (extensive state involvement in society and economy, support for a strong state, little concern for socioeconomic equality, and explicit opposition to equality), and right-wing anarchists.

Alliances and coalitions can form at each end of the spectrum, but these alliances may be unstable or unable to agree on policies. For example, in the elections in the spring of 1994 in Italy, the neofascist sectors of the right that supported a strong centralized state and extensive state enterprise entered into an electoral alliance with right-wing political groups that called for a weaker state, cuts in spending, extensive tax cuts, privatization of state-run services and enterprises, and a federal structure in place of a centralized one. Although all the forces in this electoral alliance are considered right wing, they had difficulty in agreeing on a single program for a governing coalition (Leonardi, 1994).

"Post" Left and Right?   Theorists of the postmodern often imply that part of postmodernity is that the left/right distinction no longer makes much sense. The left/right dimension has run into problems with the collapse of the political systems headed by Communist parties in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The disappearance of such a powerfully institutionalized left position has made it more difficult to define "leftness."

Surveying the scene in Moscow or Warsaw, journalists and social scientists have trouble deciding who is left or right, and find it easier to use the terms liberal and conservative. Liberals favor more market mechanisms and western-style democracy; conservatives favor a return to central planning and a stronger state. This usage of terms is quite different from the standard U.S. usage, but closer to the original meaning of liberal and conservative in the nineteenth century. It is difficult to match the liberals and conservatives with a left or right position in this case.

Movements like religious fundamentalism and ethnic nationalism that have emerged with great vigor after the end of the cold war often do not seem to fall very neatly on the left/right spectrum. Therefore, the left/right typology has to be used with great caution and precision, and with full recognition of shifting ideologies in the post-cold war world. I believe it is still useful in many contexts.

THE SUPPORT BASE

A second major characteristic of a movement is the support base; this term refers to categories of people likely to agree with the movement's ideology and participate in its practices. Usually, social scientists identify the support base in terms of certain demographic characteristics: social class, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, occupation, region of residence, and so on. Of course, these characterizations of the support base do not apply to every single individual. They are just statements about relatively higher rates of involvement. For example, historians studying the composition of the Nazi Party in the 1930s found that proportionately more lower-middle-class than working-class people were

members. Artisans, small businesspeople, independent farmers, and white-collar workers joined at higher rates than those of factory workers. Thus, one might say that it had a lower-middle-class support base. It also tended to have more support in the Protestant regions of Germany than the Catholic ones.

Some movements draw support from diverse kinds of social bases; this diversity may influence the ideology, which cannot focus exclusively on the concerns of a single group. In this case the movement either has to universalize its ideology, speaking to general concerns or a diffuse "public interest"—or it has to put forth different kinds of appeals to its different types of supporters, hoping that no one will "compare notes." I have already mentioned that the Nazis had a conservative message for industrialists and big business and an action-oriented and vaguely anticapitalist message for unemployed youth.

Other movements may have a precise and narrow support base. For example, in contemporary France there are farmers' movements that favor policies to protect farmers against global competition; these movements have a sharply defined and relatively limited support base.

It is historically accurate to say that movements of the left tend to have a support base among poorer people and/or those who own little or no property. Left-wing ideologies of economic equality, public ownership of enterprises, and redistribution of wealth obviously appeal more to those without property than those with a great deal of it. Mass movements of the right—like fascism and Nazism—have tended to appeal to small property owners; on the one hand, this stratum is afraid of losing what it has, but on the other hand, it feels under pressure from big business, banks, and "capital"—thus it looks for a movement that promises to stand for the "little guy."

Theorists use terms like adherents, constituents, and beneficiaries to refer to different relationships among movements and support bases. Adherents share movement ideologies, constituents provide resources for movements, and beneficiaries stand to gain from movement's attainment of goals (Zald and McCarthy, 1987:23).

Sometimes a distinction is also made between *conscience* constituencies and adherents on the one hand and those supporters who have more immediate self-interest at stake (Zald and McCarthy, 1987:23). For example, in the United States in the 1980s, a Central America solidarity movement opposed Reagan administration policies in the region (especially the contra war against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua), although few adherents had any immediate stake in the outcomes. In contrast, the farmers' movement in contemporary France is engaged in a defense of fairly clearly defined economic interests. In many instances, the differences between conscience and self-interest may be blurred, however.

Intellectuals

Intellectuals have a special role in almost all movements. Since movements deal so extensively in ideologies—in discourses about what should be or could be—they depend on persons who are skillful at inventing discourses, whose specialization is ideas and words. Or to put it another way, intellectuals are par-

ticularly likely to start movements. Almost regardless of the contents of a movement ideology, a movement has a core of intellectuals. Movement intellectuals are often drawn from among students, lawyers, clergy, and professors—particularly those "idea workers" who cannot easily be absorbed into stable employment in a weak economy. For this reason, many movements include individuals of the middle class or lower middle class, especially within the leadership, since these social groups are more likely to be both educated and dissatisfied (Greene, 1990; Lasswell and Lerner, 1966).

Specialists in Violence

Some movements also include specialists in violence. Movements that define themselves as revolutionary, insurgent, or "engaged in armed struggle" need such specialists. In some cases, they are recruited from the ranks of the institutionalized military. For example, the core of the revolutionary forces in the Portuguese revolution of the early 1970s were young officers who had been radicalized by their experience fighting anticolonial guerrillas in Africa. The first insurgents against the right-wing Guatemalan military regime in the early 1960s were young officers (Black et al., 1984). In other cases, a movement may develop its own specialists in violence (Lasswell and Lerner, 1966).

Mobilization

A movement may try to mobilize and involve as participants a large proportion of its support base in one or more organizations. Mass movements are, in part, movements that succeed in doing so. Mass mobilization was an important goal for the European socialist parties that emerged around the turn of the century, for example. Mobilization is especially important when a movement plans to make changes by taking part in electoral politics.

Some movements may give less attention to this project of mobilization, preferring to maintain only small organizations. These small organizations are prepared to penetrate major institutions like the army and swing them around to support for the movement at a moment of crisis when the state is weak. Small organizations can also try to launch guerrilla offensives that may destabilize a government, disorganize its police and military apparatus, and lead to its collapse. This was the strategy of the *foco* in Latin America, based on Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement in Cuba; elsewhere and later in Latin America, in Guatemala and Bolivia in the 1960s, this small movement strategy did not succeed (Black et al., 1984).

ORGANIZATION, STRATEGY, AND TACTICS

Organization

Movement participants arrange their activities, their practices, in a way that they believe will make it possible to attain their goals, the outcomes indicated

[handwritten margin notes, right: "organized implies boundaries (eg, dues) and that its discourse distinguish people in it from out of it."]

by their ideology. A large variety of terms designate different aspects of these arrangements. By **organization** social scientists mean a relatively stable patterning of relationships within the movement. To say that a movement is organized or has an organization also implies that it has boundaries, that a discourse and a set of practices distinguish people in it from those who are not in it, even if the latter are sympathetic to its goals. These boundary-maintenance mechanisms can include practices like paying dues, signing a pledge, or taking an oath of secrecy.

[handwritten margin note, left: "currents of opinion"]

Movements and Movement Organizations The organization differentiates between people who agree with the movement's discourse—the movement in a broad sense—and those who are mobilized to engage in a specific set of relationships and practices. We can thus distinguish between **movements** and **movement organizations** (Zald and Ash, 1966). Some movements remain largely unorganized, taking the form of currents of opinion rather than mobilizing people into one or more specific organizations. For example, the number of people in the United States who are Protestant fundamentalists in their beliefs far exceeds the number of people who are participants in nationwide organizations that represent this viewpoint. These individuals may be mobilized to vote in a specific way or to give money, but they are not members of organizations.

Movements also differ in the extent to which their movement organizations are multiple and competing or single and unified. For example, the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s included a number of organizations: the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, to name a few. Movements that compete as political parties make an effort to unify potential supporters to vote for that party; for example, socialists in Germany are probably more inclined to vote for the SPD (the Socialist Party of Germany, a large mass party), whatever their differences in viewpoint, whereas in a country without a strong socialist party they might be more inclined to form multiple smaller groups. Once in power, a movement organization has access to concrete rewards like patronage jobs or government contracts that strengthen its relationship to the support base.

In short, the relationship among the **support base** (those categories of people that are disproportionately likely to participate in the movement in some form), the **movement** (those who share the ideology and occasionally take part in specific actions), and the **movement organizations** is a complicated one that has to be examined carefully in specific cases. There are marked differences among movements in the extent to which the movement attempts to mobilize its support base into distinct organizations. In most movements the relationship between the movement and the movement organizations is quite fluid; many movement organizations do not have clear boundaries or firm definitions of membership, and adherents "drift" in and out. This tendency toward fluidity has probably increased in recent decades, as many movements take on the form of loose networks, rather than clearly defined organizations (Klandermans, in Morris and Mueller, 1992).

*[handwritten margin notes, left:
"actors"
"1. support base
2. movement
3. movnt organization"]*

67

Organizational Structure and Authority   Within the boundaries of movement organizations, relationships are patterned by the people seen as belonging together. One important patterning of relationships is defined by the distribution of power.

Centralized Power   In some movement organizations power is centralized, concentrated in the hands of relatively few people who make decisions that all participants in the movement are expected to follow. Centralized power may reside in an executive committee or an individual.

The large Communist parties that were major global political forces from the 1920s to the 1980s typically were quite centralized, with decision-making power vested in a central committee. The committee discussed policies, but once a decision was reached, it was binding on members and implemented through a hierarchical structure.

Decentralized, Acephalous, and Segmented Power Structures   Power can be decentralized, diffused throughout the organization. Some movements have a segmented, acephalous (headless), or polycephalous (many-headed), form (Gerlach, 1983). Instead of having a clear center, authority resides in local branches or cells that can act independently of each other; the movement is held together by its shared ideology, rather than by a central authority. For example, the pentecostal movement within the Christian religion tends to have a segmented, decentralized structure. These segmented, polycephalous, networklike movements may be becoming the prevalent form of movement, displacing the more structured, centralized, and clearly defined organization.

Hierarchy and Alternative Structures of Authority   Another element of movement organization is the presence or absence of hierarchy. A hierarchy is a structure of authority that has many levels or ranks of subordination and superordination with power flowing downward. The Nazi Party—in part—was organized hierarchically.

There are a number of alternatives to hierarchy. One is a relatively egalitarian organization that permits decentralized decision making. Sometimes an apparently structureless or decentralized organization may have a de facto power structure composed of the most active or committed members. It may then exclude decision making by others as completely as the formally centralized organization does, as Jo Freeman found in some of the collectives in the more radical part the women's movement in the United States (Freeman, 1973).

Another alternative is the concentration of power in the hands of a single leader who exercises direct authority over the followers, unmediated by a hierarchy of officials; this pattern is sometimes found in small, cultlike groups, like the Branch Davidians under the leadership of David Koresh.

The Bases of Authority   What is the source of authority in movements? The German sociologist Max Weber identified three major types of authority: traditional authority, based on a discourse of custom, an appeal to long-stand-

ing practices; rational-legal authority, based on a discourse of matching means to ends in an efficient manner, and often structured into a bureaucracy; and charismatic authority, based on a discourse about the extraordinary nature of an individual. Authority in movements is less often traditional or customary than in institutionalized organizations (Weber, 1958).

Many movements have charismatic leaders, individuals who are believed to have extraordinary powers that allow them to "make the rules" rather than follow customary or bureaucratic procedures. Movements that have a religious ideology but have broken away from major institutionalized religions—cultlike movements—often have a charismatic leader. Sometimes movements with a charismatic leader seem to lose touch with the realities of everyday life. The leader interprets "reality" for his followers in a way that makes them susceptible to mistaken perceptions of society that lead to the end rather than the success of the movement. For example, Jim Jones led his followers from the United States to Guyana, where they were eventually forced to commit mass suicide by drinking poisoned Kool-Aid; more recently, the Branch Davidians under David Koresh came to a fiery end in their compound after a long holdout against the FBI.

Movements with charismatic authority are not only likely to get mired in the fantasy world of the leader, but also apt to have difficulty surviving the leader's death or discrediting. While many major religions began with a charismatic leader, the ones that survived were generally those that were able to transform charismatic authority into more stable forms of authority. They solved the problem of succession of leaders and routinized charisma into traditional and/or rational-legal structures. In the history of Christianity, for example, Peter and Paul were among those who initiated these kinds of structures; Paul's letters and travels linked together communities of Christians in the Roman Empire, while Peter became the founder of the papacy, an institutionalized pattern of religious leadership.

Some movements assume a rational-legal system of authority from the start, trying to create a structure that makes possible the most efficient pursuit of the goals of the movement. Such movements tend to become bureaucratized, especially once they reach a certain size. They develop a hierarchy, move people into key positions on the basis of specific skills, and operate according to formal and impersonal rules. Far from the popular stereotype that equates bureaucracy with inefficiency, bureaucratic organization is actually an effective way to mobilize people and resources on a large scale. The large socialist parties of Europe, especially that of Germany, used this type of structure effectively.

Internal Division of Labor   An important element of movement organization is the internal division of labor. Some movement organizations develop specialized roles; for example, specialists in violence or in communications and public relations or in formulating ideology. The organization recruits people who have these skills or trains members for these specializations. Other movements prefer members who are generalists, who are committed to the move-

28

ment and prepared to take on any of these roles as the movement's needs change. Movements that take on a rational-legal or bureaucratic form early in their history are especially likely to rely on specialists and have a large staff of <u>movement professionals</u>, individuals who may draw a salary from the organization and see it as a full-time commitment. For example, the socialist parties in many western European countries were and continue to be large, bureaucratized formal organizations. Some of the newer social movements in the United States in the areas of civil rights, women's issues, and environmentalism, that use strategies of lobbying for legislative change or legal action also rely heavily on movement professionals (McCarthy and Zald, 1987).

Strategies and Tactics

Movement organization is closely related to movement strategies, the plans that the movement has for making its goals become a reality. Political movements plan to use the political system in some way; the precise plan depends on the nature of the society and the political system as well as the movements' ideologies. Other movements focus more on building a mass base and changing the views and actions of many individuals. A strategy is not a fixed method; a movement's strategies can change as the society and the historical circumstances change.

Political movements aim at influencing the state—or government—in some way. The state is an institution that can use coercive power to induce people to act in a certain way; it has at its disposal police, courts, the correctional system, and—in some situations—the military. Thus, if a movement can capture the state, or at least influence it, it gains a powerful means for making people change their actions. Revolutionary movements attempt to capture the state as a whole and then use it to transform the society: For example, in the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, the Bolsheviks succeeded in taking over the institutions of the state; they changed some of these institutions and used their state power to transform Russian society (Carr, 1972; Gurley, 1975).

Reform movements do not focus on capturing the state as a whole; they influence the existing state to pass and enforce laws that promote the goals of the movement. For example, the antiabortion movement has influenced state legislators to restrict access to abortions by instituting waiting periods or requiring parental consent for minors. The environmental movement has succeeded in getting state and federal governments to set clean air standards and prohibit the dumping of toxic wastes.

Strategies and Political Systems   The nature of a nation's political system is a major factor in shaping a movement's political strategy. I will discuss political opportunity structures in more detail in the next chapter, so the following discussion is focused on the effects of political structures on movement organization and strategy.

Clandestine Organizations   A nation that has single-party rule and a repressive political system allows little "space" for movements to organize

openly. In these systems, movements may have to operate "underground," as clandestine organizations.

This environment may force them to assume an organization that can protect its secrets, perhaps by having a compartmentalized cell structure so that the capture, interrogation, and torture of members will not lay bare the entire structure of the organization. For much of the twentieth century, Communist-led parties and movements operated effectively in repressive political systems; the Bolsheviks in tsarist Russia, the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, and the anti-Nazi Communist-led resistance movements in France and Italy are examples.

Forming Parties or Pressure Groups   More open political systems permit the formation of mass parties and mass movements. Where the constitutional framework encourages smaller parties and gives them a potential role in coalitions, movements may form parties. This development typically occurs in political systems that have some measure of proportional representation and low threshholds for parliamentary representation; in these systems even a small party can have a role in parliament. The Greens—an environmentally oriented party—in Italy, Germany, and other Western European countries exemplify the transformation of a movement into a party under these conditions.

On the other hand, two-party systems like that of the United States tend to force movements to become pressure groups within the major parties; third parties have little chance of election victories, so a movement makes better use of its resources in working within the two-party structure. It can take over the local party organization and get its members nominated or it can pressure other candidates. In the United States, the two major parties are not difficult to influence by movements. Local party organizations involve few people; the national party platform committee is not difficult to capture; primaries have low voter turnout; candidates are not subject to uniform party discipline (the agreement that all party representatives must take the same stand on an issue or risk expulsion from the party), but can make deals with pressure groups on specific issues. These circumstances provide opportunities for energetic and well-organized movements. For instance, the Christian right had a strong input in writing the 1992 Republican platform and has consistently influenced a number of legislators.

Armed Insurgencies   Movements also confront the state apparatus head on, in strategies of armed insurgency. Movements do this when the state is too repressive to permit them to form parties or pressure groups. "Todas las puertas cerradas, Solo un camino nos dejan" [All the doors are closed; they leave us only one way]. So sang the Quiche Maya as they joined a guerilla movement against the military dictatorship in Guatemala (cited in Black, 1984:61).

Such a strategy is also used when the movement decides that the state appears weak enough to "crack" under a military confrontation. A successful frontal assault may give the movement more opportunity for restructuring the state than an institutionalized accession to power.

Movements sometimes create mass armies, such as the large armed force organized by the Chinese Communists, by means of which they took power in 1949. In other cases, smaller guerrilla forces can show up the weakness of the state; the regular army is demoralized by its inability to control the guerrilla fighters and falls apart as its soldiers eventually refuse to fight. This strategy worked well for the Cuban insurgents led by Fidel Castro; a small band of armed insurgents was able to precipitate the fall of the Batista regime in 1959 (Wolf, 1969; Zeitlin, 1967).

Destabilization   Another important strategy for the seizure of power is destabilization. The movement takes actions that polarize the society, weaken support for the incumbent government, and suggest to the public that the state is no longer in control. The movement that has helped to create this situation of crisis then steps in to offer its services as a force for law and order. This strategy was used very effectively by fascist movements in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s; both the Nazis and the Italian Fascists came to power through the invitation of incumbent elites, after their paramilitary wings had spread violence and created a sense of crisis.

Terrorism is often used as part of the strategy of destabilization. The targeting of victims, the sense of insecurity it brings about, and the polarization it encourages all weaken the state. If the state does little to stop terror it appears ineffective and unable to protect its citizens; if the state takes strong action, resorting to repressive measures, it accelerates social polarization. The Red Brigades in Italy in the 1970s used terror in this fashion—assassinating labor leaders, journalists, and politicians. Although their tactics failed to destabilize the Italian state, the Red Brigades did succeed in preventing a coalition between the Christian Democrats and the Communist party.

Expanding the Movement   Other movements may give less attention to the political system and put their energy into the recruiting of new members and the diffusion of discourse in the society that is favorable to them. Their primary strategy may be to build up a large support base and a favorable climate of opinion before they turn to the use of state power. Political strategies do not preclude strategies of mass persuasion; on the contrary, they often occur together. For example, the Christian right in the United States has combined strategies of building a mass base with strategies of influencing the political parties, running candidates, and supporting specific legislation.

How do movements go about the strategy of mass persuasion? They can develop their own media. The Christian right in the United States owns TV stations and magazines that diffuse messages of Christian fundamentalism and social and political conservatism (Hadden 1993). Movements can put pressure on existing media to represent them in a favorable way. They can engage in events like demonstrations to draw attention to the movement, hoping thereby to promote an image of efficacy, commitment, and solidarity. For instance, the Gay and Lesbian Rights March on Washington, DC, in April of 1993 was organized, in part, with the goal of showing the nation the strength and solidarity of the movement.

use of media to secure image/discourse

Often direct action is used more as a means of recruiting for a movement or projecting its image, than as a direct means of change. Movements have to use the media, in part, and this reliance creates complex problems in framing movement discourse in such a way that movements will get adequate coverage (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, in *Annals*, 1993; Gitlin, 1980; Ryan, 1991). For example, when Operation Rescue activists block the entrances to abortion clinics, their goal is not primarily to stop abortions on that particular day as much as it is to draw attention to the movement.

Movements can use means like direct-mail solicitation to target a potential support base. Both antiabortion groups and the Central American solidarity movement used these methods of reaching potential constituencies. Development of networks and personal relationships to recruit new members is also an important element of the strategy of mass persuasion (McCarthy, in Zald and McCarthy, 1987; Snow et al., 1986).

Matching Organization to Strategy

A movement has to make decisions about connecting its strategy to its organization. If the main strategy for realizing goals is electing people to office and changing legislation, members must organize the movement as a mass party. If the main strategy is capturing the state in armed struggle, they must include or train specialists in violence, develop clandestine operations for all or some of the movement, and prepare either for protracted guerrilla warfare or for bringing parts of the existing military institutions over to the side of the movement. If the main strategy is influencing existing elites, they must organize as a pressure group, project an air of responsibility and "mainstreamness" and develop some media support. If the main strategy for change is individual redemption—changes in the ideology and practices of individuals—they must develop ways of converting and recruiting masses of followers.

These strategic and organizational decisions only make sense if we keep in mind the ideology of the movement, its set of goals for social change. A movement has to be flexible in its organization and strategy, matching its operations to the realities of the social and political environment.

For example, in western Europe, the Communist movement went through phases of being a mass party (in Germany in the 1920s, in Italy and France after World War II) as well as a clandestine resistance organization (in France and Italy during the Nazi occupation). Sometimes it engaged in coalition building and sometimes it did not, depending on its assessment of the political climate.

Similarly, Islamic fundamentalist movements organize as mass parties (currently in Algeria), mass movements (as in Hamas, a fundamentalist Palestinian organization), small terrorist groups (as in Lebanon), broad-based insurgent armies (as in the Afghan mujahidin movement against the Soviet invasion), sectlike groups with charismatic leaders (as in the organization of the Iranian Islamic movement in exile before the 1979 revolution), and intellectual currents. The ideology and goals remain basically the same—the formation of Islamic states—but the organization and strategies vary with circumstances.

Vanguard Parties, Fronts, and Coalitions   Historically, several terms have appeared frequently in discussions of movement organization and strategy. One such term is vanguard party. It derives from the practice of Communist parties, especially those operating in political systems in which they were illegal (Healey and Isserman, 1990). The vanguard party is relatively small compared to the movement as a whole. It is relatively "professionalized," in that its members have a complete and full-time commitment to the movement. Sometimes the term "professional" implies that money is an important incentive for full-time commitment to movement work; but not in this case—the vanguard party is supposed to be motivated primarily by commitment to the ideology of the movement. It is composed of people who are particularly clear about the movement's ideology and goals; while the movement as a whole may include people who share these ideals to some extent, many of these peripheral participants may not fully grasp the ideology.

The distinction between the vanguard party and the support base is expressed in the term spontaneity. The mass support base, left to its own devices, might spontaneously engage in direct action and in the formation of unions; by itself, however, it cannot formulate or carry out a strategy for capturing and transforming the state apparatus. The vanguard party is small enough and has a sufficiently centralized decision-making process to allow flexibility in its relationship to the mass support base which it guides toward capturing the state apparatus.

Movements that have a vanguard party organization also often have a front structure; the front is a broad coalition of groups that share some of the ideology of the movement and are prepared to cooperate with it. In some cases, the vanguard party itself may organize the front groups, using this structure to reach categories of potential supporters. Sometimes these groups support the goals of the party, as in Vietnam, where the Communist Party formed the core of the National Liberation Front, which brought together many groups that sought independence. In other instances, the front is composed of groups that are seen as having "special interests" within the movement. For example, the Communist Party might be supported by women's or students' groups in a larger front.

Although this terminology of vanguard party and front derives from the communist movements of twentieth century, it is a framework that is visible in many other movements as well. Highly committed and ideologically coherent cadres formed into a small, centralized organization lead a larger movement of people who have a less sophisticated understanding of the political system and less of an overview of the goals and strategy of the movement.

Most movements include in their strategies the effort to form coalitions or alliances with other movements. These alliances may be formed through a united front, as described above, or through an umbrella organization that brings together two or more movements on a relatively equal basis. Movements also form looser alliances around common goals. These alliances may form around specific goals that movements share.

When distinct social groups, especially classes, are brought together in such

a front or alliance, social scientists sometimes speak of a **bloc**. For instance, in the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979, the Sandinista movement represented a wide range of groups and a broad and diverse support base; poor peasants joined middle-class reformers who detested the Somoza dictatorship. During the Resistance in Italy against the Nazis and the Fascists, Christian Democrats, Communists, and radical intellectuals joined forces, although their ideologies and social support bases were substantially different.

Let me summarize the terminology: A front implies organization of groups under the leadership of a vanguard party or other cohesive movement organization; coalition and alliance refer to looser cooperative ventures among relatively equal movement organizations; and bloc refers to a joining together of diverse support bases into a large, powerful force in society.

Tactics

Ex Boycotts Rallies

The last term to be defined in this section is **tactics**. This term means the methods of accomplishing a precisely defined intermediate or short-term goal. A strategy is the overall plan; tactics are specific techniques for attaining specific goals. Strategies change when there are major shifts in society to which the movement must respond. Tactics are more flexible, and are somewhat more likely to be decided locally or in a decentralized way, even in a centralized movement. These terms are not always used in a precise or consistent way, however, and there is considerable overlap in strategy and tactics.

TRANSNATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND EXTERNAL SUPPORT

Movements throughout the twentieth century have operated across national borders, and in our increasingly globalized world, there is every indication that they will continue to do so. All the movements identified in this book are transnational. We have already discussed how movements adjust their strategies and forms of organization to adapt to different types of societies and political systems. Nation-states also have a direct impact on movements: They are a major source of resources for movements. They can offer economic aid, arms, and territorial bases or "sanctuaries." For example, the Soviets (and at times, also China) provided arms for the Vietnamese revolutionaries. The United States provided arms and economic assistance to the anti-Soviet Afghan insurgents. South Africa provided support to guerrillas against the governments of Angola and Mozambique.

interesting

Who used whom, in these innumerable instances of external support? Did a large power—in recent decades, often one of the Cold War superpowers—use a movement as a pawn in its own global strategy? Or did a movement skillfully manipulate the fears or ambitions of existing nations in order to obtain support? In any case, such external support has become a crucial factor in twentieth-century movement outcomes.

In addition to direct support for a movement, nations can involve themselves in movement outcomes in more subtle ways. Once a movement comes to power in a society, even by legal means, a hostile nation can block access to credit and can stimulate disinvestment. A well-documented example is the action that the United States took after a socialist government was elected in Chile; the United States blocked loans for Chile in international credit agencies. Similarly, the long-term U.S. trade embargo against Cuba has contributed to a difficult economic situation there and weakened Cuba's ability to achieve the goals of the revolution.

External resources can be used to influence the outcome of elections. The United States channeled money into Nicaragua in the 1990 elections to help shift support from the Sandinistas to the National Opposition Union (UNO) coalition and its candidate, Violetta Chamorro; while this money did not go directly to a party, it created a climate of opinion that was more favorable toward UNO.

The withdrawal of investment from South Africa and international trade sanctions helped to bring the de Klerk government into negotiations with the African National Congress (ANC). South Africa's worsening economic situation was a factor in the government's decision to end the illegal status of the ANC and to open the way for a reorganization of the political system.

Once a movement comes to power in one country, it has a territorial and resource base to help affiliated movements in other nations. For example, the Islamic revolution in Iran has aided other Islamic movements. Even without state power, a strong base in one country can provide support for a movement worldwide; for example, the wealthy and powerful Mormon community in the United States supports the propagation of Mormonism in many other countries.

During the Vietnamese war, United States policy makers coined the term "domino effect" to describe this potential spread of a movement; the term specifically referred to fears that a Communist victory in one nation in Southeast Asia (i.e., Vietnam) would spread to other nations in the region (like the Philippines, Malaysia, or Indonesia). Similar fears were expressed in Washington that the Cuban revolution would be "exported" to other nations in Latin America. These fears were probably exaggerated, but transnational support is a reality in movement success.

Some theorists distinguish relational from nonrelational diffusion of movement ideas across national boundaries (McAdam and Rucht, in Annals, 1993). For instance, New Left ideas spread from the United States to Germany through both direct personal contacts and similarities in the conditions and cultures of the two nations.

MULTIORGANIZATIONAL FIELDS

A movement rarely exists by itself in a society. Usually a society has a number of movements active within it simultaneously. All movement activity taken together is often termed the social movement sector of the society. The size, com-

plexity, and volatility of this sector is markedly different from society to society, varying with the political system, current strains, and cultural traditions. The United States, for example, has a long-standing tradition of a high level of movement activity (Garner and Zald, 1985).

Some of the simultaneously existing movements may be in support of each other, in alliances or fronts that have overlapping or similar goals, or simply in parallel and compatible actions and ideologies. For instance, the animal rights movement is part of a larger environmental movement (Jasper and Nelkin, 1993). Within each movement may also be multiple organizations. Some movements may operate largely independently of other movements. And some movements may be locked into combat with other movements; for example, sectors of the women's movement and the antiabortion movement in the 1980s, or the Civil Rights Movement and white supremacist groups like the White Citizen's Council in the 1960s. When movements have directly opposed goals, we can use the term movement and countermovement (Mottl, 1980; Zald and McCarthy, 1987).

Social Control Agents

Movements also are in relationships with social control agents, institutions designed to eliminate movements and/or integrate them into the political mainstream. Social control agents can repress movements—especially movement organizations—by charging their members with criminal actions or raiding their offices, as police departments did to the Black Panthers in the 1960s and 1970s (Brown, 1994). In some instances, social control agents use illegal violence, such as death squad activity by units of the military against peasant organizers in Guatemala (Smith-Ayala, 1991).

Social control agents can also co-opt movement members, offering them a chance to pursue careers or work toward a limited set of reforms within the existing institutions. For example, the Mexican ruling party, the (Institutional Revolutionary Party) (PRI), has often drawn peasant, worker, and student leaders into the party structure, providing them with career lines and an opportunity to accomplish some small improvements in return for leaving insurgent movements (Riding, 1984).

Social control agents can limit the effectiveness of movements by encouraging countermovements to form or by supporting those countermovements that come into existence on their own. In some cases, such countermovements may be largely sham, simply paid-off thugs or government agents; but in other cases, they may have a genuine social base and an independent ideology and purpose. For example, in northern Italy in the early 1920s, one of the most important points of growth of the Fascist movement were the *squadre*, groups of Fascist activists who formed a countermovement against left-wing organizations that had mobilized rural workers. The Fascist squads attacked members of left-wing groups, broke up meetings and strikes, and intimidated individuals. While the large landowners of the region supported the Fascists, the Fascists were not simply "hired guns" of the landowners, but formed a movement with an ideology and a strategy for eventually coming to power (Cardoza, 1982).

Social control agents are often part of a government that would like to suppress the movement, and may be government agencies designed specifically for this purpose. For example, the antiterrorism division of the FBI concerns itself with identifying and bringing to trial groups and individuals engaged in terrorist activities within the United States.

In some cases, social control agents may be divided in their attitude toward social movements. The role of the FBI during the Civil Rights Movement illustrates these complexities. Some parts of the agency were investigating murders in civil rights workers by members of white supremacist groups; other parts of the agency were investigating civil rights activists (Garrow, 1987). These actions did not just reflect concerns about both types of movements; they also reflected divisions within the national government and the agency over government support for the Civil Rights Movement.

In a federal system like the United States, the interaction of movement-countermovement-social control agents is even further complicated by different levels of government. For example, local sheriffs and police departments were sometimes openly harassing civil rights activists or even supporting white supremacist countermovements.

When a movement comes to power, like the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran, the Cuban revolution in 1959, or the American Revolution in the 1770s, the revolutionary regime has to act as a social control agent against counterrevolutionaries, forces that would like to overthrow the revolution, curb its influence, or prevent it from accomplishing its goals. For example, in the American Revolution, the Loyalists initially formed a countermovement against the revolutionary movement in the colonies; as the revolutionaries came to power, they, repressed and harassed the Loyalists, forcing them to either accept independence or go into exile in Canada. These actions were carried out at the local level, through harassment and intimidation. Committees for the Defense of the Revolution organized at the local level had a similar social control function after the success of the Cuban revolution.

In summary, social movement sector, countermovement, and social control agents are terms that draw attention to the complexity of relationships, including antagonistic ones, among different kinds of movements and organizations. Like the concept external support, these terms are ways of referring to the environment within which social movements act. They draw attention to the multiorganizational fields in which movements operate, environments in which the major "players" are other movements and movement organizations that are possible allies and/or competitors, countermovements, and organized social control agents (Curtis and Zurcher, 1973; Klandermans, 1992).

HISTORICAL CONDITIONS

Social scientists give a great deal of attention to the question of what preconditions lead a movement to emerge, grow, and succeed. Ideologies that may have been "floating around" for a long time suddenly seem to be translated into ac-

tion and organization. Movements that have existed in a becalmed or dormant state suddenly become active again (Taylor, 1989). New ideologies and movements emerge, sometimes in surprising ways. People who have "accepted" poverty and repression for generations suddenly and unpredictably rebel. States that have had an iron grip on their societies fall apart, sometimes for no clear reason.

For example, the Portuguese were for decades written off as passive and accepting of a dictatorship that had been imposed in the early 1930s. Suddenly in the 1970s, a mass revolution swept Portugal, dismantled the repressive government, and brought Portugal into the liberal democratic framework of western Europe. What were the specific conditions that precipitated this revolution? Similarly, the supposed monolith of Communist Party regimes in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union collapsed within a few years, under the impact of a large but weakly organized and unarmed mass movement.

In the same surprising way, powerful movements may disappear as circumstances change. Students for a Democratic Society and other movement organizations of the New Left of the 1960s shrank and faded after the United States withdrew from Vietnam.

What causes these shifts? We cannot answer this question in general or in the abstract. The answers lie in a careful examination of historical circumstances. The specific, concrete circumstances of a nation's history contain part of the answer. So does the historical conjuncture—the configuration at any given moment of the global economic and political balance of power. The col-
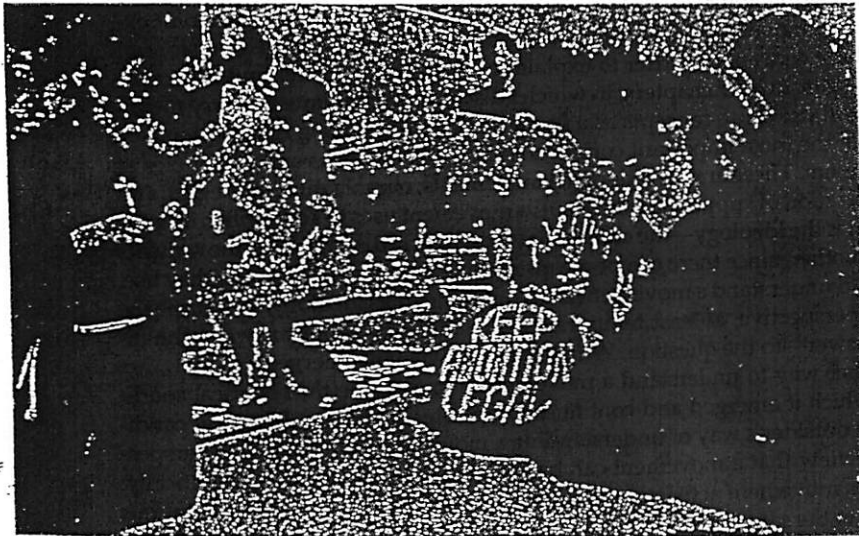
Movement and countermovement: Vigil in front of the United States Supreme Court. Washington, DC, June 29, 1989.

lapse of the Communist parties in eastern Europe became possible as the Soviet Union decided not to control the region anymore because of the pressure of its own economic crisis and the arms race. Portugal exploded in 1974 because it was fighting the last colonial war in Africa, a war for which it received no support from other European powers.

In the next chapter, I will review a number of theories that dissect these historical conditions in a more detailed way. As I discuss movements, I will try to give some indication of the historical factors that account for the specific course of the movement.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have introduced a series of terms relevant to discussion about movements: ideology; support base and constituencies; organization, strategies, and tactics; external support; movement sector, social control agents, and countermovements; and historical conditions. These are terms that are widely used by sociologists and political scientists (Greene, 1990). I have tried to give the reader a picture of what movements *do* within each of these categories—how they go about stating their ideologies, how they reach out to their support base or bases, how they make choices about organizational forms and strategies, and how they receive help from existing states. These concepts allow us to compare movements—we can compare their ideologies, their support bases, their organization and strategies, their sources of external support, and the circumstances in which they emerged.

In the next chapter, on social movement theory, I will review different explanations of movements that use more detailed and finely nuanced versions of each of these concepts in order to explain the emergence, forms, and outcomes of movements. In later chapters, in which I discuss specific contemporary movements, I will use these concepts as a framework for organizing the chapters.

One of the most important concepts is *ideology*—the ideas and discourses of the movement. These are the *ends* of the movements; organization, strategies, and the mobilization of support are the *means* a movement uses to accomplish its ends or goals. It is the ideology—the ends—that most clearly distinguishes movements from each other, since there can be a considerable overlap in the means they use. One way to understand a movement is to comprehend its ideology, to assume the insider's perspective, at least temporarily. The ideology is one answer—the insider's answer—to the question, Why has this movement emerged?

Another way to understand a movement is to examine the historical conditions in which it emerged and continues to operate. Looking at historical conditions is an outsider's way of understanding a movement; implied in this perspective is the view that a movement can be explained objectively and scientifically. Sometimes movement activists and social scientists agree in their interpretations and point to the same reasons or causes for the existence of a movement, but generally movement ideologies and the analysis of historical conditions do not offer the same answers to the question, Why has this movement emerged?