## PLS 401: SENIOR SEMINAR Roger C. Lowery, Ph. D. Part IV: The Apparatus of Governance Ch. 13: Social [Political] Movements & Contentious Politics

## I. Untitled introduction: **political movement**

A. **Definition**: an unorganized (or only loosely or informally organized) group of individuals who share a common set of interests or grievances and who use collective action to further their interests

## B. Various types

- 1. Sudden & spontaneous v. longer-term
- 2. (Underground, secret, covert) v. (open, direct, overt)
- 3. Direct action: passive resistance or civil disobedience v. violent demonstration & armed rebellion

# C. Examples

- 1. Underground, pro-democracy movement in 18th c. England
- 2. Spontaneous demonstration of over one million Berliners in support of the *Weimar Republic* after the assassination of its Jewish foreign minister, Walter Rathenau, in 1922
- 3. Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience movements in South Africa (1893-1914) and India (1916-45)
- 4. Montgomery bus boycott (1955-56)
- 5. Much of the Islamic fundamentalist movements in Europe, Mideast, Africa, & Asia
- 6. The largely non-violent *third wave of democratization* (a phrase coined by Samuel Huntington) that occurred in dozens of countries worldwide during and after the 1970s
  - a. *First* wave: 1826-1926
  - b. Reverse wave: 1926-45
  - c. *Second* wave: 1945-60
  - d. Reverse wave: 1960-74
  - e. Third wave: 1974-
- D. Root cause: contentious politics confrontations between ordinary people and government or other elites

#### II. Why now?

#### A. Frequency

- 1. Political movements have always existed
- 2. But Shively argues, they are *more* widespread and influential today

#### **B.** General contributing factors

- 1. Technological advances in *communication* (printing press, telegraph, telephones/cell phones, radio/television, photocopiers/facsimile machines, communications satellites, Internet)
- 2. Waves of democratization marked by the expansion of Robert Dahl's prerequisites of democracy
  - a. Competition: frequent, fair, & competitive elections
  - b. Inclusiveness: expansion of suffrage
  - c. Civil liberties guarantees: expression (speech, press, assembly/petition) & legal due process
- 3. *Rise of post-material (the culture-war) issues* (sex & gender, immigration) offsetting the old *class-war issues* of the industrial revolution [however, since the global economic crisis that erupted in September 2008, *class-war* issues have reemerged to rival or displace *culture-war* issues]
- 4. Decline of political parties
  - a. Party leadership & organization
  - b. Parties in the electorate
  - c. Parties in government
- 5. **Opportunity structures** within the political environment
  - a. Allies within the country
  - b. Sympathetic international organizations
  - c. Shortcomings of opposition
- 6. **Mobilizing structures**: strengths of movement members (e.g., group consciousness & solidarity, political/communication skills, financial resources)

## III. Advantages (and disadvantages) of informal organization (in political movements)

- A. Goals can be the same as
  - 1. Political parties: replace current government leadership
  - 2. Political interest groups: influence government policy making and administration
- B. What distinguishes political movements is not their goals but their lack of formal organization

# C. Disadvantages

- 1. Without leadership, it is difficult to
  - a. Amass resources money, expertise
    - b. Mobilize membership
- 2. As movements are typically short-lived phenomena, opposing governments & elites often know that they can outlast the movement
- D. Advantages without entrenched leaders & rigid organizational bureaucracy, political movements can be more flexible in
  - 1. Defining & framing their grievances
  - 2. Choosing tactics
  - 3. Recruiting allies inside and outside their native country

# IV. Examples

- A. The rubber tappers of Acre
  - 1. Flexible goals & tactics since late  $19^{th}$  c.
  - 2. Opponents: first, rubber barons and later, lumber & cattle barons
  - 3. Recent allies: human-rights & environmental organizations (e.g., Oxfam), liberation theologists in the Roman Catholic Church, and agricultural labor unions, and now, the President of Brazil, Luiz Inàcio da Silva (a.k.a., Lula)
- B. The Orange Revolution in the Ukraine
  - 1. Post-Soviet independence marred by corruption and manipulation of former Communist officials (1991-2004) with support of ethnic Russians in eastern provinces
  - 2. A crooked-election defeat & poisoning of reform leader, **Victor Yushchenko**, sparked a massive and spontaneous uprising in Kiev that eventually led the secret police and army siding with the reformers; a resulting new election was won by Yushchenko