4. Movements for Social Change

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Introduction to Social Movements

Definitions

1) Social movements are large-scale informal groupings of individuals or organisations, which are connected through their shared interests to focus on specific political or social issues, in order to carry out a social change. Multiple alliances may work separately for common causes and still be considered a social movement.

2) A social movement is a combination of shared ideas and activities that are concerned with changing the patterns of social life (Sinclair). The shared activities or collective action may be defined as "any goal-directed activity jointly pursued by two or more individuals" (McAdam and Snow 1998: xxiv). Note that only a fraction of all collective action involves social movements.

3) Alternative definition: A collectivity acting with some degree of organisation and continuity outside of institutional channels for the purpose of promoting or resisting change in the group, society, or world order of which it is a part. McAdam and Snow (1998: xviii).

Qualifications

➢ Some authors like M&S believe that groups sharing the same ideas for change are not social movements – unless they are involved in collective action. These ideas are only pre-conditions.
➢ Trends and mass migrations are not social movements. These are uncoordinated activities of individuals. Something with social consequences is not necessarily a social movement.
➢ Seeing social movements as mainly outside the established political institutions, they do not accept that interest groups are social movements.
➢ The movements for social change can be forward or backward looking.

Social movements develop because there is a perceived gap between the current ethics and aspirations of people and the present reality. There are various levels of social change: individual, organisational and institutional.

Because social movements are the consequences of new elements of civil society, which are not incorporated into the social order, they are always unconventional. Civil society is

normally in a state of change, but social structures tend towards stability. That is why social movements almost always exist. If the discrepancy between civil society and social order is large, then social movements are strong and numerous. If the discrepancy is small, then social movements are weak and more conventional.

This 'disenfranchisement' leads to mobilisation – first organisational, where resources are harnessed in support of the cause. Resources include: people, time, skills/expertise and funds. Then mass mobilisation, where society is recruited behind the cause.

There is inevitable resistance to social change. Many do not want their vested interests or status quo threatened. There is also simple inertia.

Tactics of change: non-violence includes negotiation, direct action, events/media stunts, demonstrations, propaganda, strikes, boycotts, non-co-operation, civil disobedience, parallel structures. Violent breakaways undercut the movement's legitimacy.

Actions undertaken by civil society to effect change are generally informed by strategic thought. In thinking strategically, social change activists try to identify the nature and causes of social problems and then choose specific targets that are deemed the most likely people or organisations to resolve those problems. One of the keys to a successful strategic approach is in maintaining effective communication with, and among, members of the public.

It is readily acknowledged by leading social theorists (Arendt, 1958; Habermas, 1989) that just and effective democracies require a strong and functional public sphere. The public sphere operates best where citizens, as individuals or in groups, are informed about the social, political and corporate affairs that affect their interests, and enter into public discussion about the plans, policies and activities of those in power whose decisions affect the public interest. This on-going discussion provides the feedback and direction needed for healthy governance.

History of the Social Movement

Political movements that evolved in late 18th century, like those connected to the French Revolution and Polish Constitution of May 3rd 1791 are among the first documented social movements. The labour movement and socialist movement of the late 19th century are seen as the prototypical social movements, leading to the formation of communist and social democratic parties and organisations.

From 1815, Britain after victory in the Napoleonic Wars entered a period of social upheaval and change, caused by returning soldiers and unemployment. This resulted in class struggle in the Peterloo Massacre, the Reform Act of 1832, disputes over the Corn Laws. Other European countries, such as France, began to see the emergence of political and social movements in the 19th Century. These social movements set the background to which Karl Marx attempted to analyse social theory more generally. 1861 saw the beginning of the reform movements in Russia, as the feudal system was abolished. Unions, or Soviets were formed from 1905 as pressure for reform continued, resulting in the collapse of the Russian State at the end of the First World War.

In 1945, Britain after victory in the Second World War entered a period of radical reform and change, as a workers rights social movement dominated politics until the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979. In the 1970s, women's rights, peace, civil rights, and

environmental movements emerged, often dubbed *New Social Movements*. They lead inter alia to the formation of green parties. Some find in the end of the 1990s the emergence of a new global social movement, the anti-globalisation movement.

Key Processes Contribute to Social Movements

Several key processes lie behind the history of the social movements.

The process of urbanisation, which created large cities, facilitated social interaction between scores of people. It was in cities, where people of similar goals could find each other, gather and organise, that those early social movements first appeared.

Similarly, the process of industrialisation, which gathered large masses of workers in the same region, was responsible for the fact that many of those early social movements addressed matters important to that social class.

Many other social movements were created at universities, where the process of mass education brought many people together.

With the development of communication technologies, creation and activities of social movements became easier - from printed pamphlets circulating in the 18th century coffeehouses to newspapers and Internet, all those tools became important factors in the growth of the social movements.

Finally, the spread of democracy and political rights like the freedom of speech made the creation and functioning of social movements much easier.

Social Movement Organisations

*Organising New Social Change Activities***:** The surplus energy accumulated by the society and given expression through the initiative of pioneers and their followers does not gain momentum until it becomes accepted and organised by society. The process of organisation may take many different forms. It may occur by the enactment of new laws or regulations that support the activity or it may be in the form of a new system or accepted set of practices. Each development advance of the society leads to the emergence of a host of new organisations designed to support it and puts pressure on existing organisations to elevate their functioning to meet the higher demands of the new phase.

Integrating the Organisation with **Society:** The organisation is the mechanism by which the surplus energy in society is harnessed, mobilised, directed and channelled to produce greater results. The organisation derives energy from being integrated with the society in which it functions. The energy of society comes from its needs and aspirations. This energy pervades the social organisation established to meet these needs. The more finely the organisation is attuned to fulfil underlying social aspirations, the greater t*he energy flowing through it.*

The will of society changes over time as old attitudes and goals are replaced with new ones. Organisations that adapt to these changes continue to thrive. Those that remain fixed in the past decline, become ineffective, and are eventually discarded or fade away.

Interest groups and organisation

Note that it is difficult to distinguish between a social movement and an interest group if we insist that social movements must operate outside political institutions. (Interest groups normally operate inside existing structures.) This is especially true for movements that focus on partial change – the vast majority. E.g, the environmental movement & Sierra Club, Greenpeace or the World Wildlife Fund.

Note that many social movements are associated with one or more formal organisations (SMOs).

Relevant actors

The type of individuals or activists in the social movements can be defined as followings: -
Protagonists: all who support the movement or whom it claims to represent.
Adherents: activists and less involved constituency members.
*Constituenc*y: those whom movement claims to represent, usually beneficiaries. The beneficiary may be the whole public rather than a particular segment.
Conscience adherents: those who support a movement but are not beneficiaries if it is successful.
Antagonists: those who oppose the movement - targets and counter-movements.
Bystanders: those with no obvious stake or immediate interest.
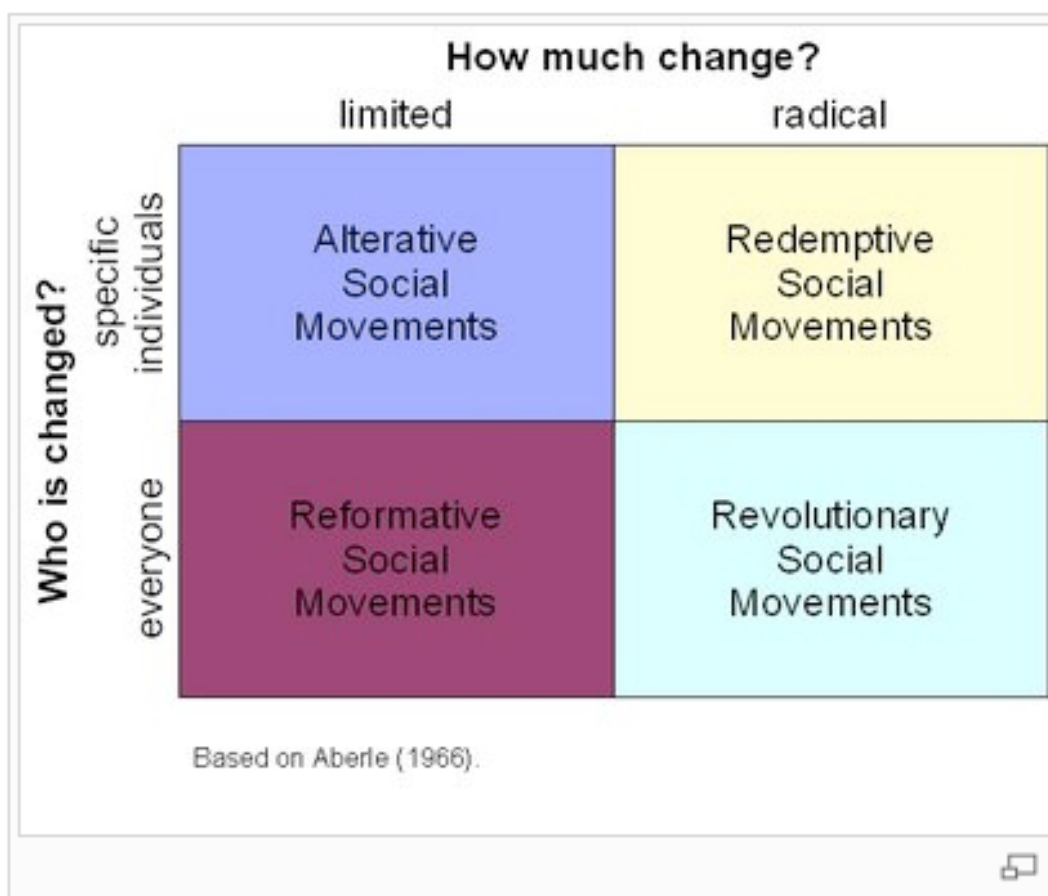
Types of Social Movements

David Aberle (1966) described four types of social movement including: alterative, redemptive, reformative, and revolutionary social movements, based upon two characteristics: (1) who is the movement attempting to change and (2) how much change is being advocated.
A. *Alternative social movements* are looking at a selective part of the population, and the amount of change is limited due to this. Planned Parenthood is an example of this, because it is directed toward people of childbearing age to teach about the consequences of sex.
B. *Redemptive social movements* also look at a selective part of the population, but they seek a radical change. Some religious sects fit here, especially the ones that recruit members to be 'reborn'.
C. *Reformative social movements* are looking at everyone, but they seek a limited change. The environmental movement fits here, because they try to address everyone to help the environment in their lives (like recycling).
D. *Revolutionary social movements* want to change all of society. The Communist party is an example of wanting to radically change social institutions.

How much change?

	limited	radical
specific individuals	Alterative Social Movements	Redemptive Social Movements
everyone	Reformative Social Movements	Revolutionary Social Movements

Based on Aberle (1966).

Social movements can also advocate minor changes (e.g., tougher restrictions on drunk driving; see MADD) or radical changes (e.g., prohibition).

Reform movements - movements dedicated to changing some norms, usually legal ones. Examples of such a movement would include a trade union with a goal of increasing workers rights, a green movement advocating a set of ecological laws, or a movement supporting the introduction of capital punishment or right to abortion. Some reform movements may advocate a change in custom and moral norms, for example, condemnation of pornography or proliferation of some religion. The Polish *Solidarność* movement of 1980s was an important factor in the fall of the Soviet Union

Radical movements - movements dedicated to changing some value systems. It directs to the creation of new social order and the destruction of existing social order. Those are usually much larger in scope then the reform movements, Examples would include the American Civil Rights Movement which demanded full civil rights and equality under the law to all Americans, regardless of race, or the Polish Solidarity (*Solidarność*) movement which demanded the transformation of communist political and economy system into democracy and capitalism.

Target audience
Social movements can be aimed at change on an individual level (e.g., AA) or change on a broader, group or even societal level (e.g., anti-globalisation).
Group-focus movements - focused on affecting groups or society in general, for example, advocating the change of the political system. Most of such groups eventually transform into or join a political party.

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Individual-focused movements - focused on affecting individuals. Most religious movements would fall under this category. Those movements rarely transform into political parties.

Methods of work
Peaceful movements - opposed to using violent means. The American Civil Rights movement, Polish Solidarity movement, or Mahatma Gandhi civil disobedience movements would fall into this category
Violent movements - various armed resistance movements up to and including terrorist organisations. Examples would include the Palestinian Hezbollah, Basque Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (*ETA*) or Ireland's Provisional Irish Republican Army (*IRA*) movements.

Old and new
Old movements - most of the 19th century movements that recruited their followers from a specific social class (only workers, only peasants, only whites, only Aristocrats, only protestants, etc.). They were usually centered on some materialistic goals like improving the living standard of the given social class.
New movements - movements which became dominant from the second half of the 20th century - like the civil rights movement, environmental movement, gay rights movement, peace movement, anti-nuclear movement, anti-globalisation movement, etc. Sometimes they are known as postmodernism movements. They are usually centered on a non-materialistic goal.

Dynamic of Social Movements

Social movements are more likely to evolve in the time and place which is friendly to the social movements: hence their evident symbiosis with the 19th century proliferation of ideas like individual rights, freedom of speech and civil disobedience. They are more likely to form in the societies and cultures allowing expression of ideas by individuals - like most of the Western culture, which explains why most of social movements exist in the United States and Europe, and fewer in more autocratic places like Russia or China. Such friendly context and environment is only a background facilitating the creation of the social movement. There must also be polarising differences between groups of people: in case of 'old movements', they were the poverty and wealth gaps. In case of the 'new movements', they are more likely to be the differences in customs, ethics, and values.

Finally, the birth of a social movement needs what sociologist Neil Smelser calls an *initiating event*: a particular, individual event that will begin a chain reaction of events in the given society leading to the creation of a social movement. For example, American Civil Rights movement grew on the reaction to black women, Rosa Parks, riding in the whites-only section of the bus. The Incident of Rosa Parks who was arrested for refusing to give up her seat to make room for white people sparked the American Civil Rights Movement. The Polish Solidarity movement, which eventually toppled the communist regimes of the Eastern Europe, developed after trade union activist Anna Walentynowicz was fired from work. Such an event is also described as a *volcanic model* - a social movement is often created after a large number of people realise that there are others sharing the same value and desire for a particular social change.

Thus, one of the main difficulties facing the emerging social movement is spreading the very knowledge that it exists. Second, is overcoming the free rider problem - convincing

people to join it, instead of following the mentality 'why should I trouble myself when other's can do it and I can just reap benefits after their hard work'.

In summary, modern social movements became possible through education (the wider dissemination of literature), and increased mobility of labour due to the industrialisation and urbanisation of 19th century societies. The freedom of expression, education, and relative economic independence are required for organised social structures like political societies and popular movements.

Other Contributing Factors

Power & Authority

Power means: "being influential, having control, being effective (American heritage College Dictory, P1072). Sociologists usually define **power** as the ability to impose one's will on others, even if those others resist in some way. More generally, one could define 'power' as the potential to bring about significant change, usually in people's lives, through the actions of oneself or of others.

Such influence, control effectiveness involves the consideration of authority which is an accepted source of expert information, a conclusive statement or decision that may be taken as a guide or precedent, power to influence or precedent resulting from knowledge or experience. (American Heritage College Dictionary, p. 92).

Authority can take three forms: -
1) *Regulatory*, based on one's formal position and status in relation to others (employer-employees, teacher-student, police officer-citizen);
2) *Expert knowledge*, where the expert may possess the power to define ordinary people or to withhold knowledge from those whose well being is affected by it. Vast bodies of technical regulations exist whose application becomes the responsibility of the political technician; and
3) *Relationship ability or interpersonal skills*, where power comes from interpersonal influence based on abilities to work with people. Obviously one may have one kind of power and authority and not others or may have all three in various degrees.

Government exercises authority over its citizens through laws, administration, and enforcement. Society exercises a far more persuasive authority over its members through its ideas, attitudes, customs, and values. Different societies may develop at very different rates and in different directions under very similar forms of government, due to differences in social and cultural authority.

Modern societies are far more free and tolerant than those of previous centuries, yet they continue to exert a very powerful force on their members - but the character of that force has changed. From being predominantly negative in the form of prohibitions and strictures, now the force of social authority acts far more as a spur to initiative, than a bar. The pressure felt by middle and working class families to conform to social norms has become pervasive throughout the world.

The spread of education tends to enhance this tendency. Apart from the practical knowledge and skills it imparts, modern education also instills a greater sense of individual self-respect and social rights that impels the individual to seek and maintain status in society.

There are many theories and discourses focusing on the subject of 'power' and 'authority'. However, it is vital to recognise these two concepts and its interrelation with the social movements.

Organising vs. Mobilising mobilising refers to the process by which inspirational leaders or other persuaders can get large numbers of people to join a movement or engage in a particular movement action, while organising refers to a more sustained process whereby people come to deeply understand a movement's goals and empower themselves to continued action on behalf of those goals.
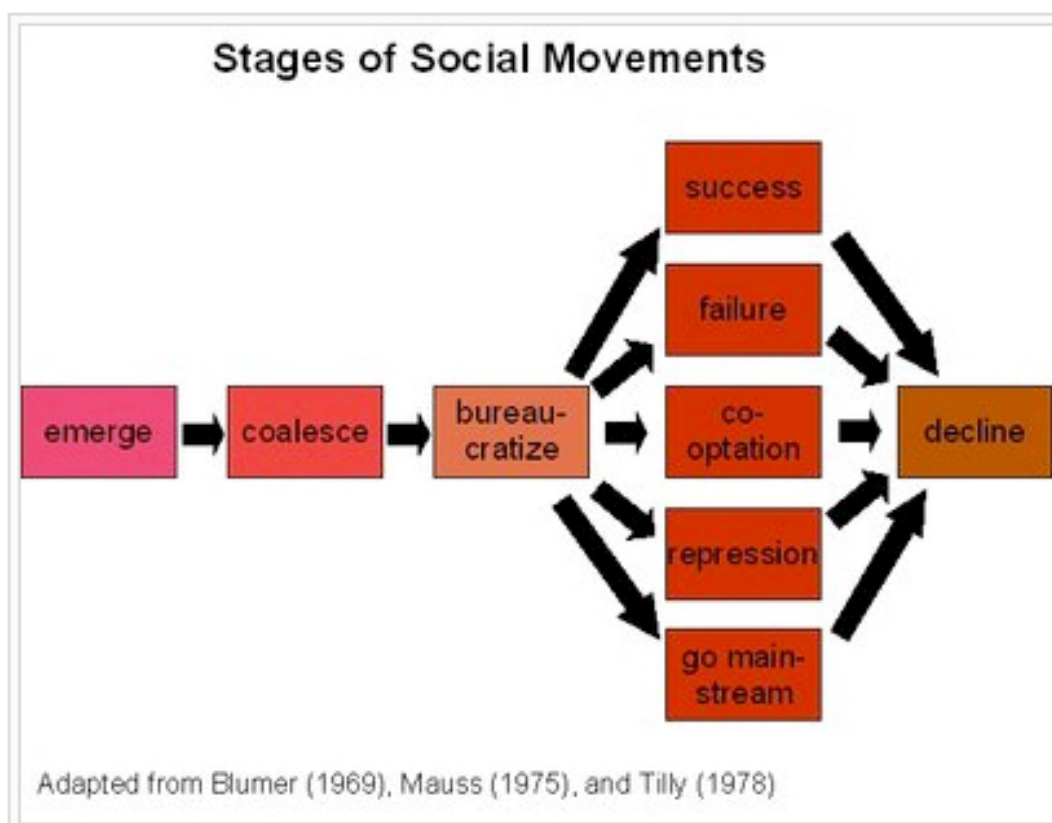
Stages of Social Movements

After the social movement is created, there are two likely phases of recruiting. The first phase will gather the people deeply interested in the primary goal and ideal of the movement. The second phase, which will usually come after the given movement had some successes and its fame increased, will gather people whose primary interest lie in joining the movement for 'being in it' - because it's trendy, it would look good on a resume. People who joined in this second phase will likely be the first to leave when the movement suffers any setbacks and failures.

Eventually, the social movement will move towards a crisis. If it has achieved its intended goal, then it's called a *victory crisis*, as most members leave the movement assuming there is no longer any need for its continued existence. This will likely be opposed by a minority of members, for whom the existence of the very movement have become the primary goal itself, and likely the source of their income. Few social movements have survived a *victory crisis*, often merging with other similar movement or transforming into a tiny, caricature form of their early selves. Other type of crisis is a *failure crisis*, which can be seen in increasing demoralisation and disenchantment of members, when they loose faith in the possibility that the primary goal of the movement can be ever achieved. *Failure crisis* can be encouraged by outside elements, like opposition from government or other movements. However, many movements had survived a failure crisis, being revived by some hardcore activists even after several decades.

Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975), and Tilly (1978) have described different stages social movements often pass through. Movements emerge for a variety of reasons (see the theories below), coalesce, and generally bureaucratise. At that point, they can take a number of paths, including: finding some form of movement success, failure, co-optation of leaders, repression by larger groups (e.g., government), or even the establishment of the movement within the mainstream.

Stages of Social Movements

emerge → coalesce → bureau-cratize → { success / failure / co-optation / repression / go main-stream } → decline

Adapted from Blumer (1969), Mauss (1975), and Tilly (1978)

Social movements have a lifecycle of their own, and move through various stages that include: -

Incipiency
The birth of the movement

Coalescence
The movement becoming a co-operative force

Institutionalisation
Develops into an institution

- or –

Fragmentation
Falls apart

Social Movement Theories

A variety of theories have attempted to explain how social movements develop. The many approaches to the explanation of the phenomenon of social movements suggest that no one of them is able to explain everything. All the approaches may be correct in their local sphere, but they either stress attention to specific types of social movements and consider them as universal or put all the attention on a single aspect of the phenomenon of social movements and ignore others. Different accents give diverse outcomes. Some of the better-known approaches are outlined below.

> ➤ *Collective behaviour (Old social movement theory)*

`Collective behaviour' theory is still recognised as a dominant theory in studies of social movements. The supporters of this approach consider social movements as semi-rational responses to abnormal conditions of structural strain between the major societal institutions; that strain causes malfunctioning of the whole social system. In general, according to the collective behaviour approach, social movements are the symptom and manifestation of a sick society. A healthy society does not have social movements; it has a conditional form of political and social participation.

> ➤ *Resource mobilisation theory (RMT)*

This school of social movement analysis, developed from the 1960s onward, has been and remains the dominant approach among sociologists, though it has increasingly been challenged in recent years.

`Resource mobilisation' theorists point out that social movements are rational and novel responses to new situations and new opportunities in society. Movements are seen as innovative forms of political participation, which create and tap new political resources available in modern democratic societies. They are treated as emerging pressure groups or as embryonic parties. Social movements are no longer seen as symptomatic of social malfunction or pathology. They appear as a part of the political process.

RM theory stresses the ways in which movements are shaped by and work within limits set by the resources available to the group and the organisational skills of movement leaders in utilising those resources. Resources are understood here to include: knowledge, money, media, labour, solidarity, legitimacy, and intern and external support from power elite. The emphasis on resources offers an explanation why some discontented/deprived individuals are able to organise while other are not.

> ➤ *Political process theory*

Political Process Theory in some way is similar to resource mobilisation, but tends to emphasis different components of social structure that is important for social movement development: political opportunities. Political process theory argues that there are three vital components for movement formation: insurgent consciousness, organisational strength, and political opportunities.

Organisational strength falls inline with resource-mobilisation theory, arguing that in order for a social movement to organise it must have strong leadership and sufficient resources.

Insurgent consciousness refers back to the ideas of deprivation and grievances. The idea is that certain members of society feel like they are being mistreated or that somehow the system is unjust. The insurgent consciousness is the collective sense of injustice that movement members (or potential movement members) feel and serves as the motivation for movement organisation.

Political opportunity refers to the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system to challenge. This vulnerability can be the result of any of the following (or a combination thereof).

One of the advantages of the political process theory is that it addresses the issue of timing or emergence of social movements. Some groups may have the insurgent consciousness and resources to mobilise, but because political opportunities are closed,

they will not have any success. The theory, then, argues that all three of these components are important.

Critics of the political process theory and resource-mobilisation theory point out that neither theory discusses movement culture to any great degree. This has presented culture theorists an opportunity to expound on the importance of culture.

An additional strength of this model is that it can look at the outcomes of social movements not only in terms of success or failure but also in terms of consequences (whether intentional or unintentional, positive or negative) and in terms of collective benefits.

> *'New social movement'*

New Social Movement Theory developed initially in Europe to help explain a host of new movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s that did not seem to fit a model of Marxian class conflict that had been the predominant model in much European social movement theory.

The newness of the putatively new social movements is said to consist of such things as a greater emphasis on group or collective identity, values and lifestyles rather than or in addition to developed ideologies, and a tendency to emerge more from middle than working class constituencies. The Green Party in Germany with its emphasis on environmental and peace issues, feminism, and alternative non-consumerist lifestyles is often portrayed as the umbrella group representing a synthesis of new social movements aimed at a broad, general social liberation.

Some new social movement theorists emphasise a change in the economic structure of the First World from an industrial, heavy manufacturing based 'Fordist' (after Henry Ford's assembly line) to a 'post-industrial,' 'postmodern' or 'post-Fordist' economy centered more around the service sector (i.e. fast food restaurants) and computer-based information industries as a structural force shaping the new movements.

New social movements, in contrast to old social movements, are produced by new contradictions of society, contradictions between individual and state. `New values' theorists also stress that the condition of economic prosperity and political stability allow them to de-emphasise material values and lead them to embrace post-materialist values, reflecting `higher' aesthetic, self-realisation, and creative needs. These approaches change class interests (or transform them) into non-class but `universal human' interests.

There first three approaches have been particularly influential in the USA, the fourth has been mainly associated with European scholars. In some extends it can be seen as an 'American' and a 'European' approach to the study of social movements.

Examples of Social Movements

Gandhi and Non-Violence

Gandhi's greatest achievement was to develop the philosophy of non-violent action, and spread this concept throughout the world. Born on October 2, 1869, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi struggled to find freedom for his Indian countrymen and to spread his belief in non-violent resistance.

Part of the inspiration Gandhi's policy of non-violence came from the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, whose influence on Gandhi was profound. Gandhi also acknowledged his debt to the Bhagavad Gita, the teachings of Christ and to the 19th-century American writer Henry David Thoreau, especially to Thoreau's famous essay 'Civil Disobedience'.

Gandhi considered the terms passive resistance and civil disobedience inadequate for his purposes, however, and coined another term, Satyagraha (Sanskrit, "truth and firmness").

It was in South Africa that Gandhi first experienced racial discrimination. There he began his fight to end prejudice and achieve equality for people of all races. Using marches, letters, articles, community meetings and boycotts, he protested. These protests often led to his arrest.

After 21 years in South Africa Gandhi returned to India to fight for Indian independence from Great Britain. In addition to the methods he used in South Africa, Gandhi would add fasting, prayer, and to his system of non-violence.

The six strategic steps on non-violent action were: -

1. Investigate
Get the facts. The complexity of society today requires patient investigation to accurately determine responsibility for a particular injustice.

2. Negotiate
Meet with opponents and put the case to them. A solution may be worked out. If no solution is possible, let your opponents know that you intend to stand firm to establish justice, but that you are always ready to negotiate further.

3. Educate
Keep campaign participants and supporters well informed about the issues, and spread the word to the public.

4. Demonstrate
Picketing, vigiling, mass rallies, and leafleting are the next steps.

5. Resist
Non-violent resistance is the final step, to be added to the first four as a last resort. This may mean a boycott, a fast, a strike, tax resistance, a non-violent blockade or other forms of civil disobedience. Planning must be carefully done, and non-violence training is essential. When properly carried out, actions of resistance build a position of moral clarity, which will strengthen your own courage and create widespread respect for your campaign.

6. Be patient
Meaningful change cannot be accomplished overnight. To deepen ones analysis of injustice and oppression means to become aware of how deeply entrenched are the structures, which produce them. These structures can be eliminated, but this requires a long-term commitment and strategy.

Gandhian principles played a part in inspiring similar movements throughout the world, removing dictators over the last 15 years in countries as far apart as the Philippines and Poland, while providing the inspiration for the American civil rights leader, Martin Luther

King. In 1959, Dr. and Mrs. King spend a month in India studying Gandhi's techniques of non-violence as guests of Prime Minister Jawaharal Nehru.

The US Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States was a struggle by black Americans to gain full citizenship rights and achieve racial equality. Individuals and organisations challenged discrimination with a variety of activities, including protest marches, boycotts, and refusal to abide by segregation laws. Many believe that the movement began with the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 and ended with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, though some argue that it has not ended yet.

The movement had two clear strands: -
  ➢ *Reform*
The Southern Christian Leadership Council. Luther King's non-violent approach.
  ➢ *Revolutionary*
The Black Panthers, Malcolm X.

Malcolm X rejected non-violence as a principle, but he sought co-operation with Martin Luther King and other civil rights activists who favoured aggressive non-violent protests. To thousands of black people around the world, he personified revolution. He was able to appeal to ordinary people and to articulate the anger and frustration they felt. Above all, he symbolised unyielding defiance and resistance in the face of prejudice, discrimination, and repression.

Martin Luther King, and his policy of non-violent protest, was the dominant force in the civil rights movement during its decade of greatest achievement, from 1957 to 1968. His lectures and remarks stirred the concern and sparked the conscience of a generation. The movements and marches he led brought significant changes in American life.

King summoned together a number of black leaders in 1957 and laid the groundwork for the organisation now known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). King was elected its president, and he soon began helping other communities organise their own protests against discrimination.

Dr. King's concept of '*somebodiness*' gave black and poor people a new sense of worth and dignity. His philosophy of non-violent direct action, and his strategies for rational and non-destructive social change, electrified the conscience of this nation and re-ordered its priorities. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, for example, went to Congress as a result of the Selma to Montgomery march. His wisdom, his words, his actions, his commitment, and his dreams for a new cast of life fired the movement. His 1963 'I Have a Dream' speech dealing with peace and racial equality is one of the most powerful speeches in American history.

The major principles of King's non-violence movement were: -
  ➢ Non-violence is a way of life for courageous people.
  ➢ Non-violence seeks to win friendship and understanding
  ➢ Non-violence seeks to defeat injustices, not people.
  ➢ Non-violence holds that suffering for a cause can educate and transform.
  ➢ Non-violence chooses love instead of hate.
  ➢ Non-violence holds that the universe is on the side of justice and that right will prevail.

The tactics employed included: -

Sit-ins
In 1960, four black students asked to be served at Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, reserved for white customers only. When refused they staged a sit-in protest. By 1961, 70,000 had taken part in similar sit-ins. These protests gained publicity for the plight of blacks in the South.

Freedom Riders
These were groups of black and white protesters who rode segregated buses across the Southern States. Sometimes, they were ambushed and attacked by white youths. When they reached their destination – usually a heavily segregated town, they would organise sit-ins. Freedom riders got great publicity for the Civil Rights cause.

Demonstrations and Marches
Peaceful demonstrations and marches were very powerful Civil Rights tactics. When demonstrators were attacked by white police forces e.g. Birmingham, Alabama, April 1963, (dogs, fire hoses and cattle prods used) public opinion came down on the Civil Rights protestors, rather than bigoted police chiefs.

King was recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, which increased his credibility enormously.

After 1965 the focus of the civil rights movement began to change. Martin Luther King, Jr., focused on poverty and racial inequality in the North. Younger activists criticised his interracial strategy and appeals to moral idealism. In 1968, King was assassinated by a gunman in Memphis, Tennessee.

For many, the civil rights movement ended with the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. Some argue that the movement is not yet over because the goal of full equality has not been achieved. Racial problems still existed after 1968, and urban poverty among blacks represented a worsening problem.

King's legacy has lived on. In 1969, his widow, Coretta Scott King, organised the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change. Today it stands next to the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta. His birthday, Jan. 15, is a national holiday, celebrated each year with educational programs, artistic displays, and concerts throughout the United States. The Lorraine Hotel where he was shot is now the National Civil Rights Museum. More importantly, he has inspired future social change fighters and citizens.

Feminist Movement

The feminist movement is said to have two main waves: -

> *1ˢᵗ wave*
Right to vote, own property. Divorce. (to 1920)

> *2ⁿᵈ wave*
Extension of civil rights – owning credit card, equal rights, equal pay, education, reproductive and health rights. Women in politics.

Suffragettes

In the UK, the National Union for Women's Suffrage was formed in 1987 by Millicent Fawcett. Their primary aim was to obtain the vote for women, Ms Fawcett believed in peaceful protest.

Progress was slow, and in 1903 the Women's Social and Political Union was founded by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters Christabel and Sylvia. They wanted women to have the right to vote and they were not prepared to wait. The Union became better known as the Suffragettes. Members of the Suffragettes were prepared to use violence to get what they wanted.

In fact, the Suffragettes started off relatively peacefully. It was only in 1905 that the organisation created a stir when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney interrupted a political meeting in Manchester to ask two Liberal politicians (Winston Churchill and Sir Edward Grey) if they believed women should have the right to vote. Neither man replied. As a result, the two women got out a banner that had on it 'Votes for Women' and shouted at the two politicians to answer their questions. Such actions were all but unheard of then when public speakers were usually heard in silence and listened to courteously even if you did not agree with them. Pankhurst and Kenney were thrown out of the meeting and arrested for causing an obstruction and a technical assault on a police officer. Both women refused to pay a fine preferring to go to prison to highlight the injustice of the system as it was then.

The Suffragettes burned down churches as the Church of England was against what they wanted; they vandalised Oxford Street, apparently breaking all the windows in this famous street; they chained themselves to Buckingham Palace as the Royal Family were seen to be against women having the right to vote; they hired out boats, sailed up the Thames and shouted abuse through loud hailers at Parliament as it sat; others refused to pay their tax. Politicians were attacked as they went to work. Their homes were fire bombed. Golf courses were vandalised.

Suffragettes were quite happy to go to prison. Here they refused to eat and went on a hunger strike. The government was very concerned that they might die in prison thus giving the movement martyrs. Prison governors were ordered to force feed Suffragettes but this caused a public outcry as forced feeding was traditionally used to feed lunatics as opposed to what were mostly educated women.

The government of Asquith responded with the Cat and Mouse Act. The Cat and Mouse Act allowed the Suffragettes to go on a hunger strike and let them get weaker and weaker. Force-feeding was not used. When the Suffragettes were very weak … they were released from prison. If they died out of prison, this was of no embarrassment to the government. However, they did not die but those who were released were so weak that they could take no part in violent Suffragette struggles. When those arrested had regained their strength, they were re-arrested for the most trivial of reason and the whole process started again. This, from the government's point of view, was a very simple but effective weapon against the Suffragettes.

As a result, the Suffragettes became more extreme. The most famous act associated with the Suffragettes was at the June 1913 Derby when Emily Wilding Davison threw herself under the King's horse. She was killed and the Suffragettes had their first martyr. However, her actions probably did more harm than good to the cause, as she was a highly

educated women. Many men asked the simple question - if this is what an educated woman does, what might a lesser-educated woman do? How can they possibly be given the right to vote?

It is possible that the Suffragettes would have become more violent. They had, after all, in February 1913 blown up part of David Lloyd George's house - he was probably Britain's most famous politician at this time and he was thought to be a supporter of the right for women to have the vote!

However, Britain and Europe was plunged into World War One in August 1914. In a display of patriotism, Emmeline Pankhurst instructed the Suffragettes to stop their campaign of violence and support in every way the government and its war effort. The work done by women in the First World War was to be vital for Britain's war effort. In 1918, the Representation of the People Act was passed by Parliament.

As well as the USA, similar movements were also being carried out in Australia and New Zealand.

The Environmental Movement

From the late nineteenth century until the nineteen sixties, 'environmentalism' was generally understood to refer to a set of movements made up overwhelmingly of people from the better off sectors of society, who were concerned about issues of preservation or management of the wilderness, and whose critique of society did not generally go beyond these concerns.

Although it had its roots dating back into the 1890s, the modern environmental movement did not develop until the 1960s – which was an era of real social change (free speech, civil rights, women's rights, anti-war etc.).

Rachel Carson's book 'Silent Spring' in 1963 was a real 'wake-up' call. Its exposure of the effects of DDT (a 'pest' pray that killed insects, entered the food chain and caused cancer and genetic damage) led to it being banned from the market.

The crises that triggered change were the toxic smogs, starting with the 1948 Pennsylvania smog followed by others in New York and London in the 1950s and 60s.

In the sixties and seventies a radical environmental movement began to emerge made up of groups concerned with the degradation of the environment not as a wilderness issue, but as a part of daily life. Recycling was promoted, and wider issues such as the dangers of chemicals in the food chain, polluted air and water etc. were promoted to persuade people that protection of the environment was an important issue. Most of the people involved in these groups were young people, influenced by the antiwar movement and by the counterculture.

At roughly the same time, some progressive labour activists were beginning to raise issues having to do with occupational safety and health, with the presence of toxic chemicals and other environmental hazards in the workplace. Both labour environmentalism and radical environmentalism (or ecology, as it was usually called) were concerned not only with protecting the wilderness, but also with the impact of environmental degradation on people's daily lives.

In the seventies both radical and mainstream environmentalism grew, but both sectors of environmentalism remained overwhelmingly white and, except for efforts by labour activists around occupational safety and health, overwhelmingly composed of middle and upper-middle class people, especially students and professionals.

It was in the late seventies and early eighties that a new grassroots environmental movement began to emerge involving constituencies previously distant from environmentalism: lower middle class and working class whites, coloured people and rural communities.

Growth of environmental organisation membership increased enormously from the early 60s to the present day. The number of environmental organisations also grew rapidly. These groups cover a number of types of approaches, for example: -

> Mainstream/conservative ecology: The Sierra Club
> Populist ecology: Earth Day
> Radical ecology: Greenpeace, GAIA (eco-feminists)

The range of environmental issues that organisations campaign about is vast (covering issues such as water, air, forests, wetlands, animals and habitats, anti-war and anti-nuclear, and wastes).

Environmentalism, unlike most social change movements, has the benefit of extremely concrete benchmarks, things like tons of CO_2 emissions prevented; acres of rainforest and coral reef preserved; species saved from extinction etc. However, in terms of the ultimate conservation objective of building a civilisation that can thrive on this planet without destroying it, then the movement is failing. Analyses indicate the need to tap more into other higher need – and individually more urgent concerns – such as prosperity, security, health, fashion/luxury, success/progress etc. in order for the movement to continue to thrive.

Further Resources

✍ *Web Sites*

Social Change

Causes of Social Change
http://husky1.stmarys.ca/~evanderveen/wvdv/social_change/causes_of_social_change.htm

Global Social Change Research Project
http://gsociology.icaap.org/

Social Movements Theories
http://husky1.stmarys.ca/~evanderveen/wvdv/social_change/social_movement_theories.htm

Social Movements
http://www.fiu.edu/~westl/Lecture%20Notes%20pdf/Social%20Movements.pdf

Sociology/Social Movements
http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/introduction_to_Sociology/Social_Movements

Theories of Social Movements
http://lucy.ukc.ac.uk/csacpub/russian/mamay.html

History Works: Social Movements and Social Change
http://www.historyworksohio.org/corethemes/corethemes-social.cfm

Grantmakers Without Borders: Global Social Change Philanthropy
http://www.internationaldonors.org/gscp/index.htm
Interesting that the funding for social change debate is developing….

Principles of Non-Violent Direct Action
http://www.dfong.com/nonviol/nda.html

Books

Social Movements - A Cognitive Approach
By: Ron Eyerman, University of Lund, Sweden/ ANDREW JAMISON, University of Lund, Sweden
http://www.psupress.org/books/titles/0-271-00752-4.html