

Social Movements

Precipitating Conditions

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- When attempting to understand **either collective behaviours or social movements** a strategy has been to observe precipitating conditions.
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- **What conditions** give rise to collective behaviours or social movements?
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Social Movement/precipitating conditions

- Tilly argues that the early growth of social movements was connected to broad **economic** and **political** changes including:
 1. **parliamentarization**,
 2. **market capitalization**,
 3. and **proletarianization**

Social Movements Rise when

- **Democracy**-first parliamentary, then republican-US & France
- **Industry**- movs away from feudalism
- **Proletarianization**-distinctive class consciousness

19th Strain, Industry and Proletarianization

- Poor working conditions-15hr days, no
- Poor hygiene
- Overcrowding
- Crime
- Poverty

Marx's Solution

- Alienated labour
- =Class consciousness
- First class in history aware of their plight
- Workers should not accept anything less than SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION
- Reform is only a half way measure

IWA Movement

- 1. **Structural Strain-** somehow the system is not working
- 2. Ideological Shift-right to left
- 3. Catalyst- spark

IWA

- **The First International** showed how difficult it was to unite people when movement seemed abstract and distant.
- English Workers could organize, French could not, Canada was still quite agricultural.

Example

- In 1862, the First International was formed.
- Shows the push to left and its difficulty
- The experiences of workers varied from country to country but by in large, they began to unite.

Different Positions on IWW's importance

- Some saw Internationals as a way of protecting workers from foreign labour power.
- Others saw International as a way of “smashing the capitalist state.
- Some were in favour of violence, others were not.

Other Ideological Difference

- Proudhon advocated non-violence
- Believed that early co-operative were an indication that the entire economy could gradually transform

Marx

- Tries to put Socialism into practice
- Opposed bourgeois socialism, opposed Sects, opposed the Petite Bourgeoisie.
- **Question:** How is it possible to organize a large number of people, spread across great distances without sacrificing tolerance and diversity?

Problem of Bureaucratization

- Union officials, International representative, different countries, back and forth may take 6 months.
- Worker horizontal relations (worker to worker) ends up being to down-from Union bosses

Other Problems

- Organized labour movement
- And Union Movement
- Is it possible for Workers of the World to Unite given the nature of:
 - organizations,
 - networks
 - and alliances.????

- Seeing **the complexity** of the precipitating condition for Movements such as IWA and later the IWW.
- The social movement literature since the 1970's emphasizes the **differences not the similarities** between collective behaviour and social movements.
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Social movements

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- **Social movements** are purposive, goal directed, organizations...scholars now look for the **dynamics** of social movements and social organizations.

Resource mobilization theory

- **Resource mobilization theory** in particular, argues that there is no automatic relationship between mass mobilization and a movement's success.
- Its **focus is on the organization** (middle or meso level) and on the larger structures called institutions...

Emphasis is on the

- rationality,
- planning
- institutional involvements in social movements...

INSTITUTIONS

- **ORGANIZE HUMAN SOCIETY**
- DIRECT HUMAN BEHAVIOUR AND ACTIVE
- Are the means through which most change occurs..
- Structural Functionalist call this adaptation.

CONFLICT THEORY

- **INSTITUTIONS ARE DEVELOPED AND MAINTAINED BY THE RULING CLASS**
- **THE TWO KEY INSTITUTIONS ARE THE POLITICAL AND THE ECONOMIC.**
- **UNLIKE ADAM SMITH, MARX WAS A POLITICAL ECONOMIST**

Political economy

- The key to class conflict...a capitalistic society is sustained by:
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- a. **exchange** of commodified labour power
- b. **electoral-representative political system**

American bourgeoisie

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- The American bourgeoisie has created new markets or tailored existing ones to further its economic, political and ideological objectives.
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Political Economists Maintain that...

- **States tolerate markets**, occasionally regulate or shut them down, but always **shape the realm of possibilities**-to exploit, to organize, to struggle-available actors in markets.
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Problems with Marxism

- How does one put theory into practice?
- How is it possible for workers to unite when they are so diverse, and different?
- **Social Movement**-emergent-define themselves against adversaries in a process.

- **Adversaries**....are organized collectivities with perceptible boundaries.
- **Social Movement** seek to set up a dichotomy between the establishment and movement.

- They are engaged in a war with an **adversarial class**....

Marx Quote

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- Classes are not simply objective (born out of social relations of production) rather they are often motivated by the **struggles of the actors to define themselves** against their adversaries....as organized collectivities with perceptible boundaries.

- Indeed an **interest of any one class is usually to disorganize,**
- either directly or indirectly via manipulation
- of the state or market,
- **to render it ineffective** as an organized collectively pursuing its often different, occasionally antagonistic, interests....

- This means that movements can occur on either the right or left of the political spectrum.
- The owners of the means of production are equally effective in mounting opposition to social forces.

For Example

- The IWW began in the United States in 1905
- It held on to the belief that ONE BIG Union could be formed

In response Example:

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- **Research Question:** How did capital resist organization and mobilization during the pre-New Deal period between 1902-1928.:

Capital launched two major counter-movements:

Designed to resist Unionism

- a. open shop drive 1903-13
- b. American Plan. (essentially the same movement)

Crusade against unionism.

- The **Chamber of Commerce** and the **National Grange** pursued identical strategies as the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) National Civic Foundation (NCF).
- It was **a crusade against unionism.**
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Union Busting Strategies:

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- 1. They accused the unionists as having the same aim as the **Socialists**....The NAM adopted a **hostile policy** to unions by advocating an open shop strategy....
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- 2, Ideology precipitates a movement or a countermovement: for example, NAM sought to inform the public about the “true nature of unionism”...

- 3. They used money, the **political center,**
and moral persuasion....Cooperated with
a number of newly formed anti-union
associations.....

- 4. They formed the **National Council of Industrial Defense** to defeat candidates and legislation pertaining to wages, hours and working conditions.

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- **5. National Civic Foundation-**
essentially dismantled the union movement-
espoused a conservative and responsible
unionism-some workers compensation to
curb rapacious competition.... However, the
NCF's lofty **ideology of tolerance** and
conciliation was never matched in practice

Results

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- a. capitalists diminished the unity of the working class...divide and conquer-new system of scientific management, factor administration, mechanization of labour

- b. Drew upon the **heterogeneity of immigrant labour**..reserve army,
immigrants do not trust each other

- c. **skill differentials** by selectively hiring or firing particular groups, keep groups together with no common tongue

- d. **mechanization** led to the replacement of the craftsmen with semi-skill workers thereby **undermining the monopoly of production knowledge**

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- **e. job hierarchies**, specialized operations, incentive pay, managerial domination kills the “collective worker”

Political Changes

- a. technical control-**autmonization**
employee representation (individual
grievances used as a management tool)
- b. **employee savings plans**
- c. **boycotting union goods**
- d. **hiring union spies**
- e. **use of propaganda**

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- This article shows that **social movements can be movements from the Right**...Social movements designed to preserve the status quo and maintain bourgeois hegemony....

Capital's success in disorganizing the working class

- Cost the worker dearly. It **mobilization and collective action** were hindered; its economic advancement in the market was visibly slowed; its **understanding of itself as a collectivity** with common struggles and objectives was shattered.

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- **Fragmentation, internal cleavages cost the working class its struggle for equality and fairness.....**
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Antigonish Movement

- **Bantjes' hypothesis:** the state actively supports workers where there is a **perceived threat** that working people would otherwise organize their own, much more radical anti-capitalist movements.

CCF ISSUE

- Could capitalists large or small, invested in private property ever break free of capitalism?
- Would they, as Lenin argued, “show their capitalist face”?

CCF

- DID BECOME CO-OPTED
- Transformed Canada's political culture
- Social democratic reforms now part of the system
- Have adapted pragmatically to Canada's parliamentary landscape

Overall Coop Issue

- What would have happened if the State maintained a repressive stance against workers?
- Marx assumed militancy never happened situations were complex.