

Class 12: Social Movements online, in effect, dying out, and going forward

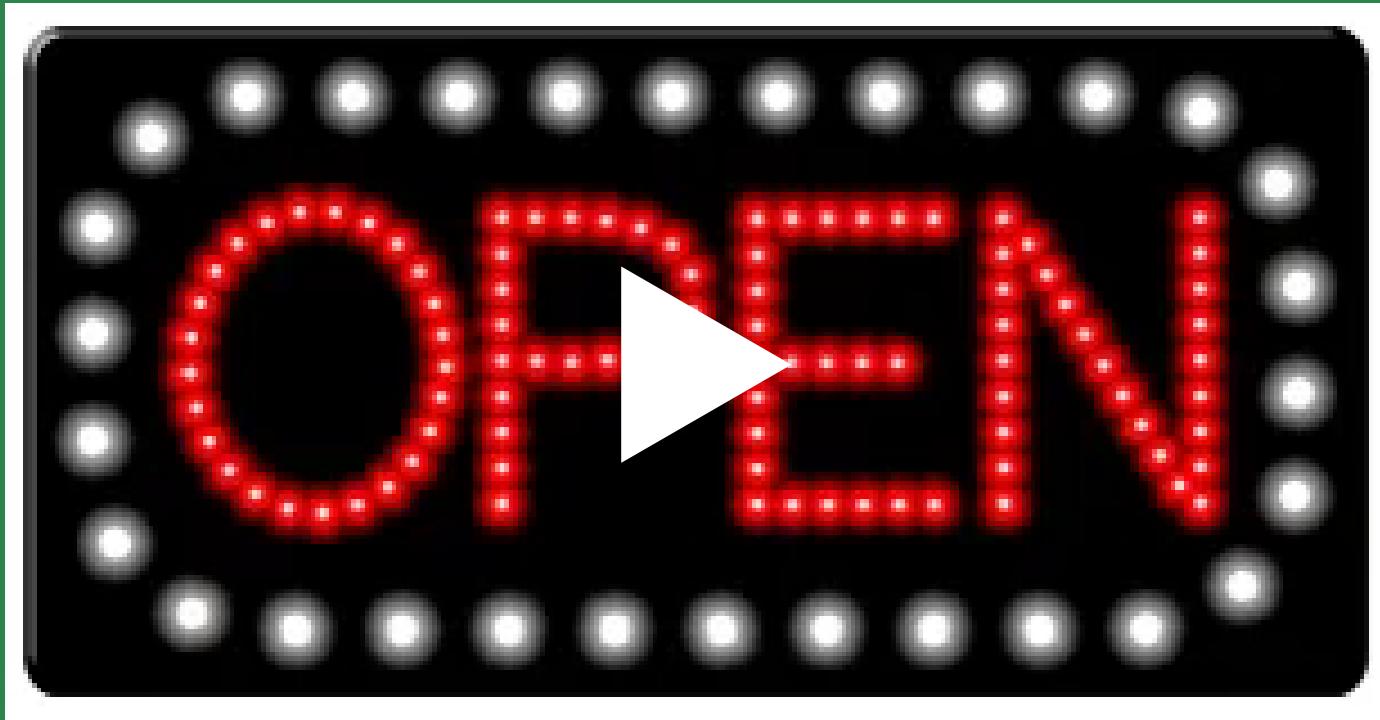
Movement impacts

Dr. Michael C. Zeller

Agenda for the day

- Opening notes
- Types of impact
- Determinants of impact
- Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Opening notes



- short **synopsis** for final essay due **Friday (17 January)** (send to me via email)

Presentation groups

Presentations line-up

Date	Presenters	Method
4 Dec:	Daichi, Seongyeon, Jehyun	ethnography
8 Jan:	Ayla, Tara, Theresa, Annabelle	discourse analysis
15 Jan:	Luna, Emilene, Raffa	interviewing

Course feedback

Please take a few minutes to fill in the course feedback survey (check your LMU email).

If have an opinion on these points in the comments:

- Would you have preferred getting a specific assigned organisation to independently study in depth? Yes/No
- Would you have liked more structured discussions (e.g., set debates on class topics)? Yes/No
- Would you rather that class readings are drawn from textbook(s) than journal articles? Yes/No
- changes or additions to the course website?

Types of impact

- opening questions
- overview of types of impact
 - individual, organisational, political, cultural
- example: Me Too movement
- individual impact
- organisational impact
- political impact
- cultural impact



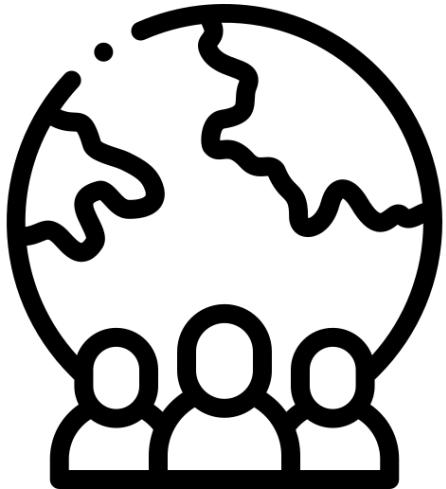
How have movements you know of had an impact on society?

- Where and how can social movements have an impact? (Think in terms of categories or arenas of activism)
- How might we differentiate between degrees of impact?

Movement impacts

Movement impacts

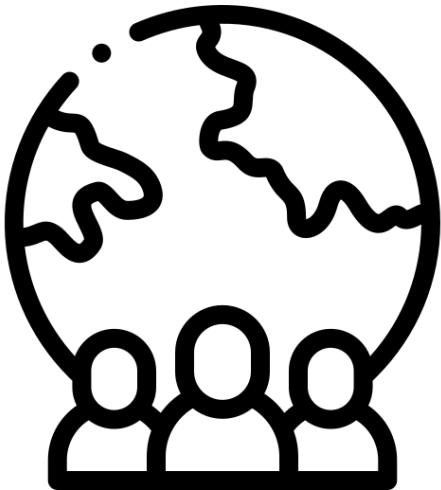
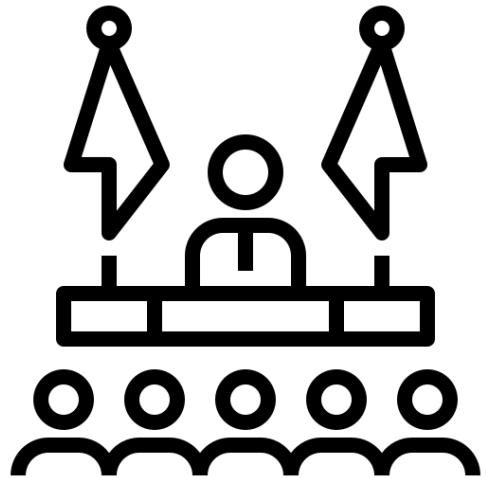
cultural



Movement impacts

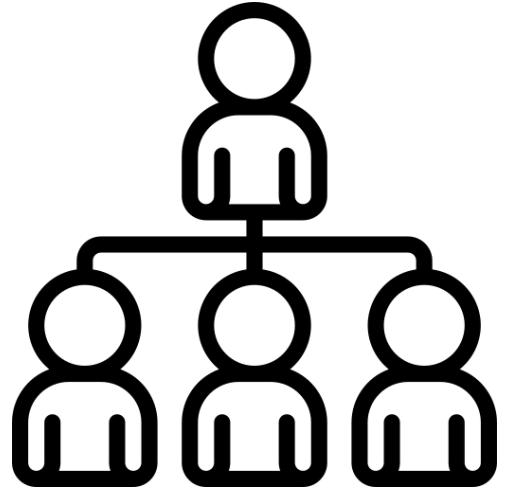
political

cultural

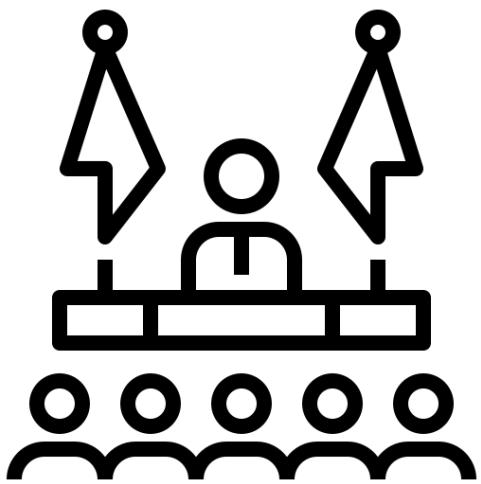


Movement impacts

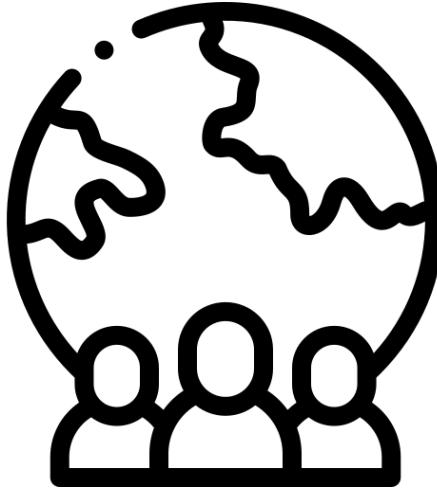
organisational



political

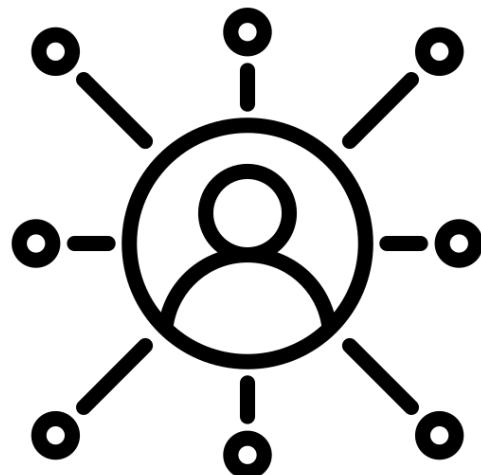


cultural

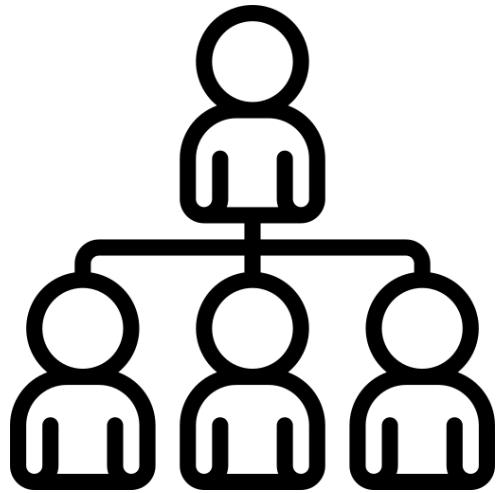


Movement impacts

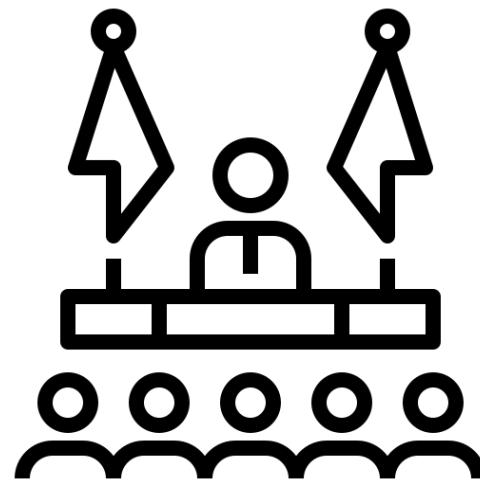
individual



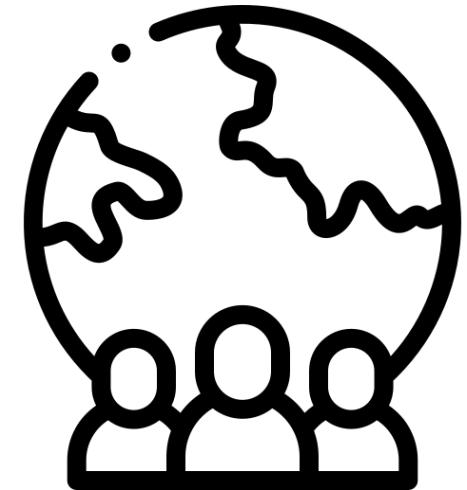
organisational



political

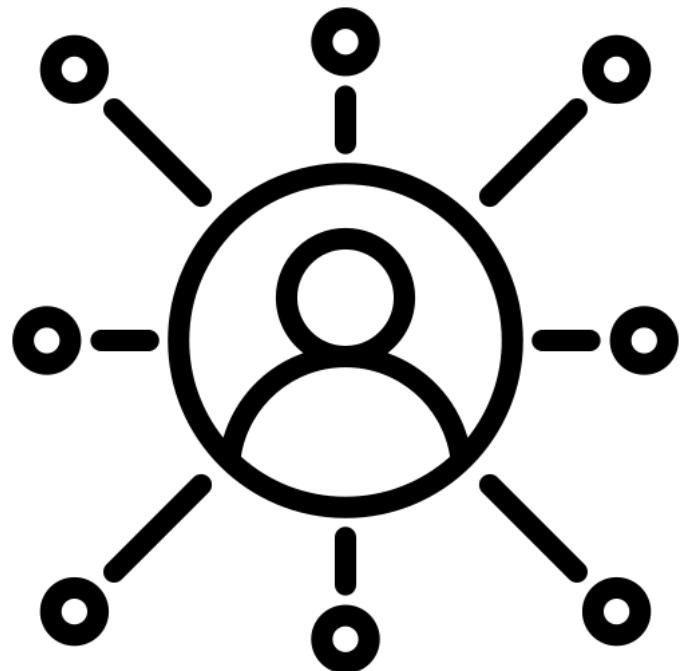


cultural



Movement impacts - individual

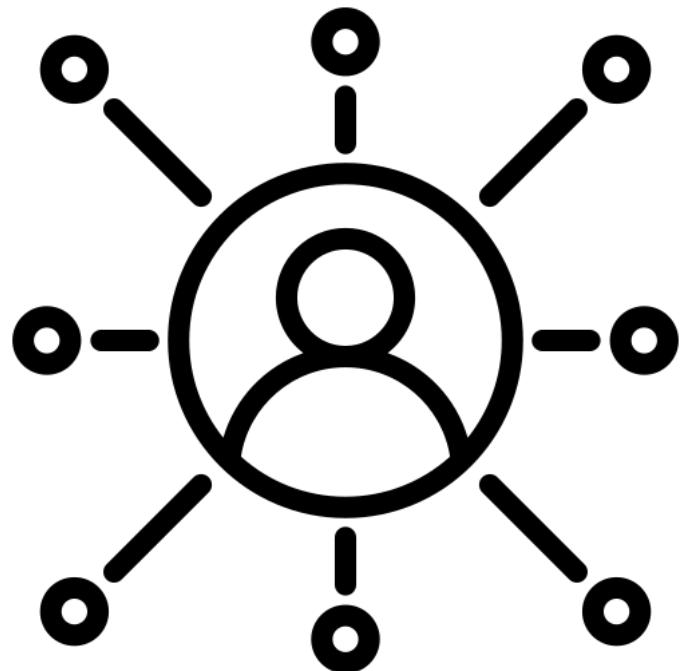
individual



- did people who participated change? how?
 - interpersonal connections (likely future movement participation)
- did people who encountered the movement change? how?
 - different issue attention/focus?
 - different attitudes?
- **participants, attitudinally**: radicalised? disillusioned? **behaviourally**: more extreme? burnout?
- **onlookers responses**: on immigration, culture? support/oppose?

Movement impacts - individual

individual

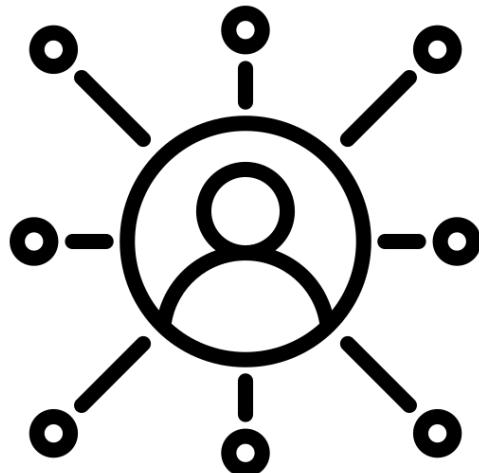


- more likely to be recruited into other movement activism (e.g., 2019)
- shapes how individuals think of movement participation ('habitus') (e.g., 2018)
- strengthened attitudes around issues (even after *disengagement*) (e.g., 2022)
- 'only' momentary participation (e.g., 2015)
 - participants might return to 'normal' life
- **despair and disengagement**, e.g., (2019) ...

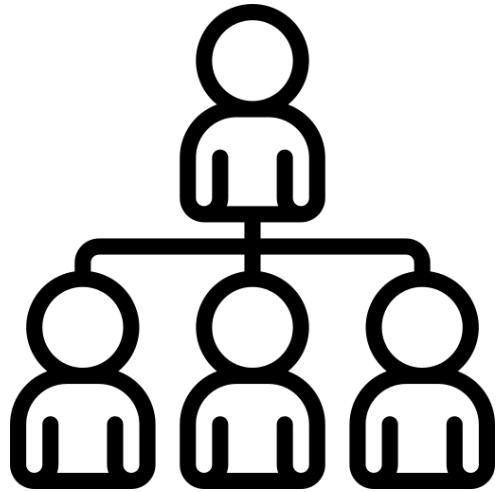
The **high cost of protesting** and political participation **coupled with frustration** from the Brotherhood's **incapable leadership** disenchanted several members who not only **broke ties** with the Brotherhood but also with politics as a whole.

Movement impacts

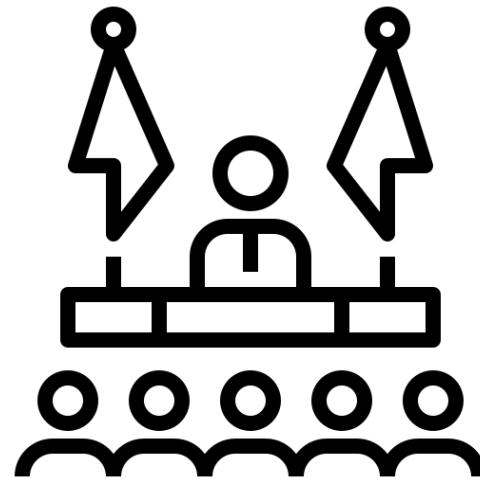
individual



organisational



political

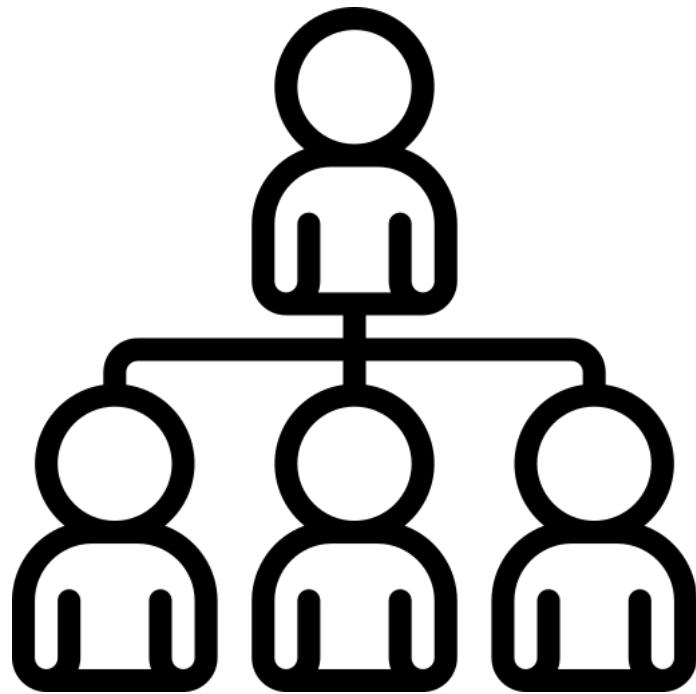


cultural



Movement impacts - organisational

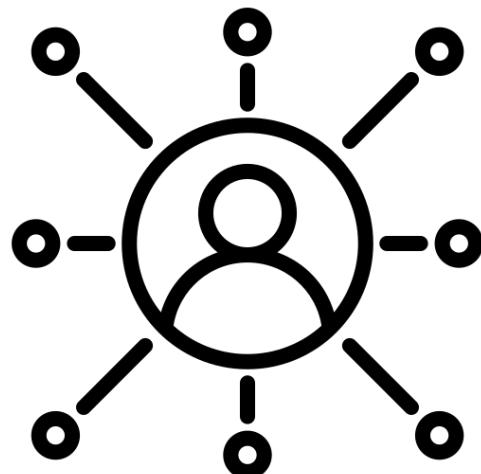
organisational



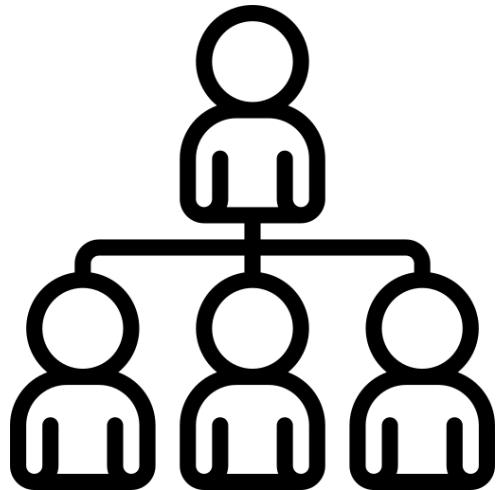
- a targeted organisation?
 - changed behaviour? organisational decline?
- the movement's own (or connected) organisation(s)?
 - professionalisation, institutionalisation
 - new affiliate organisations (perhaps parties, businesses)
- **targeted organisation**: e.g., changed (political) financing activity, policies (as with platforms content moderation), hindered org.'s activity

Movement impacts

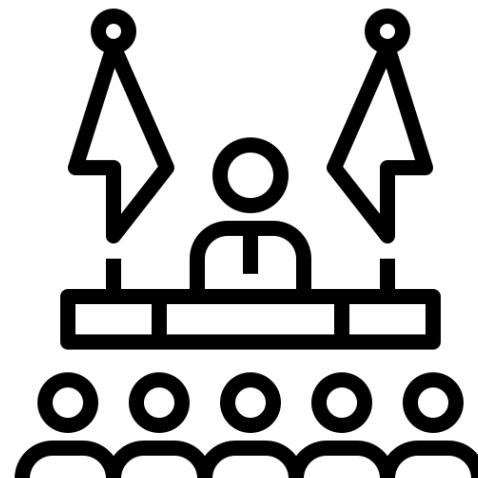
individual



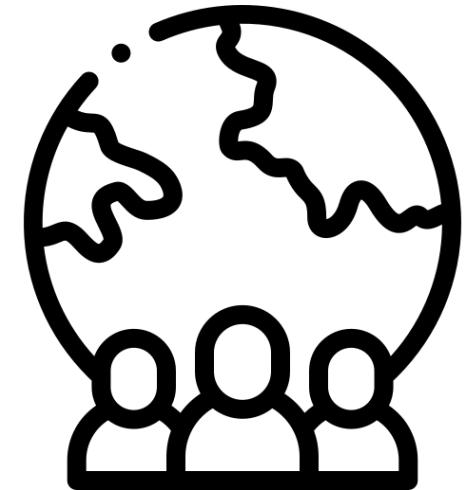
organisational



political

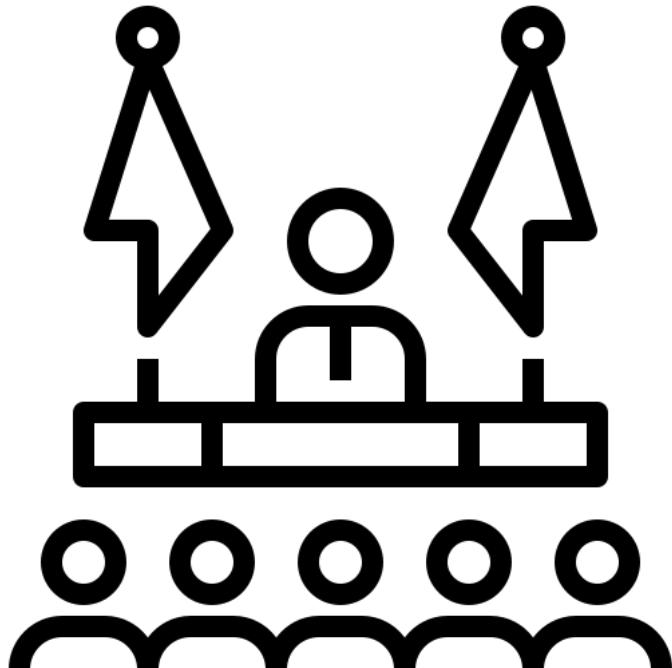


cultural



Movement impacts - political

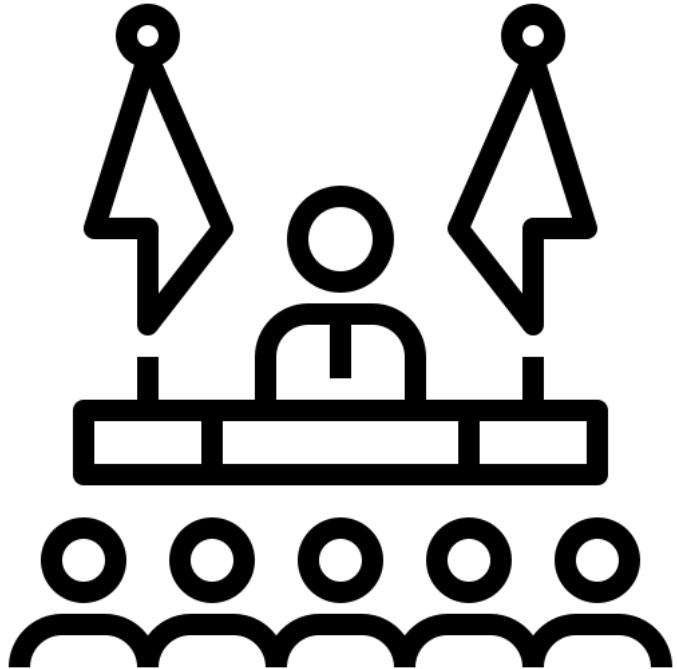
political



- have debates/discourse changed? (agenda setting)
- have policies or laws changed? (legislative content; implementation/interpretation)
- have dynamics between political actors changed? have new political actors emerged because of the movement? (political competition)
- see Giugni, Mcadam, and Tilly (1999), Amenta and Young (1999), Amenta et al. (2010)

Movement impacts - political

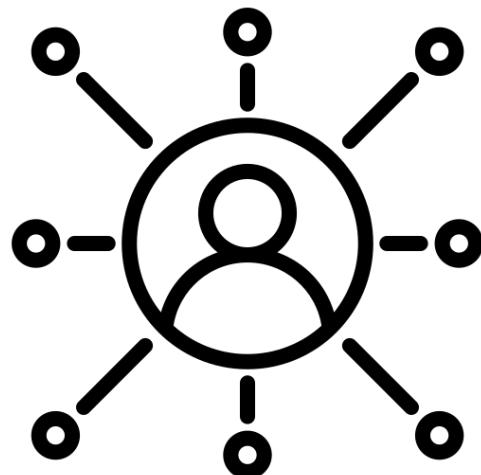
political



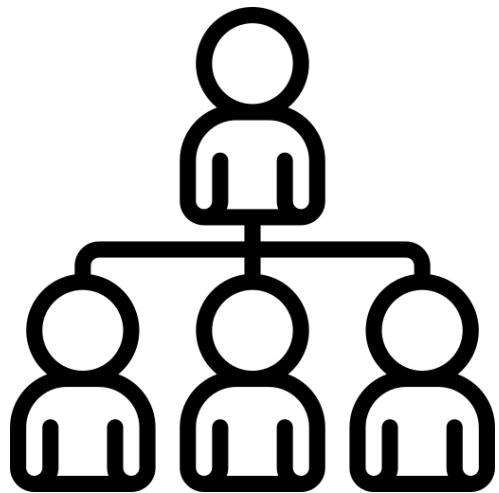
- gaining 'new advantages'
 - voting rights (e.g., Gamson 1990)
 - pension/welfare benefits (e.g., Amenta et al. 2005)
- formation of a new political party [e.g., Schwartz 2000]
 - (Europe) Green parties; (US) Tea Party → Republican party (Madestam et al. 2013); (DE) Basis party
- winning office
 - representatives *may* push for movements issues

Movement impacts

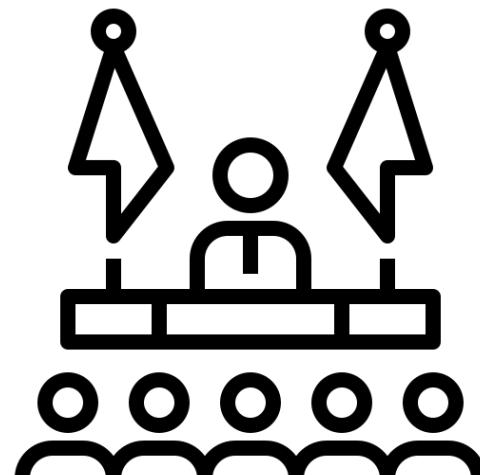
individual



organisational



political

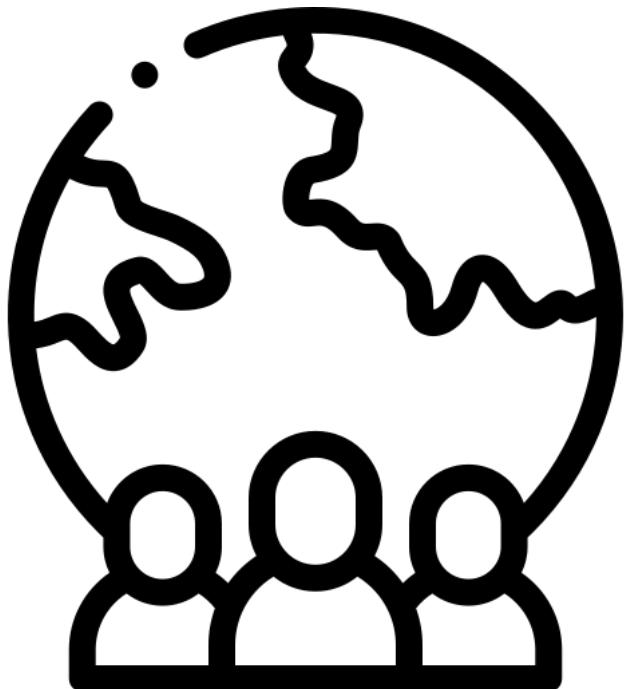


cultural



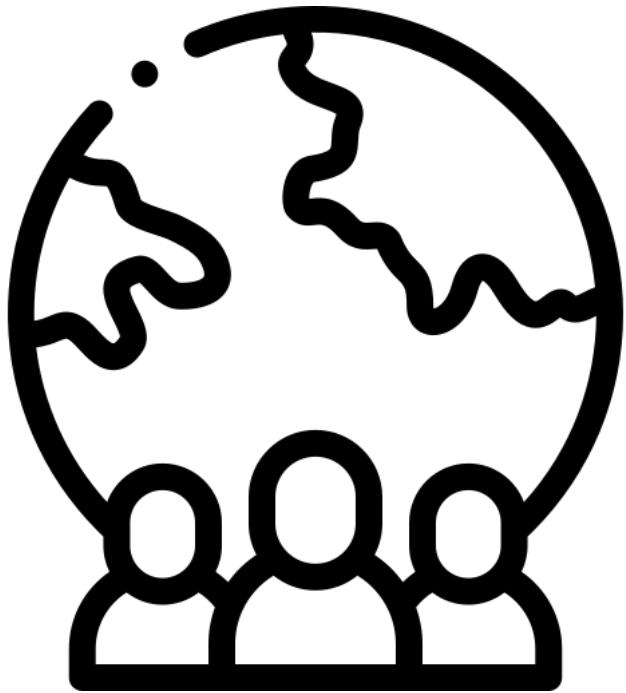
Movement impacts - cultural

cultural



- have cultural/societal norms changed because of the movement? how?
 - are certain ideas, behaviours now acceptable *or* no longer acceptable in:
 - public opinion, lifestyle trends
 - media and popular culture
 - non-political institutions (e.g., research and education, religion)
- see Amenta and Polletta (2019)

Movement impacts - cultural

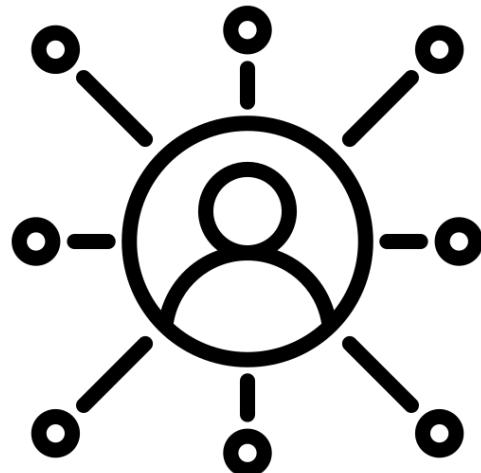


- changing attitudes

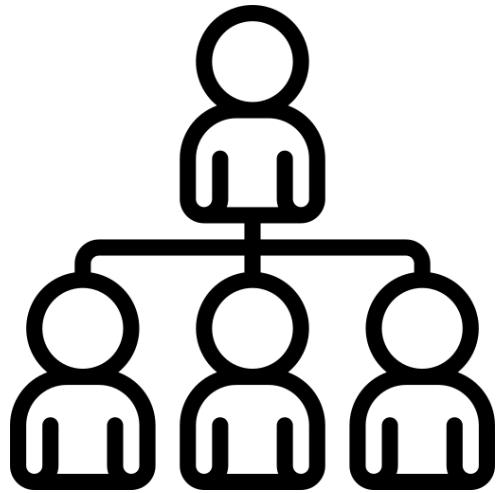
- e.g., BLM and acceptability of MeToo and social/sexual norms
- often mediated by news coverage
- changing behaviour
 - consumer purchasing behaviour
 - veganism
 - buying sustainably
 - digital detoxification/minimalism
 - moral commitments
 - e.g., *abstinence pledge* effect (likelier to delay sex; but less effect in homogeneous local community)

Movement impacts

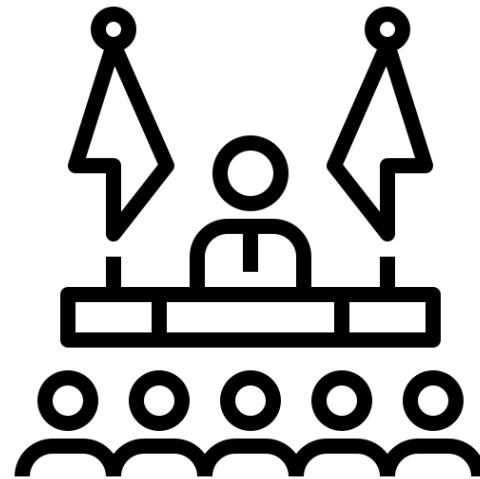
individual



organisational



political



cultural



Movement impacts summarised

1. *individual*

- did the people who participated change? how?
- did people who encountered the movement change? how?

2. *organisational*

- a targeted organisation?
- the movement's own (or connected) organisation?

3. *cultural*

- has the movement changed societal norms? how?
 - ideas, modes of behaviour no longer acceptable or (conversely) now expected?

4. *political*

- have debates/discourse changed?
- have policies or laws changed?

Movement impacts summarised

for all of these: there is potential for backlash effects ...
including led by countermovements

1. *individual*

- did the people who participated change? how?
- did people who encountered the movement change? how?

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- has the movement changed societal norms? how?
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4. *political*

- have debates/discourse changed?
- have policies or laws changed?

Example: the Me Too movement (1/2)

Example: the Me Too movement (2/2)

Determinants of impact

- what influences chances of impact?
 - summarising determinants from previous classes
- Ex: Just Stop Oil
- Setter and Nepstad (2022)
 - background
- a coda



Movement impacts summarised

What influences if movements impact these areas?

How movements have an impact, summary

(a lot falls under the headings of **resources** or **opportunities**, but let's be more specific than that...)

How movements have an impact, summary

(a lot falls under the headings of **resources** or **opportunities**, but let's be more specific than that...)

- **frame resonance** (i.e., ideas get broader/influential support)
 - *issue salience*
 - *substantive agreement*
 - mediated by news coverage and social media
- **elite allies** (i.e., individuals in key positions to help a movement)
 - favourable partisan context (e.g., Roe v. Wade [good context for feminist activists], then Equal Rights Amendment [changed to *bad* context for feminist activists])
- **mass support** (i.e., too big to ignore by targets of mobilisation)
- absence of a strong **countermovement/opposing movement**

How movements have an impact, summary

Amenta and Polletta (2019, 292):

While movements' ability to effect change depends in part on how **organized, resourced, and strategic** they are, the real practical acumen comes in **matching tactics to the institutional context** in which movements operate. Whether the decision is to focus on raising consciousness or raising money, to lobby legislators or take to the streets, to tell stories or present statistics, the right choice depends both on **features of the movement** and on **features of the institution**.

How movements have an impact, a question

How might this movement (be aiming to) have an impact?

A study of impact - Setter and Nepstad (2022)



at the intersection of *individual* and *cultural* impact: **public opinion**

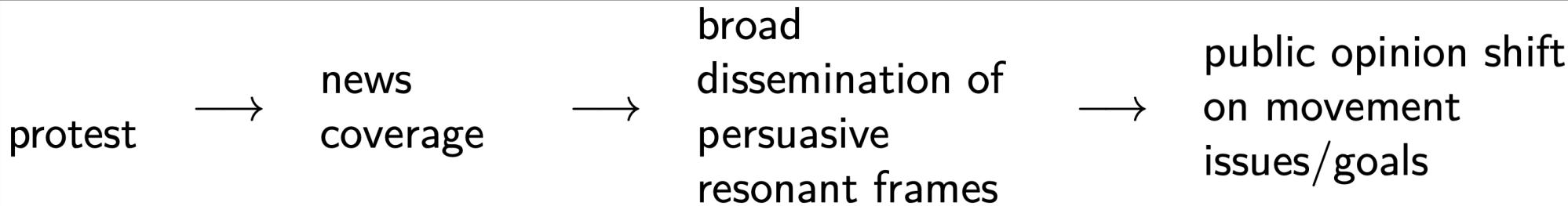
background on the George Floyd protests

Setter and Nepstad (2022) - design

- RQ: *When such events happen, how does this shape citizens' views on politically-oriented violence?*
- Context:
 - 'U.S. citizens **expect** protesters to conduct themselves **nonviolently...**' (p. 430)
 - YET - "people find violence more acceptable when traditional political methods are incapable of adequately addressing social injustices"
- Data:
 - from the **American National Election Study's (ANES)** **2016** and **2020** samples

how SMs influence public opinion - (2022)

Resonant frames



Heightened issue salience

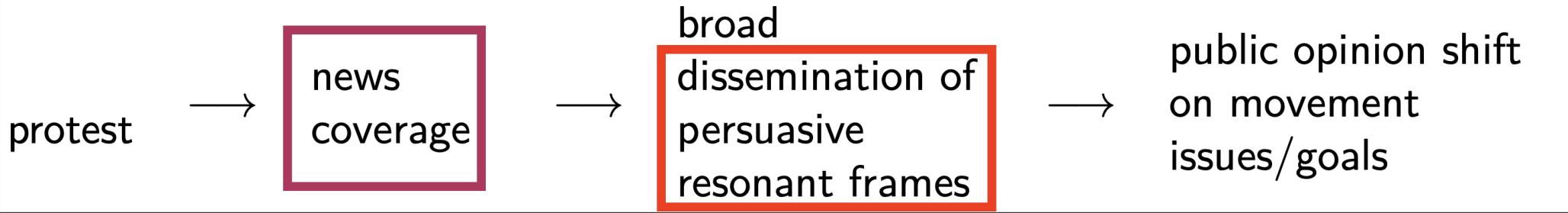


Informational cues



how SMs influence public opinion - (2022)

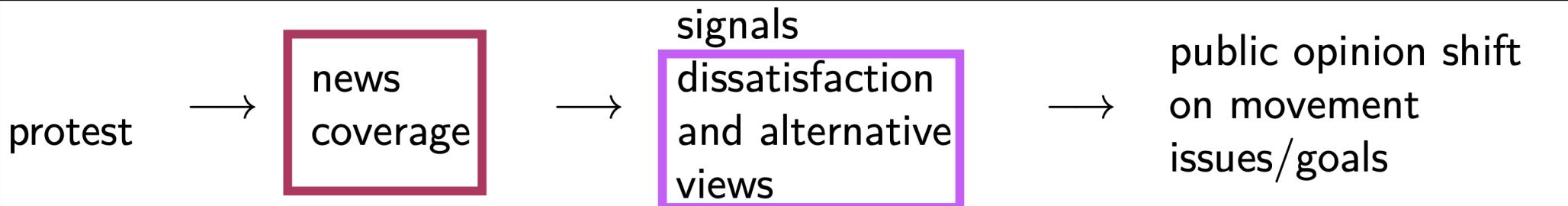
Resonant frames



Heightened issue salience



Informational cues



support for political violence (%) - (2022)

Demographic	2016	2020
Sample Overall	15.28	14.34
Extremely Liberal	14.55	30.79
Liberal	10.02	17.36
Slightly Liberal	16.83	16.23
Moderate	15.93	16.30
Slightly Conservative	14.84	8.59
Conservative	9.24	5.45
Extremely Conservative	12.71	8.22
White	11.79	10.89
Black	24.37	24.41
Men	16.45	14.13
Women	14.17	14.63
Age 18-29	28.40	30.42
Age 30-39	16.42	21.13
Age 40-49	14.54	16.85
Age 50-59	13.12	10.76
Age 60-69	9.86	7.15
Age 70-79	9.35	7.57
Age 80+	15.03	6.02
Attends Church	16.10	12.82
Does Not Attend Church	14.00	15.81

any numbers that you think are noteworthy?

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- “liberals became much more likely to find political violence acceptable ... conservatives became much less likely to find themselves in support of violence...”
- “Younger respondents were more likely to support political violence in 2020 ... while their older counterparts were more opposed than before”

support for political violence (%) - (2022)

Setter and Nepstad (2022) - findings

Table 2. Logistic Regression Coefficients and Odds Ratios Predicting Acceptability of Political Violence

	2016 (Controls)	2016 (Complete)	2020 (Controls)	2020 (Complete)
BLM	-	.048 (1.050)* <i>.023</i>	-	.074 (1.077)*** <i>.017</i>
Liberal	-	-.048 (0.953) <i>.047</i>	-	.112 (1.119)** <i>.034</i>
Protest Participation	-	.636 (1.885)* <i>.261</i>	-	.446 (1.562)*** <i>.112</i>
News Consumption	-	-.191 (.826)* <i>.058</i>	-	.022 (1.002) <i>.053</i>
News Trust	-	-	-	.170 (1.186)*** <i>.041</i>
Age	-.022 (0.977)*** <i>.003</i>	-.017 (0.982)*** <i>.003</i>	-.038 (0.962)*** <i>.002</i>	-.037 (0.962)*** <i>.002</i>
Female	-.171 (0.842) <i>.114</i>	-.249 (0.779)* <i>.116</i>	.112 (1.11) <i>.079</i>	-.022 (.977) <i>.082</i>
College	-.380 (0.683)*** <i>.114</i>	-.329 (0.719)** <i>.117</i>	-.324 (0.723)*** <i>.080</i>	-.492 (0.610)*** <i>.083</i>
Church Attendance	.219 (1.244) <i>.118</i>	.215 (1.240) <i>.124</i>	-.128 (.878) <i>.080</i>	.116 (1.124) <i>.085</i>
White	-.740 (0.476)*** <i>.120</i>	-.650 (0.521)*** <i>.128</i>	-.696 (0.498)*** <i>.083</i>	-.518 (0.595)*** <i>.086</i>
Constant	-0.142	-.025	0.694	-0.918
N	2,824	2,824	5,888	5,888

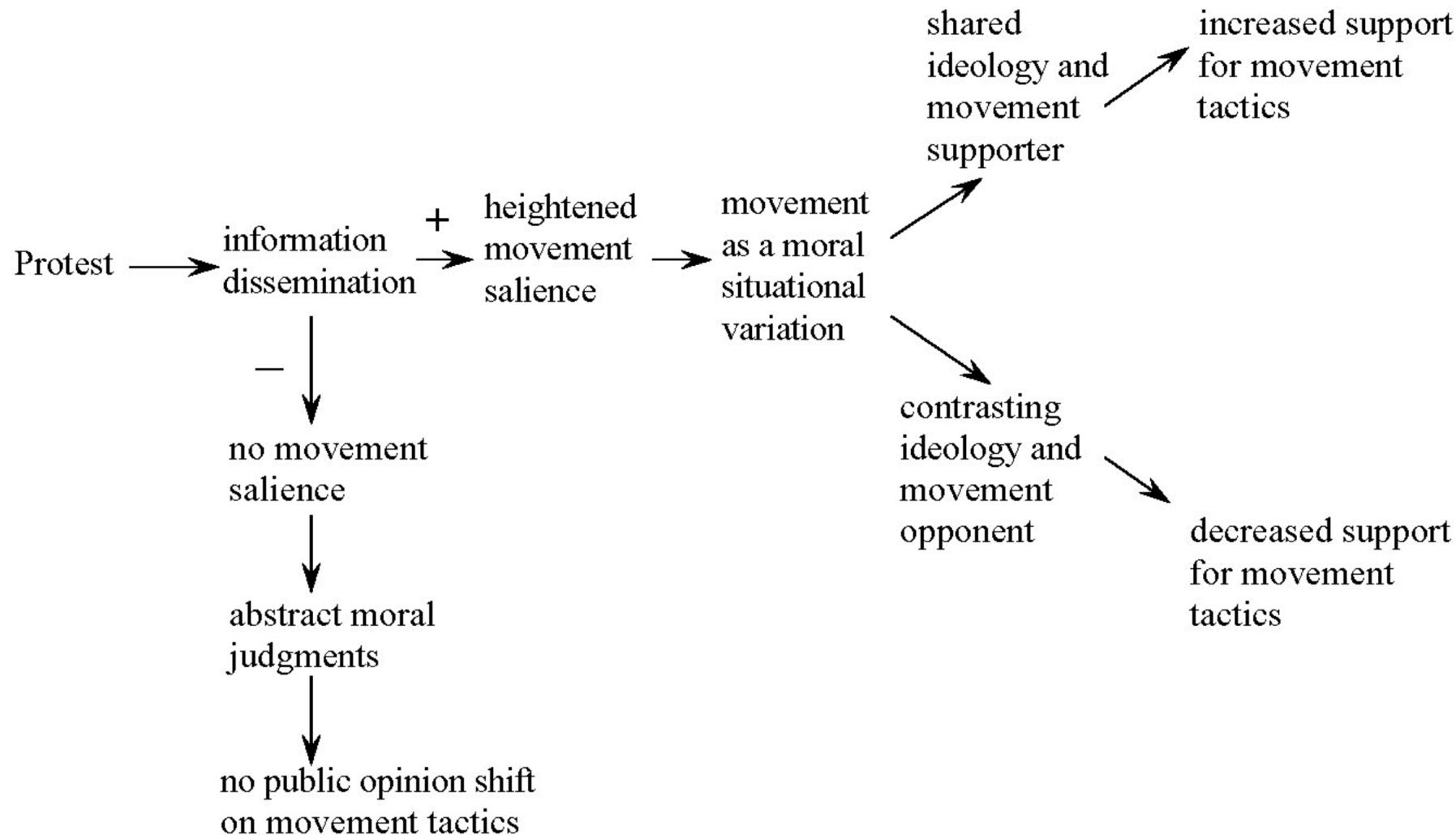
Notes: * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001; Odds-Ratios in Parentheses; Standard Errors in Italics

Source: American National Election Survey (2016, 2020)

Setter and Nepstad (2022) - findings

Setter and Nepstad (2022) - findings, revised model

Figure 3. Revised Model of Social Movement Events as Situational Moral Shifters



Setter and Nepstad (2022) - findings

the George Floyd riots functioned as a new “**situational variation**” that shifted people’s attitudes, increasing the proportion of liberals and ardent BLM movement supporters who felt that the political violence was justifiable.”

- “**people may shift their attitudes about political violence yet again when a different movement poses a new situational variation. In one instance, people can be supportive of political violence and then, in a different instance, be morally opposed to it. The key factor shaping beliefs in any particular moment is how a person feels about the movement that is using political violence.**”

How movements have an impact, a coda

From Mueller (2022)

- there is the ‘illusion of cohesion’ among protesters—who in fact represent a diverse array of views
- protesters can enhance their odds of success by coordinating around a unified message
 - may clash with some activists’ preferences for “intersectional” messages

a compromise would be to voice specific demands sequentially, so that each protest event has a cohesive theme (and a decent shot at success) but every issue eventually has its moment in the spotlight

Any questions, concerns, feedback for this class?

Anonymous feedback here: <https://forms.gle/AjHt6fcnwZxkSg4X8>

Alternatively, please send me an email: m.zeller@lmu.de

References

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