

## **UNCORRECTED PROOF**

The following sample chapter is a preliminary page proof for review / adoption consideration.

This material is protected under all copyright laws, as they currently exist. No portion of this material may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, without permission in writing from the publisher.

**DEMANDING THE RIGHT TO VOTE**

Women's struggle to gain the vote blew hot and cold for more than 130 years, but persistence paid off at last in 1920 when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified.



# SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

## CHAPTER OUTLINE AND LEARNING OBJECTIVES

### WHAT ARE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

**8.1** Define social movements and who they represent.

### MAJOR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

**8.2** Discuss the important social movements that have shaped American society.

### THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN A DEMOCRACY

**8.3** Evaluate how social movements make U.S. politics more democratic.

### FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

**8.4** Identify the factors that give rise to social movements.

### TACTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

**8.5** Identify tactics commonly used by social movements.

### WHY DO SOME SOCIAL MOVEMENTS SUCCEED AND OTHERS FAIL?

**8.6** Determine what makes a social movement successful.

# The Struggle for Democracy

## WOMEN WIN THE RIGHT TO VOTE: WHY DID IT TAKE SO LONG?

Meeting at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, a group of women who had been active in the abolitionist movement to end slavery issued a declaration written by Elizabeth Cady Stanton proclaiming that “all men and women are created equal, endowed with the same inalienable rights.” The Seneca Falls Declaration, much like the Declaration of Independence on which it was modeled, then presented a long list of violations of rights. It remains one of the most eloquent statements of women’s equality ever written, but it had no immediate effect because most politically active women (and men) in the abolitionist movement believed that their first order of business was to end slavery.

After the Civil War destroyed the slave system, women’s rights leaders such as Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Lucy Stone pressed for equal citizenship rights for all, white and Black, male and female. They were bitterly disappointed when the Fourteenth Amendment, ratified after the war, declared full citizenship rights for all males born or naturalized in the United States, including those who had been slaves, but failed to include women. Women’s rights activists realized they would have to fight for rights on their own, with their own organizations.

Women’s rights organizations were formed soon after the Civil War. For more than two decades, though, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) feuded over how to pressure male politicians. Susan B. Anthony (with the NWSA) and Lucy Stone (with the AWSA) were divided by temperament and ideology. Anthony favored pressing for a broad range of rights and organized dramatic actions to expose men’s hypocrisy. Stone favored gaining the vote as the primary objective of the rights movement and used quieter methods of persuasion, such as petitions.

In 1890, the two main organizations joined to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). They dropped such controversial NWSA demands as divorce reform and legalized prostitution in favor of one order of business: women’s suffrage. The movement was now focused on gaining the vote for women, united, and growing more powerful every year.

In 1912, NAWSA organized a march to support a constitutional amendment for suffrage. More than five thousand women paraded through the streets of Washington before Woodrow Wilson’s inauguration. The police offered the marchers no protection from antagonistic spectators who pelted them with rotten fruit and vegetables and an occasional rock. This lack of protection outraged the public and attracted media attention to the suffrage movement.

Almost immediately after the United States entered World War I in April 1917 with the express purpose of “making the world safe for democracy,” women began to picket the White House, demanding that full democracy be instituted in America. One demonstrator’s sign quoted directly from President Wilson’s war message, “We shall fight . . . for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government,” and asked why women were excluded from American democracy. As the picketing at the White House picked up numbers and intensity, the police began arresting large groups of women. Other women took their places. The cycle continued until local jails were filled to capacity. When suffragists began a hunger strike in jail, authorities responded with forced feedings and isolation cells. By November, public outrage forced local authorities to relent and free the women. By this time, public opinion had shifted in favor of women’s right to vote.

In the years surrounding U.S. entry into the war, other women’s groups worked state by state, senator by senator, pressuring male politicians to support women’s suffrage. After two prominent senators from New England were defeated in 1918 primarily because of the efforts of suffragists, the political clout of the women’s groups became apparent to most elected officials. In June 1919, Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote, and the necessary thirty-six states ratified it the following year.

\* \* \* \* \*

The struggle for women’s suffrage was long and difficult. The main instrument for winning the struggle to amend the Constitution to admit women to full citizenship was a powerful social movement that

dared to challenge the status quo, used unconventional tactics to gain attention and sympathy, and demanded bravery and commitment from many women.

Although few social movements have been as effective as the women's suffrage movement in reaching their primary goal, other social movements have also played an important role in American political life. This chapter is about what social movements are, how and why they form, what tactics they use, and how they affect American political life and what government does.

*Sources:* for this opening story include James MacGregor Burns and Stewart Burns, *A People's Charter: The Pursuit of Rights in America* (New York: Knopf, 1991), ch. 5; E. McGlen and Karen O'Connor, *Women's Rights* (New York: Praeger, 1983), ch. 3; Sarah M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press, 1997); and Woodrow Wilson, "Declaration of War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917," Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 46, National Archives, <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=61>.

### THINKING CRITICALLY ABOUT THIS CHAPTER

This chapter is about the important role of social movements in American government and politics.

### APPLYING THE FRAMEWORK

You will see in this chapter how social movements are a response to structural changes in the economy, culture, and society and how they affect other political linkage actors and institutions—such as parties, interest groups, and public opinion—and government. Most important, you will learn under what conditions social movements most effectively shape the behavior of elected leaders and the content of government policies.

### USING THE DEMOCRACY STANDARD

At first glance, because social movements are most often the political instrument of numerical minorities, it may seem that they have little to do with democracy, which is rooted in majority rule. You will see in this chapter, however, that social movements play an especially important role in our democracy, principally by broadening public debate on important issues and bringing outsiders and nonparticipants into the political arena.

## social movements

Loosely organized groups with large numbers of people who use unconventional and often disruptive tactics to have their grievances heard by the public, the news media, and government leaders.

## WHAT ARE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

### 8.1 Define social movements and who they represent.

**Social movements** are loosely organized collections of ordinary people, working outside normal political channels, to get their voices heard by the public at large, the news media, leaders of major institutions, and government officials in order to promote, resist, or undo some social change or public policy. They are different from interest groups, which are longer lasting and more organized. Interest groups, for example, have permanent employees and budgets and are more committed to conventional and nondisruptive methods of galvanizing support, such as lobbying and issue advertising. They are different from political parties, whose main purpose is to win elective offices for candidates who campaign under the party banner and to control government and what government does across a broad range of policies. Social movements are more ephemeral in nature, coming and going as people feel they are needed, sometimes leaving their mark on public policies, sometimes not. What sets social movements apart from parties and interest groups is their focus on deeply felt causes and their tendency to act

outside normal channels of government and politics, using unconventional and often disruptive tactics.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars call social movement politics “contentious politics.”<sup>2</sup> When suffragists disrupted meetings, went on hunger strikes, and marched to demand the right to vote, they were engaged in contentious politics. A very important social movement in recent times was the civil rights movement, which pressed demands for equal treatment for African Americans on the American public and elected officials, primarily during the 1960s. And the police killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020 reenergized the Black Lives Matter movement and sparked massive protest demonstrations against anti-Black police brutality across the country.

This general definition of social movements requires further elaboration if we are to understand the totality of their role in American politics.<sup>3</sup>

- *Social movements are the political instrument of political outsiders.* Social movements often help people who are outside the political mainstream gain a hearing from the public and from political decision makers. The women’s suffrage movement forced the issue of votes for women onto the public agenda. The civil rights movement did the same for the issue of equal citizenship for African Americans. Gays and lesbians forced the country to pay attention to issues that had long been left “in the closet.” Insiders don’t need social movements; they can rely instead on interest groups, political action committees (PACs), lobbyists, campaign contributions, and the like to make their voices heard.

Christian conservatives, who were at one time outsiders largely ignored by the cultural and political establishment, are now a political force comprising many well-established interest groups, such as the Family Research Council, with remarkable influence within the Republican Party. Their grassroots movement to resist the general secularization of American life and to promote their vision of religious values was built at first around local churches and Bible reading groups and often took the form of protests, whether at abortion clinics or at government locations where some religious symbol (like a manger scene at Christmastime) was ordered removed by the courts because it violated the principle of separation of church and state.



### STRIKING FOR JUSTICE

Farmers rarely use the protest tactic, but these poor farmers from Minnesota, facing financial ruin because of a collapse in commodity prices during the Great Depression, felt they needed to do something dramatic to call attention to their plight. The federal government, in the form of Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal, responded with a series of largely successful commodity price and relief programs that saved many family farms. *Is the federal government today as responsive as it was in the past to such protests?*

- *Social movements are generally mass grassroots phenomena.* Because outsiders and excluded groups often lack the financial and political resources of insiders, they must take advantage of what they do have: numbers, energy, and commitment. They depend on the participation of large numbers of ordinary people to act in ways that will move the general public and persuade public officials to address issues of concern to those in the movement. The extraordinary protests against gun violence that created the “March for Our Lives” demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and in other American cities large and small in March 2018 were initiated by students from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Florida—most of whom were not old enough to vote.
- *Social movements are populated by individuals with a shared sense of grievance.* People would not take on the considerable risks involved in joining others in a social movement unless they felt a strong shared sense of grievance against the status quo and a desire to bring about social change. Social movements tend to form when a significant number of people come to define their own troubles and problems, not in personal terms but in more general social terms (the belief that there is a common cause for all of their troubles), and when they believe that the government can be moved to take action on their behalf. Because this is a rare combination, social movements are very difficult to organize and sustain.
- *Social movements often use unconventional and disruptive tactics.* Officials and citizens almost always complain that social movements are ill-mannered and disruptive. For social movements, that is precisely the point. Unconventional and disruptive tactics help gain attention for movement grievances. While successful movements are ones that eventually bring many other Americans and public officials over to their side, it is usually the case that other Americans and public officials are not paying attention to the issues that are of greatest concern to movement participants, so something dramatic needs to be done to change the situation. For example, the #MeToo protests against sexual harassment and assault, which went viral in late 2017 after revelations of harassment and assault by prominent men in Hollywood, corporations, and government, spurred hundreds of thousands of people across the nation to take to the streets to have their voices heard.
- *Social movements often turn into interest groups.* Although many social movements eventually fade from the political scene, for reasons we explore later, the more successful ones create organizations that carry on their work over a longer

### #METOO MOVEMENT ON THE MARCH

The election of Donald Trump—a man accused by several women of sexist behavior and sexual assault—as president of the United States in 2016 and revelations in 2017 of the widespread sexual harassment and assault by male government, political, entertainment, and cultural leaders helped spark the rise of the #MeToo movement. Here women and their supporters march in Beverly Hills, California, in November 2017 to protest these behaviors and to demand equal treatment in the workplace.

*In a democratic country in which citizens have the right to vote, why do people sometimes resort to unconventional and disruptive behavior to try to influence politics and government policies? How can such tactics be justified?*



period of time. Thus, the feminist movement in the 1960s spawned the National Organization for Women, while the environmental movement created organizations such as the Environmental Defense Fund and the Nature Conservancy. The Christian evangelical movement spurred the creation of groups such as the Family Research Council and the National Right to Life Committee.

---

## MAJOR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

**8.2** Discuss the important social movements that have shaped American society.

Many social movements have left their mark on American political life and have shaped what government does in the United States. Here are some of the most notable.

### The Abolitionist Movement

This movement, the objective of which was to end slavery in the United States, was most active in the northern states in the three decades before the outbreak of the Civil War. Its harsh condemnation of the slave system helped heighten the tensions between the North and the South, eventually bringing on the war that ended slavery. Proponents' tactics included antislavery demonstrations and resistance (sometimes violent) to enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act, which required all states to identify, capture, and return runaway slaves to their owners.

### The Populist Movement

The populist movement was made up of disaffected farmers of the American South and West in the 1880s and 1890s who were angry with business practices and developments in the American economy that were adversely affecting them. Their main grievance was the concentration of economic power in the banking and railroad industries, both of which favored (with loans on better terms, cheaper shipping rates, and the like) larger customers. The aim of the movement was to force public ownership or regulation of banks, grain storage companies, and railroads. Small demonstrations at banks and at foreclosed farms were part of their repertoire, but they also used the vote. For a short time, they were quite successful, winning control of several state legislatures, sending members to Congress, helping to nominate William Jennings Bryan as the Democratic candidate for president in 1896, and forcing the federal regulation of corporations (e.g., in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887).

### The Women's Suffrage Movement

This movement, active in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, aimed to win women the right to vote. As discussed earlier, in the opener to this chapter, the women's suffrage movement won its objective when the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified in 1920. We also saw that the tactics of the movement were deliberately disruptive and unsettling to many.

### The Labor Movement

In the years after it was formed, the labor movement represented efforts by working people to protect jobs, ensure decent wages and benefits, and guarantee safe workplaces. The periods of greatest militancy—when working people took to the streets and the factory floors to demand recognition of their unions—were in the 1880s, the 1890s, and the 1930s. (The movement's militancy during the Great Depression, joined with that of other groups pressing for a more activist government committed to social justice, led to the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935.) The labor movement eventually forced the federal government to recognize the right of working people to form labor unions to represent them in negotiations with management.

**civil disobedience**

Intentionally breaking a law and accepting the consequences as a way to publicize the unjustness of the law.

## The Civil Rights Movement

The civil rights movement began in the mid-1950s and reached the peak of its activity in the mid-1960s. It gradually lost steam after that (see Figure 8.1) but remains one of the most influential social movements on record, having pressed successfully for the end of formal segregation in the South and many (but not all) discriminatory practices across the nation. The primary weapons of the movement were mass demonstrations and nonviolent **civil disobedience**, a conscious refusal to obey a law considered unfair, unjust, or unconstitutional, courting arrest by the authorities and assault from others, without offering resistance, as a way to highlight injustice and gain broader public sympathy.<sup>4</sup> In 1968, the outbreak of violence in urban centers after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and, at the same time, the rise in prominence of Black power advocates like Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X,<sup>5</sup> who rejected nonviolence as a basic principle, marked the end of the civil rights movement for many people.

## Contemporary Antiwar Movements

Antiwar movements have accompanied virtually every war the United States has waged, including U.S. military interventions in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. The anti-Vietnam War movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s used a wide variety of tactics, from mass demonstrations to voting registration and nonviolent civil disobedience, to end the war. Fringe elements turned to violence as the war escalated, as exemplified by the Days of Rage vandalism along Chicago's Gold Coast mounted by a radicalized wing of Students for a Democratic Society and the bombing of a research lab at the University of Wisconsin in which a graduate student was killed.

An anti-Iraq War movement quickly formed in the months leading up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. The movement's most dramatic political act was the organization of massive demonstrations across the world on February 15, 2003. In the United States, demonstrations took place in 150 cities. In New York, the crowd converged on the headquarters of the United Nations, filling 20 city blocks along First and Second Avenues.<sup>6</sup> Demonstrations against intervention also took place around the world, especially in Western Europe. The massive demonstrations did not convince President Bush to put off the Iraq invasion, however. The movement lost support after the invasion of Iraq in April 2003, as troops went into battle and patriotic feelings rose, but the subsequent insurgency, and the high cost to the United States of the insurgency in lives and money, rekindled the movement in late 2005. Changing public opinion on the war, some of it perhaps attributable to the antiwar demonstrations, helped set the stage for the Republicans' big losses in the 2006 congressional elections.

## The Women's Movement

This movement has been important in American life since the late 1960s. Its aim has been to win civil rights protections for women and to broaden the participation of women in all aspects of American society, economy, and politics. Although it did not win one of its main objectives—passage of the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** to the U.S. Constitution, which would guarantee equal treatment for men and women by all levels of government—the broad advance of women on virtually all fronts in the United States attests to its overall effectiveness. The movement has been sufficiently successful, in fact, that it helped trigger a countermovement among religious conservatives of all denominations who were worried about purported threats to traditional family values. The most recent iteration of this movement has been the widespread #MeToo demonstrations around the nation against sexual harassment and assault and the Women's March annual protest marches to demand women's empowerment.

**Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)**

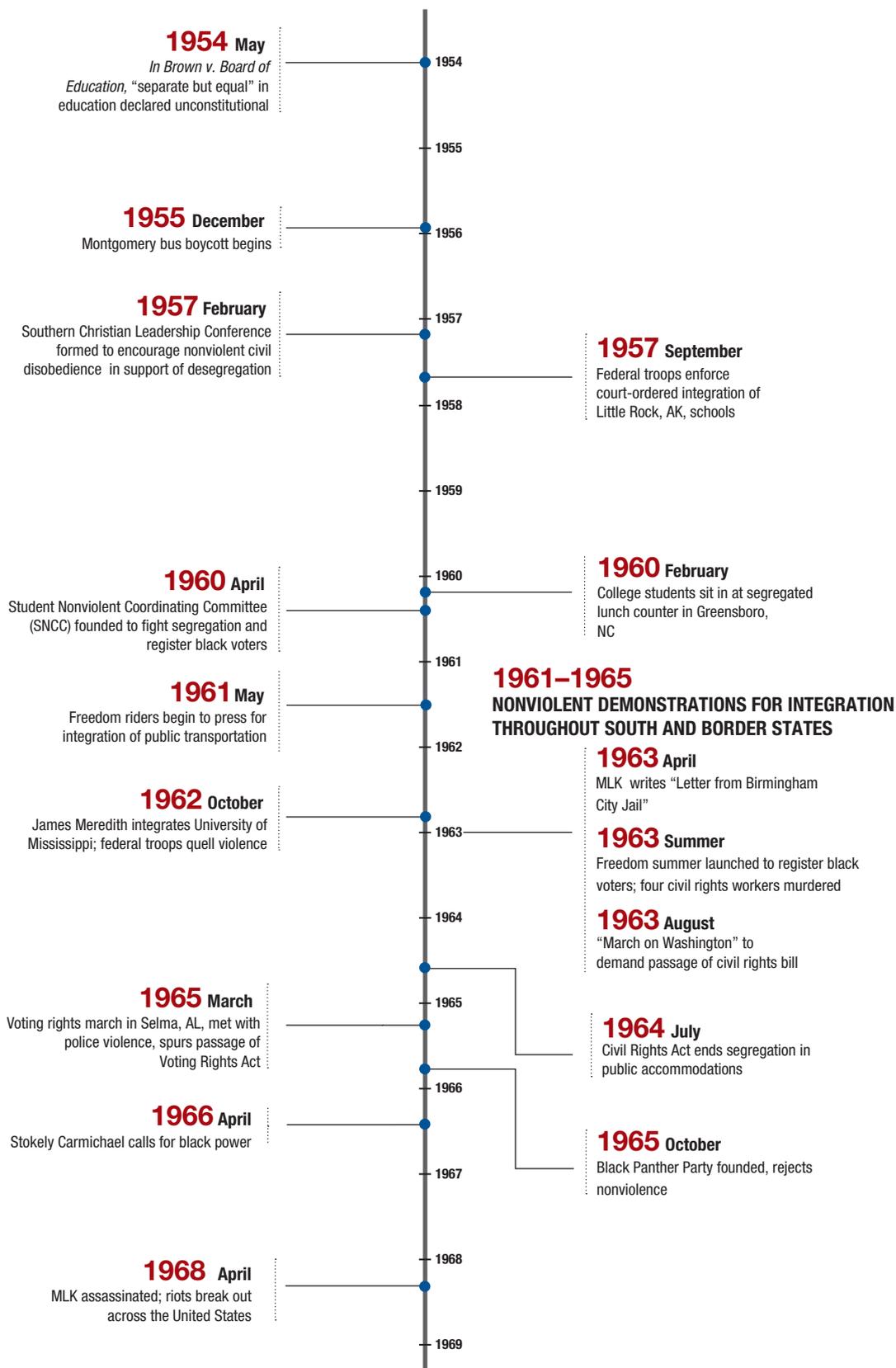
Proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution stating that equality of rights shall not be abridged or denied on account of a person's gender; it failed to win the approval of the necessary number of states.

## The Environmental Movement

The environmental movement has been active in the United States since the early 1970s. Its aim has been to encourage government regulation of damaging environmental

**FIGURE 8.1** TIMELINE: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT (1954–1968)

The civil rights movement lasted only for a decade and a half but it profoundly changed American life, influencing the passage of landmark national, state, and local legislation for equal rights; a turnabout in the judicial interpretation of the constitutionality of state-sanctioned separation of the races in schools, transportation, and public accommodations; and the opening up of channels of social mobility for many African Americans. This timeline shows landmark events in the history of this movement.



practices and to raise the environmental sympathies of the public. While the vitality of the movement has waxed and waned over the years, the public's strong support for environmental regulation suggests that it has been unusually successful. Although its proponents have sometimes used disruptive and even violent tactics, the movement has depended more on legal challenges to business practices and the creation of organizations to lobby in Washington. Rising concerns among many Americans as the effects of global climate change become more dramatic every year have revitalized the movement and enhanced its influence, especially with the election of climate-change denier Donald Trump to the presidency and the subsequent rollback of many environmental protection regulations at the Interior Department and the Environmental Protection Agency (see Chapter 7). The intense drought, heat waves, and devastating fires across the Pacific Coast states in 2020 also increased concern among the public about the impacts of climate change.

## The Gay and Lesbian Movements

These movements began in earnest in the late 1960s. Their aim was to gain for LGBTQ+ Americans the same civil rights protections under the law enjoyed by African Americans and other minority groups and to gain respect from the public. Their actions ranged from patient lobbying and voting to mass demonstrations and deliberately shocking actions by groups such as ACT-UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power). The gay and lesbian movements eventually morphed into a broader movement to include bisexual, transgender, and queer groups under the umbrella of LGBTQ+. These movements enjoyed some success in liberal states and cities where laws and ordinances were passed banning discrimination against LGBTQ+ individuals and before the Supreme Court, which ruled in 2015 that same-sex marriage is a constitutionally protected right. In 2020, the Court ruled that such individuals could not be discriminated in the workplace under the protection of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. These movements made headway in popular culture as well (particularly in movies and TV shows), but resistance to this movement remains strong among religious conservatives of all major denominations and did not have a sympathetic audience in President Trump's Justice Department, which sided with religious organizations in cases where they claimed exemption from anti-discrimination laws and regulations on religious freedom grounds.

## The Religious Conservative Movement

Religious conservative movements have occurred at several different periods in American history and have been very influential. These movements have brought together strongly religious people trying to infuse American society and public policies with their values. The contemporary movement of religious conservatives falls within this tradition and has become very important in American politics, especially on the issues of abortion, school prayer, educational curriculum, LGBTQ+ rights, and marriage equality. The pro-life (anti-abortion) movement is part of this larger religious conservative movement. Its main objective is to end the legal availability of abortion in the United States. Religious conservatives have become especially influential in the Republican Party. One need only consider the candidacies of Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, Ben Carson, Bobby Jindal, Rick Santorum, and Mike Huckabee—religious conservatives all—who sought the Republican nomination for president in 2016. Though not a particularly religious person himself, Donald Trump vigorously supported the Christian conservative agenda after assuming office in 2017, including granting the administration's support for religious freedom cases in federal courts. He also appointed three strong conservatives to the Supreme Court, Neil Gorsuch in 2017, Brett Kavanaugh in 2018, and Amy Coney Barrett right before the 2020 national elections.



### ANARCHISTS CONFRONT POLICE

Police and demonstrators face off during an anti-World Trade Organization protest in Seattle in 1999. For the most part, people in the anti-globalization movement have used disruptive but nonviolent methods to express their grievances against the purported apocalypse of globalization. A radical anarchist element in the movement, however, has often turned its destructive ire on property and the symbols of government as a tactic and, in the process, has lost support among the public for the movement's goals.

*Does violent protest ever work in a democracy?*

## The Anti-Globalization Movement

In 1999, an emergent anti-globalization movement announced itself with demonstrations in Seattle targeted at the World Trade Organization (WTO), whose trade ministers were meeting to fashion an agreement to further open national borders to trade and foreign investment.<sup>7</sup> The demonstrations were mostly peaceful, but some demonstrators turned violent. The movement is extremely diverse and includes people who are worried about the effects of globalization on the environment, income inequality in the United States and elsewhere, food safety, labor rights, sweatshops, unfair trade, and national sovereignty. The movement remains intermittently active, with protesters showing up en masse at large WTO gatherings, as well as those hosted by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Economic Forum (which meets annually in Davos, Switzerland), and the G8. Note that while the anti-globalization movement has usually been of the left-wing variety—at the presidential campaign level, think of Senator Bernie Sanders—there also are right-wing varieties embodied in Donald Trump's strongest supporters, who want to protect the borders against immigrants, remove undocumented people from the United States, and keep corporations from moving American jobs overseas.

## The Tea Party Movement

The Tea Party movement exploded onto the American political scene on tax deadline day, April 15, 2009, with demonstrations in scores of locations around the country denouncing bank bailouts, the Democrats' health care reform effort, rising government deficits, taxes and regulations, illegal immigration, and, for many among the participants, the legality of the Obama presidency. Urged on by conservative talk radio hosts and the intense coverage of their activities by Fox News and funded by the energy fortune of brothers David and Charles Koch,<sup>8</sup> Tea Party groups staged a series of demonstrations across the country and mobilized in August 2009 to flood and take over health care town hall meetings held by Democratic members of Congress. By 2010, it had become a major force within the Republican Party, defeating many

### TEA'D OFF

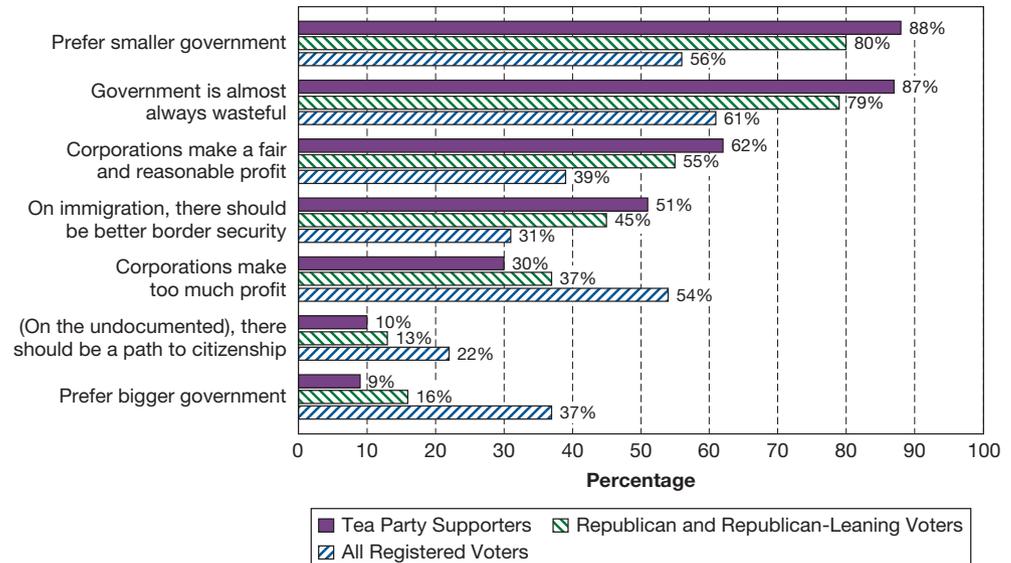
The Tea Party movement, deeply opposed to President Obama and his agenda for an energetic government to solve the economic crisis and longer-term problems like health care, became a force to be reckoned with in American politics only months after the Obama's inauguration.

*When people thronged to Freedom Plaza in Washington, D.C., in April 2009 to express their anger at passage of the economic "stimulus package," what ideological differences with the Obama administration compelled their attendance?*



**FIGURE 8.2** TEA PARTY PROPONENTS ON THE ISSUES

Polls show that while Tea Party identifiers are overwhelmingly Republican, they are from the most conservative wing of the party, with stronger anti-government and anti-immigration views than mainstream Republicans. Their views diverge even further from those of all registered voters. An opinion poll conducted right after the Tea Party's rise to prominence in the 2010 national elections demonstrates that a determined minority can be successful in very-low-turnout elections such as party primaries and off-year congressional elections when there is no presidential contest.



**SOURCE:** Data from Scott Clement and John C. Green, "The Tea Party and Religion," Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life Project, Pew Research Center, February 23, 2011.

establishment candidates with Tea Party adherents and helping Republicans win control of legislatures and governorships in many states and in the U.S. House of Representatives. The movement seems to represent a modern-day angry populism directed against an activist federal government that, in the view of movement activists and followers, has been taking too many taxes from hardworking people and saddling the country with huge debts, all for programs that support the undeserving poor (people unwilling to work) and those who are in the country illegally. (See Figure 8.2 for how Tea Party sympathizers differ from other Americans and other Republicans.)<sup>9</sup>

## The Occupy Wall Street Movement

Organized almost wholly through social media, Occupy Wall Street came to public attention in September 2011 when protestors staged an encampment protest at Zuccotti Park in the Wall Street section of New York City. Occupy sites rapidly spread from New York to other cities and communities across the country.

Though the message of the movement was somewhat garbled because of the many diverse groups it attracted, a common underlying theme alleged economic unfairness, asserting the failure of government to do anything about diminished job prospects, stagnant wages, crippling student loan debt, declining living standards, or rising income and wealth inequality while bailing out banks whose top executives raked in bonus upon bonus. The movement meme, "We are the 99 percent," contends that most of the gains of economic growth over the past two decades have flowed only up, to the top 1 percent. Some labor unions joined the protests, and many celebrities voiced support and made contributions. Because the movement believed in occupation-style action—in setting up tents, feeding stations, libraries, first-aid centers, and the like in public-space encampments—police eventually moved in to clear away demonstrators, with officials citing safety and sanitation concerns as their motivation. In New York, closing down the Occupy site was



### OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS

The Occupy Wall Street movement was formed not only to protest rising income inequality and dim job prospects for young workers but to highlight the possibilities of community and all it entails. Protesters formed their own cleaning crews when public officials suggested that sanitation concerns would force occupiers out of their Zuccotti Park encampment.

*Has Occupy Wall Street had a lasting or only a fleeting impact?*

relatively peaceful; in Oakland and Berkeley, evictions proved to be more violent. Though the movement has receded from view recently, its issues—from anger at Wall Street to the hollowing out of the middle class—are sufficiently consistent with the views of a substantial number of Americans to suggest that it will reappear from time to time. As the Zuccotti Park occupation moved into its second month, a Pew poll showed that 39 percent of Americans said they agreed with the movement's goals, more than said they supported the Tea Party's (32 percent).<sup>10</sup> Echoes of the Occupy Wall Street movement were prominent in Bernie Sanders's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2016 and in the talking points of most of the 2020 Democratic presidential aspirants.

### The Black Lives Matter Movement

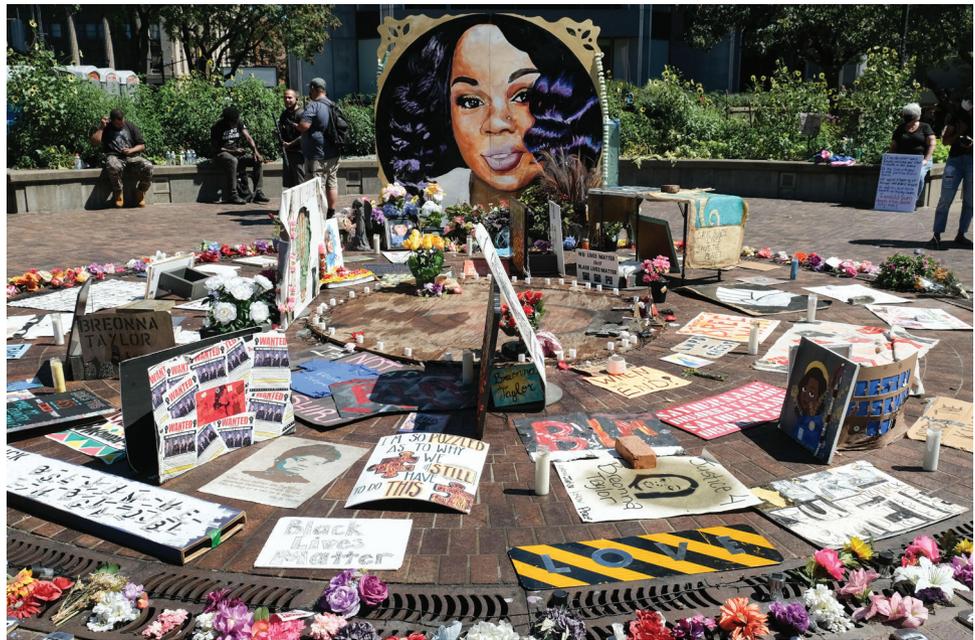
Black Lives Matter started in July 2013 as a hashtag tweeted by three community organizers to express their concern about a spate of high-profile acts of police violence involving white officers and African American victims.<sup>11</sup> The hashtag—#BlackLivesMatter—quickly evolved into a grassroots and highly decentralized

**FIGURE 8.3**



### BLACK LIVES MATTER

Here demonstrators march to protest yet another shooting by police of an unarmed African American man under the banner of the Black Lives Matter movement. The movement has influenced some political leaders and police administrators to change a range of police tactics, but it has also sparked a strong counterattack from those who believe the movement unfairly criticizes police and puts them in danger. *How do you feel about this contemporary conflict? Are movements like this good for democracy, or do they disrupt daily life too much and create social divisions that make compromise less likely? Explain.*



social movement of significant political importance. The movement demanded policy changes that included restrictions on the use of deadly force by the police, police training in racial bias, better recordkeeping of the incidence of police brutality, criminal justice reform, and the hiring of more police officers that reflect minority communities.<sup>12</sup>

Black Lives Matter has all the markings of a social movement: It is composed of political outsiders; it leverages the numbers, energy, and commitment of those who are aggrieved; and it has used unconventional and disruptive tactics to gain attention. Black Lives Matter has held protests and marches in cities across the country, and movement leaders have not been afraid to confront political candidates directly. While the movement claims no partisan affiliation, activists have sought attention from Democratic candidates who have more potential than Republican candidates to be allies in their cause. And President Trump, in his opening remarks at the 2020 Republican National Convention, targeted the movement as anti-police terrorists turning our cities into battle grounds.

The Black Lives Matter movement exploded in size, scope, and national attention after the police murder of George Floyd in May 2020 with massive protest demonstrations across the country, support for BLM among athletes, athletic teams and leagues (especially the NBA and WNBA), and expressions of support from many corporations and labor unions. Occasional instances of arson, looting and inter-personal violence occurred during some of these demonstrations, especially in Portland and Kenosha, and hurt the standing of the BLM movement among some Americans.

## THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN A DEMOCRACY

### 8.3 Evaluate how social movements make U.S. politics more democratic.

At first glance, social movements may not seem to conform very well to democratic principles. First, social movements usually start out as small minorities, whereas democracy requires majority rule. Second, social movements often use disruptive tactics—though rarely overtly violent ones—to announce their grievances when many “legitimate” democratic channels already exist (e.g., voting, petitioning, and the public expression of views). This section discusses how social movements can (and often do) help make American politics more democratic.

### Encouraging Participation

Social movements may increase the level of popular involvement and interest in politics. In one sense, this is true simply by definition: Social movements are the instruments of

outsiders. Thus, the women's suffrage movement convinced many middle-class women that their activities need not be confined exclusively to home, family, church, and charity work, and encouraged them to venture into political life by gathering petition signatures or joining demonstrations demanding the vote for women. In the 1960s, the civil rights movement encouraged Southern African Americans, who had long been barred from political life in their communities, to become active in their own emancipation. The religious evangelical movement spurred the involvement of previously politically apathetic evangelicals. The Women's March in Washington and in dozens of other cities across the nation on the day after Donald Trump's inauguration in January 2017 was designed as a protest against a president accused of (but never convicted of) sexual harassment and assault before his election and as a demand for women's empowerment. By some estimates, it was the biggest protest march in U.S. history and mobilized women to vote and run for office in unprecedented numbers in 2018, much to the benefit of Democrats.<sup>13</sup>

Social movements also encourage popular participation by dramatizing and bringing to public attention a range of issues that have been ignored or have been dealt with behind closed doors. Their contentious actions make these movements' members highly visible because they offer irresistible fare for television cameras. This ability to make politics more visible—called broadening the **scope of conflict** by political scientist E. E. Schattschneider<sup>14</sup>—makes politics the province of the many rather than the few.

## Overcoming Political Inequality

Social movements also sometimes allow individuals and groups without substantial resources to enter the game of politics. Many social movements are made up of people who do not have access to the money, time, contacts, or organizational resources that fuel normal politics.<sup>15</sup> The ability of those without resources to disrupt the status quo by mobilizing thousands to take to the streets to voice their demands—what sociologists call **mass mobilization**—is a powerful political tool for the seemingly politically powerless. In the right circumstances, the disruptive politics of social groups can become as politically useful as other conventional resources, such as money or votes.

## Creating New Majorities

When social movements, the province of numerical minorities, persuade enough citizens that what they want is reasonable, they may, over time, help create new majorities in society. Before the 1930s, for instance, only a minority of Americans may have been convinced that labor unions were a good idea. The **Great Depression** and a vigorous, militant labor movement changed the opinion of the nation, thus providing the basis for federal laws protecting the right of working people to unionize. In another example, such issues as gender-based job discrimination and pay inequity were not important to the general public until they were brought to center stage by the women's movement. The anger about sexual harassment and assault that encouraged the rise of the #MeToo and Women's March phases of the women's movement increased the number of women seeking elective office at the local, state, and national levels during the 2018 and 2020 election cycles.

## Overcoming Constitutional Inertia

Sometimes it takes the energy and disruption of a social movement to overcome the anti-majoritarian inclinations of our constitutional system.<sup>16</sup> Political scientist Theodore Lowi is particularly perceptive on this issue:

Our political system is almost perfectly designed to maintain an existing state of affairs. Our system is so designed that only a determined and undoubted majority could make it move. This is why our history is replete with social movements. It takes that kind of energy to get anything like a majority. . . . Change comes neither from the genius of the system nor from the liberality or wisdom of its supporters and of the organized groups. It comes from new groups or nascent groups—social movements—when the situation is most dramatic.<sup>17</sup>

### scope of conflict

Refers to the number of groups involved in a political conflict; a narrow scope of conflict involves a small number of groups, and a wide scope of conflict involves many.

### mass mobilization

The process of involving large numbers of people in a social movement.

### Great Depression

The period of economic crisis in the United States that lasted from the stock market crash of 1929 to America's entry into World War II.

It is important to note that many of the social reforms of which most Americans are proudest—women’s right to vote, equal citizenship rights for African Americans, Social Security, collective bargaining, and environmental protection—have been less the result of “normal” politics than of social movements started by determined and often disruptive minorities.<sup>18</sup>

## FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

### 8.4 Identify the factors that give rise to social movements.

Social movements do not appear out of nowhere. There are reasons why they form. A certain combination of factors seems necessary for a social movement to develop.<sup>19</sup>

#### Real or Perceived Distress

Safe, prosperous, respected, and contented people generally have no need of social movements. By contrast, those whose lives are difficult, unsafe, threatened, or disrespected often find social movements an attractive means of calling attention to their plight and of pressing for changes in the status quo.<sup>20</sup>

Social distress caused by economic, social, and technological change helped create the conditions for the rise of most of the major social movements in American history. Western and Southern farmers who suffered great economic reverses during the latter part of the nineteenth century engendered the populist movement. The virtual collapse of the industrial sector of the American economy during the 1930s, with historically unprecedented levels of unemployment and widespread destitution, catalyzed the labor movement. The perception that religious and family values have been declining in American life has given rise to the Christian conservative movement. For many women who were entering the job market in increasing numbers during the 1960s and 1970s, discriminatory hiring practices, blocked career advancement—in the form of the “glass ceiling” and the “mommy track”—and unequal pay made participation in the women’s movement irresistible.<sup>21</sup> Discrimination, police harassment, and violence spurred gay, lesbian, and transgender people to turn to “contentious politics.”<sup>22</sup> The AIDS epidemic added to their distress and

#### ON THE BORDER

Their apparel notwithstanding, these men are not federal agents but members of the Minutemen Militia, private citizens who run freelance patrols along the southern U.S. border, claiming action is needed to counter an invading army of illegal immigrants.

*Do vigilante actions of groups like the Minutemen help or hurt the anti-immigration cause?*



stimulated further political participation.<sup>23</sup> The purported threat of mass illegal migration to the United States triggered the rise of the Minutemen, armed volunteers with white supremacist leanings, to help control the border with Mexico, and a more general movement dedicated to stopping immigration and deporting undocumented people that contributed to the election of Donald Trump in 2016. The Great Recession, rising student loan debt, and the slow job recovery that followed sowed the seeds for the Occupy Wall Street movement on the left and the Tea Party movement on the right.

Ironically, the rise of one social movement demanding a change in how its people are regarded and treated often triggers the rise of a countermovement among people who come to feel distressed in turn. Thus, the women's and gay and lesbian movements were powerful stimulants for the rise of the Christian conservative movement, whose proponents worried that traditional family values were under assault. Civil rights advances and the diversification of the American population, much of which were facilitated by or perceived to be facilitated by the federal government, contributed to the rise of scattered anti-government and anti-diversity white supremacist groups and militias. Some of their actions have included the bombing of a federal office building in Oklahoma City in 1995 by Timothy McVeigh and associates that killed 168 people and the neo-Nazi and alt-right demonstrators in Charlottesville in 2017, where counter-demonstrators were attacked, with many resulting injuries and one death.<sup>24</sup>

### Availability of Resources for Mobilization

Although social strain and distress are almost always present in any society, social movements occur, it seems, only when aggrieved people have sufficient resources to organize.<sup>25</sup> A pool of potential leaders and a set of institutions that can provide infrastructure and money are particularly helpful. The grievances expressed by the labor movement had existed for a long time in the United States but not until a few unions developed—generating talented leaders like John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther and widespread media attention—did the movement take off. The nonviolent civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. found traction in the 1960s partly because network newscasts, which had just increased from fifteen to thirty minutes, filled out their programming schedules with the drama of civil rights demonstrations and the sometimes violent responses to them. The women's movement's assets included a sizable population of educated and skilled women, a lively women's press, and a broad network of meetings



### PUSHING FEMINISM

*Ms.* magazine, during its heyday in the 1970s, was a major force in attracting educated women to the women's movement. Gloria Steinem co-founded, edited, and wrote for the magazine. She had already established her journalism credentials before publishing *Ms.* and relied on her extensive contacts in the field to ensure a successful launch. *Could a publication like Ms. have as much impact today in the age of the internet as it did in the 1970s?*

to talk about common problems.<sup>26</sup> The Christian conservative movement could build on a base of skilled clergy, an expanding evangelical church membership, religious television and radio networks, and highly developed fundraising techniques. The anti-globalization and anti-Iraq War movements, highly decentralized and organizationally amorphous, strategically used social networking and mobile communications to spread information, raise money, and organize demonstrations here and abroad.<sup>27</sup>

## A Supportive Societal Environment

The rise of social movements also requires the times to be right, in the sense that a degree of support and tolerance for a movement's goals must exist among the public and society's leaders. The civil rights movement took place when support for more equality for African Americans was growing (even in parts of the then-segregated South) and the bad effects of segregation on American foreign policy worried national leaders. Christian conservatives mobilized as the Republican Party was looking at social values and practices to detach traditional Democratic voters from their party. The labor movement's upsurge during the 1930s coincided with the electoral needs of the Democratic Party.<sup>28</sup> The women's movement surged in the early 1970s when public opinion was becoming much more favorable toward women's equality.<sup>29</sup> In 1972, two out of three Americans—the same proportion that said they believed that issues raised by the women's movement were important—supported the proposal for an Equal Rights Amendment.<sup>30</sup>

Two years before the Court's landmark decision legalizing same-sex marriage, homosexuality had become widely accepted in American society.<sup>31</sup> The Pew Research Center reported in 2019 that 61 percent of Americans said they supported the right of same-sex couples to marry, with 31 percent opposed; the percentage among millennial young Americans is even higher, at 72 percent.<sup>32</sup> Even among self-identified Christians, large majorities now say that homosexuality should be accepted by society, including 61 percent of Catholics and 66 percent of mainline Protestants. Occupy Wall Street almost surely reflected a widespread sentiment that there is too much income inequality in the country and that government mostly helps the wealthy (54 percent of Americans agreed).<sup>33</sup>

Especially important for a social movement is acceptance of their concerns and demands among elites. A group of corporate leaders in the 1930s, for example, believed that labor peace was crucial for ending the Great Depression and making long-term economic stability possible and openly supported labor union efforts to organize industries and enter into labor-management contracts.<sup>34</sup> As noted earlier, in the 1950s and 1960s, American political leaders—concerned that widespread reports of violence and discrimination against African Americans were undermining U.S. credibility in the struggle against the Soviet Union for the loyalties of people of color in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—were ready for fundamental changes in race relations in the South and supported the civil rights movement. Leaders of the film, music, and television industries, whether for reasons of belief or economic gain, have increased the visibility of LGBTQ+ performers and experiences in their productions.

## A Sense of Efficacy Among Participants

People on the outside looking in must come to believe that their actions can make a difference and that other citizens and political leaders will listen and respond to their grievances.<sup>35</sup> Political scientists call this I-can-make-a-difference attitude a sense of **political efficacy**. Without a sense of efficacy, grievances might explode into brief demonstrations or riots, but they would not support a long-term effort, commitment, and risk.

It may well be that the highly decentralized and fragmented nature of our political system helps sustain a sense of efficacy because movements often find places in the system where they will be heard by officials. For example, Christian conservatives have had little effect on school curricula in unitary political systems like that of Great Britain, where educational policy is made centrally, so few try to do anything

### political efficacy

The sense that an individual can affect what government does.



### TELEVISION WITH ATTITUDE

The ensemble dramedy *Orange Is the New Black* had multiple LGBTQ+ characters in leading and support roles when it premiered in 2013. But what came first, change on television or change in society?

*Did wider societal acceptance of LGBTQ+ people make it possible for Netflix to “greenlight” Orange, or have Hollywood writers and producers led society to alter its attitudes?*

about it. In the United States, however, people know they can gain the ear of local school boards and state officials where conservative religious belief is strong. For their part, LGBTQ+ activists have been able to convince public officials and local voters to pass antidiscrimination ordinances in accepting communities—such as San Francisco, California, and Boulder, Colorado—and to win cases in several state courts.

Some scholars have suggested that a strong sense of common identity among protest groups contributes to efficacy. Knowing that one is not alone, that others see the world in common ways and have common concerns, is often the basis for people’s willingness to join social movements. Growing LGBTQ+ identity seems to be an important component of the rising political self-confidence of this movement. The same can be said for Christian conservatives and Tea Party activists.

### A Spark to Set Off the Flames

Social movements require, as we have seen, a set of grievances, resources to form and sustain organization, a supportive environment, and a sense of political efficacy, but they also seem to require some dramatic precipitating event (or series of events)—a *catalyst*—to set them in motion. Passage of the Fourteenth Amendment just after the Civil War, which at first protected the citizenship rights of African American men and did not include protections for women of any race or ethnicity, galvanized the early women’s suffrage movement. The 1969 Stonewall rebellion—three days of rioting catalyzed by police harassment of patrons of a popular gay bar in New York City’s Greenwich Village—and Rosa Parks’s simple refusal to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus in 1957 inspired countless acts of resistance afterward among gays and lesbians and African Americans. In 2006, Latinos were moved to action after the House passed a bill making illegal immigrants felons, subjecting longtime undocumented immigrants to deportation, and beefing up control of the U.S.–Mexican border. CNBC reporter Rick Santelli’s rant on television about President Obama’s plan to provide mortgage payment assistance to people who were about to lose their homes helped launch the Tea Party in 2009. News of movie mogul Harvey Weinstein’s long history of sexual harassment and assault, coupled with news of sexual misdeeds by male leaders in government, the media, and a broad range of private corporations, was the spark for the first large-scale

**I CAN'T BREATHE**

Shocking video showed in graphic detail the brutal killing of unarmed African American George Floyd by white police officer Derek Chauvin and set off massive anti-police demonstrations across the nation in June, 2020.

*What best explains why there have been so many police killings of African Americans in the United States?*



Women's March demonstrations in early 2017 and the #MeToo Survivors' March a year later. Long-simmering anger about police brutality toward African Americans blew up into massive nationwide demonstrations in support of Black Lives Matter in the aftermath of the release of bystander-generated videos of the killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis in 2020 by officer Derek Chauvin, whose knee pressed on Floyd's neck for more than eight minutes, preventing him from breathing.

---

## TACTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

### 8.5 Identify tactics commonly used by social movements.

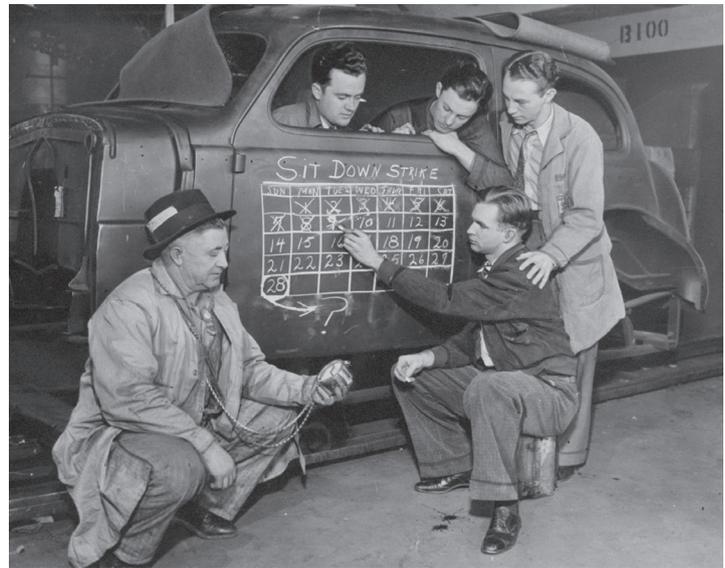
Because they often represent people and groups that lack political power, social movements tend to use unconventional tactics, disruption, and dramatic gestures to make themselves heard.<sup>36</sup> The women's suffrage movement used mass demonstrations and hunger strikes to great effect. The labor movement invented sit-down strikes and plant takeovers as its most effective weapons in the 1930s. Pro-life activists added clinic blockades and the harassment of patients, doctors, and employees to the protest repertoire. The Occupy Wall Street movement learned to commandeer publicly prominent urban spaces such as parks and squares.

The most effective tool of the civil rights movement was nonviolent civil disobedience. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the strongest advocate for and popularizer of this strategy, having borrowed it from Mahatma Gandhi, who used it as part of the campaign that ended British colonial rule in India after World War II.<sup>37</sup> A particularly dramatic and effective use of this tactic took place in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when four black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University sat down at a "whites only" lunch counter in a Woolworth's store and politely asked to be served. When asked to leave, they refused. They remained calm even as a mob of young white men screamed at them, squirted them with ketchup and mustard, and threatened to lynch them. Each day, more students from the college joined them. By the end of the week, more than a thousand Black students had joined the sit-in to demand an end to segregation. These actions ignited the South. Within two months, similar sit-ins had taken place in nearly sixty cities across nine states; almost four thousand young people, including a number of white college students from outside the South, had spent a night in jail for their actions. Their

bravery galvanized Black people across the nation and generated sympathy among many whites. The student sit-in movement also spawned a new and less patient civil rights organization, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

For his part, Dr. King led a massive nonviolent civil disobedience campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963, demanding the end of segregation in the schools in addition to the **racial integration** of public services, especially public transportation. Nonviolent demonstrators, many of them schoolchildren, were assaulted by snarling police dogs, electric cattle prods, and high-pressure fire hoses that sent demonstrators sprawling. Police Commissioner Eugene “Bull” Connor filled his jails to overflowing with hundreds of young marchers, who resisted only passively, alternately praying and singing “We Shall Overcome.” The quiet bravery of the demonstrators and the palpable sense among the nation’s leaders that matters were quickly spinning out of control convinced President John Kennedy to introduce historic civil rights legislation for congressional consideration on June 11, 1963.

This is not to say that unconventional and disruptive tactics always work. No matter how peaceful, some tactics fail to strike the right chord. And, at times, fringe elements within movements do things so rancorous that the movement itself is discredited. In the late 1960s, urban riots and the rise of African Americans committed to Black power undermined the broad popularity of the civil rights movement. The anti-globalization movement has been similarly undermined by its anarchist wing, which, committed to violence against property and to confrontations with police, draws attention from television cameras, whether in Seattle, Washington, or Davos, Switzerland. Republican candidates in the 2015–and 2019 election cycles used opposition to Black Lives Matter to rally their own support. In an attempt to position themselves favorably with law-and-order voters who are protective of police and with voters who don’t believe that Black Americans are discriminated against, candidates argued that the movement vilified law enforcement and prioritized the lives of Black Americans over all others. During his failed re-election campaign in 2020, Donald Trump leaned heavily on this anti-BLM, law and order strategy.



### BIRTH OF A NEW TACTIC

The infant United Auto Workers (UAW) organized a strike in early 1937 at a plant of America’s top automaker, General Motors (GM), in Flint, Michigan. Rather than put a picket line at the factory gates, which could easily be breached by police and replacement workers, the Flint UAW members sat in place, daring the police to provoke violence inside the plant, where irreplaceable auto-building equipment would be at risk. The sit-down strike lasted for almost six weeks and was entirely successful, with GM ultimately recognizing the UAW as the sole bargaining agent for its manufacturing workers.

*Are sit-down strikes a viable tactic for people trying to form labor unions today?*

### racial integration

Policies that encourage the interaction of different races in schools, public facilities, workplaces, and/or housing.

## WHY DO SOME SOCIAL MOVEMENTS SUCCEED AND OTHERS FAIL?

### 8.6 Determine what makes a social movement successful.

Social movements have had a significant effect on American politics and on what government does. Not all social movements, however, are equally successful, and here is why:<sup>38</sup>

- *The proximity of the movement’s goals to American values.* Movements that ask for fuller participation in things that other Americans consider right and proper—such as voting and opportunities for economic advancement—are more likely to strike a responsive chord than movements that demand a redistribution of income from the rich to the poor.
- *The movement’s capacity to win public attention and support.* Potential movements that fail to gain attention, either because the news media are not interested or because there is little sympathy for the cause the movement espouses, never get very far. Things become even more problematic when a social movement stimulates the formation of a counter-social movement.



### COURAGE UNDER FIRE

In 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama, under the leadership of Chief of Public Safety “Bull” Connor, peaceful civil rights demonstrators protesting segregation were met with fire hoses, police billy clubs, snarling police dogs, and jail. The national and international outcry over the treatment of peaceful protestors contributed to passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which ended most forms of de jure segregation in the United States.

*Are there any social movements today that will have an impact as equally momentous as that of the civil rights movement of the 1960s?*

of a mark in the late 1960s. This social movement was never able to mobilize a large group of activists, had little support among the general public because of its fairly radical proposals for income redistribution, and was unable to disrupt everyday life significantly or to affect the electoral prospects of politicians.

The modern women’s movement, while successful in a number of areas, was unable to win passage of a proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution banning discrimination on the grounds of gender. The ERA failed to receive the votes of three-fourths of the states by the 1979 deadline set by Congress (later extended to 1982), mainly because the effort to ratify it stirred up a countermovement among religious conservative women in every religious denomination.<sup>39</sup> Since then, five states voted to rescind their ratification prior to the deadline and three additional states voted recently to ratify: Nevada in 2017, Illinois in 2018, and Virginia in 2020. The fate of the Equal Rights Amendment will likely not be known for a long time as various issues are tested in the courts. Can states, for example, rescind their affirmative vote on a proposed constitutional amendment? If yes, then the original total of thirty-five states in favor of the amendment drops to thirty. If no, the total number of states approving the amendment remains at thirty-five. What then of the three recent state approvals, all of which happened well past the deadline for action set by Congress? If they are counted, and the votes to rescind in five states are not allowed, then the Equal Rights Amendment would be ratified with the required thirty-eight states in favor. If they are not counted, the amendment fails to be ratified. These issues are likely to be in the courts for years to come.

### Repressed Social Movements

Social movements committed to radical change tend to threaten widely shared values and interests of powerful individuals, groups,<sup>40</sup> and institutions.<sup>41</sup> As a result, they rarely gain widespread popular support and almost always arouse the hostility of political leaders. Such movements, too, often face repression of one kind or another.<sup>42</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, the labor movement was hindered by court injunctions forbidding strikes and boycotts, by laws against union formation, by employer-hired armed gangs, and by the National Guard and the U.S. armed forces. In 1877, sixty thousand National Guardsmen were mobilized in ten states to break the first national railroad strike. Ten thousand militiamen were called into action to break the strike against Carnegie Steel in 1892 in Homestead, Pennsylvania, which resulted in the arrest of sixteen strike leaders on conspiracy charges and the indictment of twenty-seven labor leaders for treason.

- *The movement’s ability to affect the political fortunes of elected leaders.* Politicians tend to pay attention to movements that can affect their electoral fortunes one way or another. If support for the aims of a movement will add to their vote totals among movement members and a broader sympathetic public, politicians likely will be more inclined to help. If opposition to the movement is a better electoral strategy, politicians are likely to act as roadblocks to the movement.

### Low-Impact Social Movements

The poor people’s movement, which tried to convince Americans to enact policies that would end poverty in the United States, failed to make much

## Partially Successful Social Movements

Some social movements have enough power and public support to generate a favorable response from public officials but not enough to force them to respond in more than partial or halfhearted ways.

- President Franklin D. Roosevelt responded to social movement pressures for strong antipoverty measures during the Great Depression, but the Social Security Act, ultimately, fell far short of movement expectations.<sup>43</sup>
- The LGBTQ+ movement has won protections against discrimination in many states and cities and gained constitutional status for same-sex marriage and protections against workplace discrimination, but a majority of members of that community report that they have personally experienced slurs and offensive comments and that they or LGBTQ+ friends have been sexually harassed or physically attacked because of their gender identity. And a significant number of them—about one in five—say they have been discriminated against at work (pay and promotion) and in finding a place to live.<sup>44</sup>
- The environmental movement has helped convince an increasing number of Americans that human-made climate change is real and dangerous and that something must be done to cut back on the production of greenhouse gases. However, not much has happened by way of actual government action to improve matters. Under President Obama, the United States joined the Paris Climate Agreement and executive orders were issued to dramatically reduce emissions from power plants and to substantially increase the requirements for fuel efficiency in cars driven in the United States, but climate activists wanted more. Under President Trump, a firm climate-change denier, the United States withdrew from the Paris Agreement, loosened restrictions on coal-powered power plants, and slowed the increase in required automobile fuel-efficiency standards. Many U.S. cities and states pressed ahead with tighter restrictions anyway, despite the new political climate in Washington, D.C.

### LUDLOW MASSACRE, 1914

Siding with mine owners against striking miners in Ludlow, Colorado, the governor ordered the state's national guard to clear the camp where miners and their families were living, forcing workers out of their tiny homes owned by the company, Colorado Fuel and Iron. Joined by company guards and security forces, the national guard attacked the camp with cannons, rifles, bayonets, and fire, killing more than two dozen people, including women and children. John D. Rockefeller Jr. owned the company and was roundly criticized for the attack and was called before Congress to testify. Notwithstanding the bad publicity, the violent action worked, for it broke the back of the miners' union in the West. *Would the use of violence against strikers have been possible had the public and elites been more sympathetic to unions?*



The limitations of such local efforts to a global problem became clearer to many Americans as they came to directly experience extreme weather events and massive and historically unprecedented fires in the Western U.S.

Movements can be partially successful even if no new laws are passed. Other measures of success include increased respect for members of the movement, changes in fundamental underlying values in society, and increased representation of the group in decision-making bodies. The women's movement has had some of this kind of success, though much remains to be done, as indicated by the broad appeal of the Women's March and #MeToo movements. Although the Equal Rights Amendment (the movement's main goal in the 1970s) was not ratified (at least as of this writing), women's issues came to the forefront during these years and, to a very substantial degree, the demands of the movement for equal treatment and respect made significant headway in many areas of American life, though sexual harassment and assault remain a painful reality.<sup>45</sup> Issues such as pay equity, family leave, sexual harassment, and attention to women's health problems in medical research are now a part of the American political agenda. Women have made important gains economically and are becoming more numerous in many professions, corporate executive positions (although only 21 percent of corporate board members and 6 percent of CEOs of S&P 500 companies in the United States were women in 2019),<sup>46</sup> and political office. In 2016, Hillary Clinton became the first woman to win the presidential nomination of a major political party, though she later lost in the presidential race to Donald Trump. During the 2018 and 2020 election cycles, a record number of women entered races for public office at all levels in the political system: local, state, and federal. Nancy Pelosi has served times as the Speaker of the House. And in 2020, the Democrats nominated Senator Kamala Harris, a mixed race woman, as the candidate for Vice President on their ticket. She was sworn in as Vice President in January, 2021.

## Successful Social Movements

Social movements that have many supporters, win wide public sympathy, do not challenge the basics of the economic and social orders, and wield some clout in the electoral arena are likely to achieve a substantial number of their goals. The women's suffrage movement is one of the best examples. Women successfully won the right to vote in 1920. The civil rights movement is another, yielding after years of struggle the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned segregation in places of public accommodations such as hotels and restaurants, and the **1965 Voting Rights Act**, which put the might of the federal government behind efforts to allow African Americans to vote and hold elected office. These enactments helped sound the death knell of the "separate but equal" doctrine enunciated in the infamous *Plessy* decision (1896) and engineered the collapse of legal segregation in the South.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was particularly important in transforming the politics of the South. Black registration and voting turnout increased dramatically all over the region during the late 1960s and the 1970s. Elected Black officials filled legislative seats, city council seats, mayors' offices in large and small cities, and sheriffs' offices. Between 1960 and 2011, the number of elected Black officials in the United States increased from a mere 40 to more than 10,500.<sup>47</sup> In the years after passage of the Voting Rights Act, some white politicians, tacking with the new winds of change, began to court the Black vote. George Wallace, who first became famous by "standing in the schoolhouse door" to prevent the integration of the University of Alabama and who once kicked off a political campaign with the slogan, "Segregation Now, Segregation Tomorrow, Segregation Forever," actively pursued the Black vote in his last run for public office.

To be sure, being successful in achieving specific policy goals may not in the end make matters better for a group across the board. Though the civil rights movement achieved its legislative goals—passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 guaranteeing equal treatment in public accommodations and the 1965 Voting Rights Act protecting African Americans' right to vote—the social and economic condition of African

### 1965 Voting Rights Act

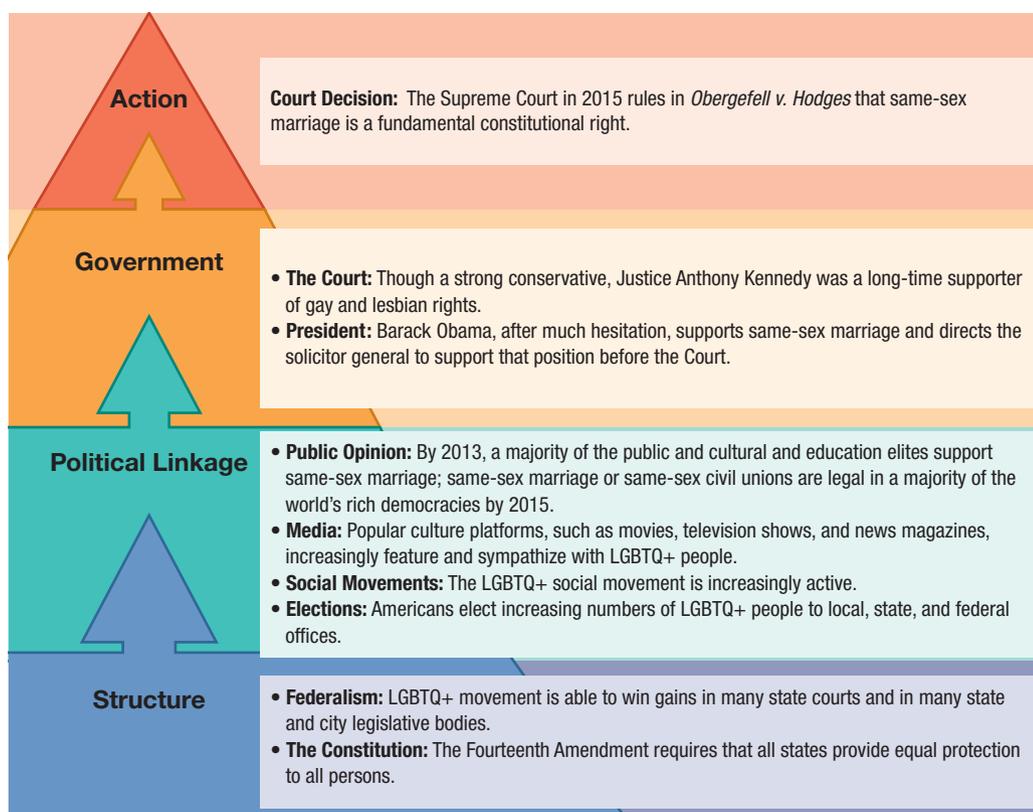
A law that banned racial discrimination in voting across the United States; it gave the federal government broad powers to register voters in a set of states, mostly in the South, that had long practiced election discrimination, and required that such state pre-clear any changes in its election laws with the Department of Justice.

Americans today lags behind that of other Americans. This is true with respect to educational attainment, income and wealth, and life expectancy.<sup>48</sup> As we have seen in other places in this book, the Supreme Court has allowed the states to whittle away at African American voting rights. And the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement happened because African American men were much more likely than any other demographic group to die at the hands of the police.

Gays and lesbians reached one of their major goals in 2015 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Obergefell v. Hodges* that laws in states that banned same-sex marriage or that refused to recognize the marriages of same-sex partners performed in other states violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. *Obergefell*, in short, established marriage as a fundamental right that states could not violate. The *Obergefell* decision followed an earlier ruling, *United States v. Windsor* (2013). In *Windsor*, the Supreme Court said that a piece of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)—which denied federal benefits such as Social Security, Medicare, joint tax return status, veterans' benefits, and inheritance rights to same-sex couples—was unconstitutional. DOMA was enacted in 1996 in response to a state Supreme Court ruling in Hawaii that same-sex marriage was legal in that state. In the *Windsor* case, Justice Antonin Scalia complained in his dissent that the broad language of the majority opinion, which granted homosexuals “equal liberty and basic dignity,” would inevitably open the door in the future to overturning bans on same-sex marriage in all other states. He was right. *Windsor* in 2013 paved the way for the *Obergefell* decision of 2015, a case in which Scalia again dissented.

Change of this magnitude is deserving of additional analysis, which we do by applying our analytical framework to *Obergefell* (see Figure 8.4). Here we can piece together the *structural*, *political linkage*, and *government* factors that led to *Obergefell*. Especially important in this analysis is the impact of LGBTQ+ activists, their increasing political influence as an organized social movement, and the transformation of public opinion on issues concerning LGBTQ+ rights.

**FIGURE 8.4** APPLYING THE FRAMEWORK: SAME-SEX MARRIAGE



**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: DO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS MAKE AMERICA MORE OR LESS DEMOCRATIC?**

Thinking back to the Benchmarks of Democracy presented in Chapter 1, one can draw certain conclusions about whether social movements enhance or diminish democracy in the United States. The story of American democracy has been shaped by social movements—from the first stirrings of rebellion in the British colonies to the emancipation of African American slaves to the granting of the right to vote to women. But in a nation that is supposed to be governed by majority rule, expressed primarily through elections, are social movements that empower minorities truly democratic? Just what role do social movements play in a democracy?

In a perfect democratic society, social movements would be unnecessary; change would happen through political linkages like elections and public opinion and through party and interest group activity. Indeed, a democracy that depended entirely on social movements to bring needed change would not work very effectively at all. But in an imperfect and incomplete democracy like ours, social movements play a valuable and important role, creating an additional linkage between portions of the American public and their government.

Social movements affect our democracy in several ways. First, social movements represent a way—a difficult way, to be sure—by which political outsiders and the politically powerless can become players in the political game. Our constitutional system favors the status quo—federalism, separation of powers, and checks and balances make it extremely difficult to institute fundamentally new policies or to change existing social and economic conditions. Moreover, the primacy of the status quo is further entrenched by the political power of economically and socially privileged groups and individuals who generally resist changes that might undermine their positions. Movements present a way for outsiders to gain a hearing for their grievances, work to win over a majority of their fellow citizens, and persuade elected leaders to take action. Equal citizenship for women and for African Americans, for example, would not have happened at all, or would have been much longer in coming, if not for the existence of social movements demanding change. Thus, social movements are valuable tools for ensuring that popular sovereignty, political equality, and political liberty—the key ingredients in a democracy as we have defined it—are more fully realized.

In some cases, at least theoretically, social movements can pose a threat to democracy. Small minorities who credibly threaten social disruption might occasionally force elected officials to respond to their demands, even though the majority does not favor such action. Some social movements, moreover, push policies that run counter to democratic ideals, making them dangerous for democracy if they take hold. Anti-immigrant movements, for example, tried to deny citizenship rights to people from China and Southern and Eastern Europe earlier in our history. But threats to the fundamentals of democracy emanating from social movements seem minor compared to the persistent inequalities that arise from other quarters, including interest groups, which we considered in Chapter 7.

## REVIEW THE CHAPTER

### WHAT ARE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

**8.1** Define social movements and who they represent.

Social movements emphasize rather dramatically the point that the struggle for democracy is a recurring feature of our political life.

Social movements are mainly the instruments of political outsiders with grievances who want to gain a hearing in American politics.

### MAJOR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

**8.2** Discuss the important social movements that have shaped American society.

Social movements, by using disruptive tactics and broadening the scope of conflict, can contribute to democracy by increasing the visibility of important issues, encouraging wider participation in public affairs, often creating new majorities, and sometimes providing the energy to overcome the many anti-majoritarian features of our constitutional system.

### THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN A DEMOCRACY

**8.3** Evaluate how social movements make U.S. politics more democratic.

Social movements often produce changes in government policies.

Social movements try to bring about social change through collective action.

Movements can also serve as a tension-release mechanism for aggrieved groups even when major policy shifts do not happen.

Social movements have had an important effect on our political life and in determining what our government does. Some of our most important legislative landmarks can be attributed to them.

Social movements do not always get what they want. They seem to be most successful when their goals are consistent with the central values of the society, have wide popular support, and fit the needs of political leaders.

### FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

**8.4** Identify the factors that give rise to social movements.

Social distress caused by economic, social, and technological change often creates the conditions for the rise of social movements in the United States.

Social distress that encourages the formation of social movements comes from change that proves difficult and unsafe for people, threatens their way of life or basic values, and lessens the respect they feel from others.

Social movements can be a means for calling attention to the plight of their members and pressing for changes in the status quo.

### TACTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

**8.5** Identify tactics commonly used by social movements.

Social movements use unconventional and often disruptive tactics to attract attention to their causes.

A social movement tends to be most successful when the political environment is supportive, in the sense that at least portions of the general population and some public officials are sympathetic to that movement's goals.

Movement ideas often are taken up by one of the major political parties as it seeks to add voters.

To the degree that parties attract new voters and change the views of some of their traditional voters because of social movement activities, elected officials are more likely to be receptive to responding to grievances.

Social movements sometimes spark counter-social movements, which, if strong enough, can make government leaders reluctant to address grievances.

### WHY DO SOME SOCIAL MOVEMENTS SUCCEED AND OTHERS FAIL?

**8.6** Determine what makes a social movement successful.

Social movements that have many supporters, win wide public sympathy, do not challenge the basics of the economic and social orders, and wield some clout in the electoral arena are most likely to achieve their goals.

## LEARN THE TERMS

**Voting Rights Act of 1965** A law that banned racial discrimination in voting across the United States; it gave the federal government broad powers to register voters in a set of states, mostly in the South, that had long practiced election discrimination, and required that such state pre-clear any changes in its election laws with the Department of Justice.

**civil disobedience** Intentionally breaking a law and accepting the consequences as a way to publicize the unjustness of the law.

**Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** Proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution stating that equality of rights shall not be abridged or denied on account of a person's gender; it failed to win the approval of the necessary number of states.

**Great Depression** The period of economic crisis in the United States that lasted from the stock market crash of 1929 to America's entry into World War II.

**mass mobilization** The process of involving large numbers of people in a social movement.

**political efficacy** The sense that an individual can affect what government does.

**racial integration** Policies that encourage the interaction of different races in schools, public facilities, workplaces, and/or housing.

**scope of conflict** Refers to the number of groups involved in a political conflict; a narrow scope of conflict involves a small number of groups, and a wide scope of conflict involves many.

**social movements** Loosely organized groups with large numbers of people who use unconventional and often disruptive tactics to have their grievances heard by the public, the news media, and government leaders.

## Chapter 8

1. Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); David S. Meyer and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *The Social Movement Society* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997); Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, "Social Movements," in *Handbook of Sociology*, ed. Neil J. Smelser (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1994); Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); and Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
2. Sidney Tarrow, "Social Movements as Contentious Politics," *American Political Science Review* 90 (1996), pp. 853–866; Ronald R. Aminzade, Jack A. Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth J. Perry, William H. Sewell Jr., and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
3. Our focus is on social movements in politics and their impact on public policies. For a review of the scholarly literature on social movements more broadly considered, see Edwin Amenta, Neal Caren, Elizabeth Chiarello, and Yang Su, "The Political Consequences of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010), pp. 287–307; Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Mary Bernstein, "Culture, Power, and Institutions: A Multi-Institutional Approach to Social Movements," *Sociological Theory* 26, no. 1 (March 2008), pp. 74–99; and Paul Almeida, *Social Movements: The Structure of Collective Mobilization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019).
4. The philosophy of nonviolent civil disobedience is spelled out in Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Signet Classic, 2000).
5. Malcolm X was a complex and compelling character who changed political course during his active political lifetime. See Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Redefinition* (New York: Viking Press, 2011).
6. CBS News telecast, February 16, 2003.
7. Jackie Smith, "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements," *Mobilization: An International Journal* 6, no. 1 (2000), pp. 1–19.
8. For a compelling and deeply researched study of the role of the Koch brothers broad political influence, see Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (New York: Doubleday, 2016); and Theda Skocpol and Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, "The Koch Network and Republican Party Extremism," *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (September 2016), <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/koch-network-and-republican-party-extremism/035F3D872B0CE930AF02D7706DF46EEE>.
9. On the Tea Party and its effects on the Republican Party see Stanley B. Greenberg, *GOP/RIP: How the New America Is Dooming the Republicans* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2019), p. 333.
10. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, "Public Divided Over Occupy Wall Street," Pew Research Center poll, October 24, 2011, <http://www.people-press.org/2011/10/24/public-divided-over-occupy-wall-street-movement>.
11. Herbert Ruffin, "Black Lives Matter: The Growth of a New Social Justice Movement," <http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/black-lives-matter-growth-new-social-justice-movement#sthash.qbfU05b5.dpuf>.
12. Campaign Zero, <http://www.joincampaignzero.org>.
13. Dana Fisher, *American Resistance: From the Women's March to the Blue Wave*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019); Matt Broomfield, "Women's March Against Donald Trump Is the Largest Day of Protests in US History, Say Political Scientists," *Independent*, January 25, 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/womens-march-anti-donald-trump-womens-rights-largest-protest-demonstration-us-history-political-a7541081.html>.
14. E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1960), p. 142.
15. Richard Polenberg, *One Nation Divisible* (New York: Penguin Press, 1980), p. 268; and Craig A. Rimmerman, *From Identity to Politics: The Lesbian and Gay Movements in the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002), ch. 1.
16. Frances Fox Piven, *When Movements Matter: How Ordinary People Change America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).
17. Theodore J. Lowi, *The Politics of Disorder* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 54.
18. Piven, *When Movements Matter*.
19. Aminzade et al., *Silence and Voice*; Meyer and Tarrow, *Social Movement Society*; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, "Social Movements"; and Sidney Tarrow, *Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
20. Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York: Free Press, 1962); and Elaine Walker and Heather J. Smith, *Relative Deprivation: Specification, Development, and Integration* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
21. Barbara Sinclair Deckard, *The Women's Movement* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983); and Ethel Klein, *Gender Politics: From Consciousness to Mass Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), ch. 2.
22. Donald P. Haider-Markel, "Creating Change—Holding the Line," in *Gays and Lesbians in the Political Process*, eds.

- Ellen D. B. Riggle and Barry L. Tadlock (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 38–59.
23. Rimmerman, *From Identity to Politics*.
  24. Kathleen Belew, “The History of White Power,” *New York Times*, April 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/18/opinion/history-white-power.html>. Also see “Murder and Extremism in the United States 2018,” Antidefamation League, January 2019, <https://www.adl.org/murder-and-extremism-2018#executive-summary>; and Sam Jackson, “A Schema of Right-Wing Extremism in the United States,” International Center for Counter-Terrorism, January 18, 2020, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19625>.
  25. William Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey, 1975); and John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory,” *American Journal of Sociology* 82 (1977), pp. 1212–1241.
  26. Jo Freeman, *The Politics of Women’s Liberation* (New York: McKay, 1975); and Nancy Burns, “Gender: Public Opinion and Political Action,” in *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, eds. Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (New York: Norton, 2002), pp. 472–476.
  27. Bruce Bimber, *Information and American Democracy: Technology and the Evolution of Political Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chs. 3 and 5.
  28. Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su, “Political Consequences,” p. 299; McAdam, *Political Process*; Tarrow, *Social Movements*; and Peter K. Eisenger, “The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities,” *American Political Science Review* 67 (1973), pp. 11–28.
  29. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People’s Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage, 1979), ch. 3.
  30. Klein, *Gender Politics*, pp. 90–91.
  31. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, “Support for Same-Sex Marriage at Record High, but Key Segments Remain Opposed,” Pew Research Center, June 6, 2013, <http://www.people-press.org/2015/06/08/support-for-same-sex-marriage-at-record-high-but-key-segments-remain-opposed>.
  32. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, “Attitudes on Same-Sex Marriage,” May 14, 2019, <https://www.pewforum.org/fact-sheet/changing-attitudes-on-gay-marriage>.
  33. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, “Attitudes on Same-Sex Marriage.”
  34. G. William Domhoff, *The Higher Circles* (New York: Random House, 1970); Edward S. Greenberg, *Capitalism and the American Political Ideal* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 1985); Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1967); and James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).
  35. Rimmerman, *From Identity to Politics*.
  36. Piven, *When Movements Matter*.
  37. Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986); and William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
  38. Amenta, Caren, Chiarello, and Su, “Political Consequences,” pp. 294–298.
  39. Jane Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).
  40. Christian Davenport, Hank Johnson, and Carol Mueller, eds., *Mobilization and Repression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
  41. See David Cauter, *The Great Fear* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978); Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1978); and Alan Wolfe, *The Seamy Side of Democracy* (New York: McKay, 1978).
  42. Greenberg, *Capitalism and the American Political Ideal*.
  43. *Ibid.*
  44. T. H. Chan, “Discrimination in America: Experiences and Views of LGBTQ Americans,” Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and NPR, November 2017, <https://cdn1.sph.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/94/2017/11/NPR-RWJF-HSPH-Discrimination-LGBTQ-Final-Report.pdf>.
  45. Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, pp. 430–468; Deckard, *Women’s Movement*; Klein, *Gender Politics*, ch. 2; Freeman, *Politics of Women’s Liberation*. See also debates on the relative progress of women in the United States collected in Dorothy McBride Stetson, *Women’s Rights in the United States: Policy Debates and Gender Roles* (London: Routledge, 2004).
  46. “Knowledge Center: Women in S & P 500 Companies,” January 15, 2020, <https://www.catalyst.org/research/women-in-sp-500-companies/>.
  47. *National Roster of Black Elected Officials, Fact Sheet* (Washington, DC: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2013), p. 1.
  48. Desmond S. King and Rogers M. Smith, *Still a House Divided: Race and Politics in Obama’s America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 268–280; “A Dream Examined,” *New York Times*, August 23, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/08/24/us/a-dream-examined.html>; and “Fifty Years After Martin Luther King’s Death: A Divided America,” *Economist*, April 4, 2018, <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2018/04/04/fifty-years-after-martin-luther-kings-death-a-divided-america>.