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## ***States, Parties, and Social Movements***

Studies of social movements and of political parties have usually treated them as separate and distinct. In fact, they are deeply intertwined. Social movements often shape electoral competition and party policies; they can even give rise to new parties. At the same time, political parties and campaigns shape the opportunities, personnel, and outcomes of social movements. In many countries, electoral democracy itself is the outcome of social movement actions. This book examines the interaction of social movements and party politics since the 1950s, both in the United States and around the world. In studies of the U.S. civil rights movement, the New Left, the Czechoslovak dissident movements, the Mexican struggle for democracy, and other episodes, this volume shows how party politics and social movements cannot be understood without appreciating their intimate relationship.

Jack A. Goldstone is Professor of Sociology and International Relations at the University of California, Davis. He received the American Sociological Association Award for Distinguished Scholarly Publication for his book *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (1991).

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[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521016995](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521016995)

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First published 2003

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

States, parties, and social movements / edited by Jack A. Goldstone.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in contentious politics)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-81679-3 – ISBN 0-521-01699-1 (pb.)

1. Political parties. 2. Social movements. I. Goldstone, Jack A. II. Series.

JF2011 .S73 2003

303.48'4-dc21

2002067649

ISBN 978-0-521-01699-5 Paperback

ISBN 978-0-521-81679-3 Hardback

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Edited by

**JACK A. GOLDSTONE**

*University of California, Davis*



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*To my family, whose support makes all things possible,  
and to the Mellon Group of contentious politics scholars,  
whose efforts made this volume possible*

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## *Foreword*

Doug McAdam

This volume arose from a unique collaborative project that began in the early 1990s and stretched into the new millennium. Ultimately, the project involved twenty-one core participants and a host of others who attended one or more of the nine mini-conferences that structured the project. In form and function, the project resembled nothing so much as an extended collaborative conversation concerning the nature and dynamics of “contentious politics.”

Motivated by a shared concern that the study of social movements, revolutions, democratization, ethnic conflict, and other forms of nonroutine, or contentious, politics had grown fragmented, spawning a number of insular scholarly communities only dimly aware of one another, the project was committed above all else to exploring possible lines of synthesis – empirical and theoretical – that might transcend some of the scholarly conventions that still largely divide the field. Among these conventions are persistent theoretical divisions between rationalists, culturalists, and structuralists; putative differences between various forms of contention (e.g., social movements, revolutions, peasant rebellions, industrial conflict); and the long-standing assumption of area specialists that any general phenomenon – such as contentious politics – can only be understood in light of the idiosyncratic history and cultural conventions of the locale in which it takes place. While respectful of these conventional distinctions, the project has been committed to exploring their limits and embracing promising new approaches and topics in the study of political contention.

A bit of history: The project began in 1993 with a casual conversation between Sid Tarrow and me, in which we found that we shared a deep ambivalence regarding the proliferation of work on social movements. On the one hand, we were delighted that a topic long regarded as peripheral by

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political scientists and sociologists alike had come to be seen as a legitimate subject of so much academic work. On the other hand, we were concerned about the increasing narrowness of the field and its disconnect from other proximate fields of study. Wouldn't it be great, we mused, if scholars from these separate fields could together explore the possibilities for synthesis across these nominally distinct subfields? In turn, the conversation led to a concrete suggestion: Why not submit a proposal to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences to convene a one-year Special Project to be devoted to the kind of exploration and synthesis we had in mind? Why not, indeed! After we enlisted Chuck Tilly as a third coconspirator, a proposal was drafted, ably vetted by Phil Converse and Bob Scott (then director and associate director, respectively, of the Center), and in 1994 approved by both the Center's Advisory Committee on Special Projects and its board of trustees.

Once the Special Project was secured, the enterprise took a fateful and felicitous turn. Knowing how ambitious – yet amorphous – our aims were, Bob Scott encouraged us to seek the additional monetary support that would allow us to stretch the project over a longer time frame. At his suggestion, we applied in 1995 to the Mellon Foundation's Sawyer Seminar Series seeking support for a three-year seminar series organized around the broad topic of "contentious politics." To our delight and surprise, Mellon granted our request.

The challenge now centered on finding the right core faculty around whom to build the ongoing conversation. Eventually, we were lucky enough to attract four other colleagues for the project: Ron Aminzade, Jack Goldstone, Liz Perry, and Bill Sewell. We could not have asked for a more qualified and generous group of conversationalists. (Speaking personally, the opportunity to interact with all six of these colleagues over the life of the project has been one of the most rewarding experiences of my career. None of them can possibly know just how much I have learned and continue to learn from them.)

Though neither our Center nor the Mellon sponsors required us to do so, the seven of us agreed immediately that we wanted to involve graduate students in the project. Who better to offer fresh perspectives on important topics than promising young scholars not wedded to disciplinary boundaries and subfield conventions? The model we hit on for facilitating student involvement in the project was a yearly competition to select five graduate Fellows drawn from applicants solicited nationally from across a range of social science disciplines. The results of our first competition confirmed the

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approach. The voices of the five members of that first graduate cohort – Lissa Bell, Pamela Burke, Robyn Eckhardt, John Glenn, and Joseph Luders – blended so seamlessly into the conversation that, in the end, they forced us to revise our plan to limit the fellowships to one year and to approach Mellon for funding to enable us to retain all graduate Fellows for the life of the project. Mellon came through for us a second time. Nine more talented students – Jorge Cadena-Roa, David Cunningham, Manali Desai, Debbie Gould, Hyojoung Kim, Heidi Swarts, Nella Van Dyke, Heather Williams, and Kim Williams – joined us over the next two years, bringing the total number of graduate Fellows on the project to fourteen. It is a number of these younger scholars whose path-breaking efforts have produced this volume.

These younger scholars have more than fulfilled our hopes for fresh approaches to the study of contentious politics. Their many interventions, provocative queries, and fresh takes on familiar topics enlivened our discussion and taught us new ways of seeing social movements and social change. The essays in this volume crash through any barriers that once separated the study of institutional politics, social movements, political parties, and revolutionary change. Embracing topics as widely divergent as the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the foundation of communist parties in India, the development of democracy in Mexico, the New Left and civil rights movements in the United States, and local politics in U.S. cities, these essays nonetheless share a common focus on demonstrating how political change emerges from the complex interplay of states, parties, and social movements. Far from being separate spheres of activity, the essays in this volume repeatedly demonstrate that social protest and institutional politics have been deeply intertwined, both in advanced democracies and in developing countries.

In addition, these brave scholars have taken on the standard shibboleths of social movement theory. Drawing on their rich empirical research, they show that our conventional view of social protest as rooted in political opportunities, sympathetic framing, and mobilization networks is far too simple to embrace the dynamics of protest and institutional change. Again and again, these essays show that political opportunities interact with specific issues, elite alignments, and the choices of movement and political party leaders to generate diverse outcomes. Framing is not an autonomous process of conceptualization, but is mediated by the path-dependent experiences of activists and movement organizations. And while mobilization networks are crucial to protest activity, these scholars repeatedly

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demonstrate that the results of protest are not simply related to the scale or intensity of mobilization and protest activity. Interactions with political leaders and agendas, as well as shifting state, public, and elite responses, can either produce dramatic changes from relatively modest mobilization or frustrate even widespread popular protest activities.

In short, we have much to learn from a new generation of research on the dynamics of social movements and political institutions. We are proud and delighted that the scholars who have given us so much during the Mellon project have allowed us to present the first fruits of their research in this volume.

*Menlo Park, CA*  
*April 20, 2000*



## *Acknowledgments*

A highly diverse set of individuals and institutions provided the support to make this volume possible. To understand why so many gracious scholars played a role, it will help to know something about the way the broad project was structured. In each of the three years of the Mellon project (1995–6, 1996–7, and 1997–8), the core faculty organized three two-day mini-conferences, each focused on a specific topic relevant to a general understanding of contention. Among the topics explored in these sessions were religion and contention, emotion and contention, the globalization of contention, identity and networks in contention, and the like. Besides featuring graduate Fellows and core faculty, each of these conferences included participation by two or three invited experts on the specific topic of the gathering. We owe these colleagues a vote of thanks as well. Many of the ideas pursued in the essays benefited from insights gleaned from this or that conversational guest. A complete list of these distinguished colleagues follows: Mark Beissinger, Craig Calhoun, Bill Gamson, Jeff Goodwin, Roger Gould, Susan Harding, Michael Hechter, Lynn Hunt, Jane Jenson, Arthur Kleinman, Hanspeter Kriesi, Marc Lichbach, John Meyer, Ann Mische, Aldon Morris, Maryjane Osa, Gay Seidman, Kathryn Sikkink, Verta Taylor, Mark Traugott, Paul Wapner, and Timothy Wickham-Crowley.

The contributors to this volume also wish to acknowledge the help and advice offered on individual essays by Guy Baldwin, Peter Bearman, Irene Beattie, Paul Burstein, Margarita Favela Casanova, Elisabeth Clemens, Michael Dauderstadt, Steven Epstein, Pablo Gonzalez, Ronald Herring, Greta Krippner, Charles Kurzman, Petr Lom, Sarah Mendelson, Pam Oliver, Rachel Rosenfeld, Philippe Schmitter, Christian Smith, David Snow, Jack Snyder, Sarah Soule, Brad Usher, Maurice Zeitlin, Jan Zielonka, and the members of the University of North Carolina's Seminar on

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 978-0-521-01699-5 - States, Parties, and Social Movements  
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## Acknowledgments

Structure in Process. Thanks also to Magdalena Hernandez and Rene Francisco Poitevin for their valuable research assistance.

The research presented in this volume was supported by the following granting agencies: The Andrew Mellon Foundation; The Aspen Institute Nonprofit Sector Research Fund for Doctoral Dissertation Grant 99–NSRF–24; the Carnegie Corporation; a Mellon Graduate Fellowship from Cornell University; The National Science Foundation: No. SBE–9521536, SBR–9701585; the Social and Behavioral Sciences Research Institute at the University of Arizona; the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation of the University of California; and the International Studies Overseas Program at UCLA. We also thank the editors of *Social Forces* for permission to reprint portions of Essay 6, which first appeared in “Party Formation, Political Power, and the Capacity for Reform: Comparing Left Parties in Kerala and West Bengal, India,” *Social Forces* (2001), vol. 80, pp. 37–60. We also thank Lew Bateman, our editor at Cambridge University Press, who has supported publication of the Contentious Politics series, and Louise Calabro, our skilled production editor, who oversaw preparation of this volume. J. Zach Schiller provided valuable research assistance and compiled the index.

We have reserved two very special institutional acknowledgments. We refer, of course, to our two institutional sponsors, who responded creatively and generously to our requests for support. To the Mellon Foundation, and Harriet Zuckerman in particular, we offer a sincere vote of thanks for their creative stewardship of the project. Without Mellon’s funds, we would never have been able to undertake such a unique and ambitious project.

And then there is the enormous debt of gratitude we owe the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. It was the prospect of a Center Special Project that set us in motion in the first place. It was Bob Scott’s vision of a longer-term project that led the faculty to approach Mellon for support. It was the consistent support of two Center directors – Phil Converse and later Neil Smelser – that sustained the project over the long term. And, we are convinced, it was the special quality of the Center experience that allowed the larger Mellon group to become so close and so successful over the life of the project. We therefore salute the entire Center staff for their critical role in the success of the enterprise. More prosaically, much of the work on the volume was carried out at the Center, either as part of the Special Project or in connection with the various mini-conferences held there in 1995–8.

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## Acknowledgments

Finally, all of the Mellon junior Fellows would like to offer their collective and heartfelt thanks to the senior Fellows in the Mellon seminar – Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly, Elizabeth Perry, Ron Aminzade, Bill Sewell, and especially Jack A. Goldstone, who so generously agreed to edit this volume. For us, the seminar, which covered a period of three years from 1995 to 1998, with meetings every three to four months, was one of the most rewarding experiences of our graduate training. The senior Fellows generously shared their ideas and knowledge and took a considerable amount of time to discuss our dissertation projects with each of us. For many of us, the drawing together of disparate areas and subfields of the study of social movements was a rich source of ideas. For others, the attention to “silences” in the research in social movements, such as emotions or religion, was invaluable. We made new connections, both in our work and interpersonally, that will stay with us for the rest of our careers. For this we must thank the warmth and collegiality (and humor!) of the senior Fellows. They ensured that the seminar would be an experience to remember and treasure.

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Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-01699-5 - States, Parties, and Social Movements

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*at Building Democracy in Eastern Europe and Eurasia*, coedited with Sarah Mendelson (Columbia University Press, 2002).

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Award of the American Sociological Association for *Durable Inequality* (California University Press, 1998) and for *The Contentious French* (Belknap Press, 1986). His most recent book is *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), coauthored with Doug McAdam and Sidney Tarrow.

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