

```
9/11, 155
"9/12 Project," 163
abolitionist movement
  relationship between Lincoln and, 19-20
  relationship with other movements, 80-82
  relationship with the Republican Party,
    15, 244
  women's movement and, 76, see also
    antislavery movement.
abortion, 128, 140, 141, 183, 186, 188, 226
  Roe v. Wade, 143
ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), 195
  "People Power" network, 196
activism, new hybrid forms of, 6
ACU (American Conservative Union), 136, 139
Adams, John Quincy, 30
Addams, Jane, 82, 88
Affordable Care Act, 158, 162, 169
AFL (American Federation of Labor), 63, 67,
    98, 100, 105, 237
  AFL-CIO, 194
AFP (Americans for Prosperity), 162, 167,
    168, 186
African Americans
  anchoring of Democratic Party, 121-23
  as logical targets for farmers' alliances, 61
  Democratic Party division dedicated to
    placing in government, 109
  disenfranchisement, 61, 65, 69, 85, 103,
    240, 244
  elected as mayors, 131
  electoral power in Southern states, 64
  enfranchisement debate, 45
```

```
fate of in the post-Reconstruction South,
  growth of black institutions, 103
  inclusion in New Deal coalition, 110
  inclusion in the Democratic Party, 133
  increased incentive to use the ballot, 110
  mutual aid societies, 63
  post-bellum creation of new rights for, 44
  racism experienced by black WWII
    veterans, 110
  Republican Party and, 46-47, 63, 64, 109
  role of black organizations in
    Reconstruction, 45
  student enrolment in black colleges, 104
  voting rights, 59
  WWII recruitment into the armed forces, 103
agrarian movement, 10, 50
  collapse, 51
  comparison of state-level variation in parties'
    election performance, 60
  co-operative strategy, 55-57
  corporations, railroads and, 53-54
  crop-lien system and, 53, 54-55
  entry into politics, 57-58
  party alliances, 244
  post-bellum party system and, 58-61
  relations between the People's Party and,
    11, 13
  Sanders' vision, 68
  Southern Alliance lecturers' role, 56-57
  subtreasury bill and, 57-58, 59-60, 68,
    see also farmers.
agrarians/Populists, comparison with
    antislavery/Republicanism, 70-71
```



Alabama, 46, 56, 60, 62, 64, 69, 108, 112,	nature, 195-97, 241
118, 200	new resistance groups, 195
Albany, Georgia, 112	online/offline coordination, 151
Aldrich, J. H., 13, 32	role of the Internet, 151
Alexander v. Holmes County, 120	role of the race issue, 197–201
Allende, Salvador, 222	antiwar movement
Altschuler, G. C., 10, 59	Civil War, 39
Amenta, E., 14	comparison with other movements, 154-55
American Anti-Slavery Society, 43	Iraq War, 149, 154, 155-58
American Demagogues (Luthin), 180	organizational persistence and defection
American Democracy Collaborative, 207	in, 158
American democracy, four threats to, 8,	participating organizations, 157
227-28, 232	post-movement destinations of activists, 157
American Party, 37, see also Know-Nothings,	Vietnam War, 123, 154-56
American Patriots USA, 3	anti-WTO protests, Seattle, 23
American political development, 8, 18, 19, 21,	ARAL (Association for the Repeal of Abortion
26, 47, 53, 71, 227, 234, 237	Laws), 141
American Resistance (Fisher), 151	Arbery, Ahmaud, 197
American Sanitary Commission, 81	Argentina, 221
American Voter, The (Campbell et al.), 12	Arizona, 2, 189
American Women's Suffrage Association, 83	Arkansas, 56, 108
anarchism, 23	Arkansas Agricultural Wheel, 56
anchoring (of movement to party), 18-19, 22,	Ash, R., 245
25, 32, 84, 97–100, 235, 239, 245	Atlanta Civil and Political League, 109
Andersen, K., 89, 92	Australian ballot, American adoption of, 70
Andrews, K., 120, 121	authoritarian involution of movements,
Animal Rights Militia (2000s), 21	interwar Europe, 11
Anthony, Susan B., 41, 82, 84	authoritarianism
Anti-Defamation League, 117	Chile, 223
antifa movement, 23, 195	Italy, 210
anti-gun movement, 150	South Korea, 208–14, 215, 216–17, 218
anti-Iraq War movement, 149, 154, 155-58	United States, 7, 189, 207-8, 237
antislavery movement	AVC (American Veterans' Committee), 137
collective action and, 31	Azari, J., 128
comparison with the suffragists, 80	
emergence of the Republican Party and,	Bachelet, Michelle, 223
31-32	Bachmann, Michelle, 165
Fugitive Slave Act and, 35-36	Bailey, M. A., 159
historians' focus, 11	Baker, Ella, 114
institutional impact, 31	balance rule, and its collapse, 33-34
structural and "eventful" antecedents, 30,	Bateman, D. A., 83
see also abolitionist movement.	Beck, Glenn, 163
anti-suffragists (NAOWS), 78, 240	Beckwith, K., 76
anti-Trump Resistance movement, 25, 191	benevolent societies, Civil War creation of, 11
centrality of the women's marches, 192-94	Ben-Ghiat, R., 176, 180
countermovement, 201-2	Bennett, W. L., 177
Democratic alignment, 248-49	Bensel, R. F., 38
George Floyd and the multiracial resistance,	Bernatsky, C., 181
197–201	Berry, M., 193-94
membership characteristics, 194-95	Bethune, Mary McCloud, 109
movement/countermovement interaction,	Biden, Joe, 1-2, 191, 200, 203, 206, 241, 248
191–92	Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act, 153



Birchers, see John Birch Society.
Birmingham, Alabama, 112
black army veterans, voting behavior and
political activism, 45, 103, 110
black associations, 103
"black blocs," 23
Black Cabinet initiative, 109
black colleges, growth in enrolment figures, 104
Black is Back Coalition for Social Justice, 157
Black Lives Matter movement, 197, 201, 248
black voters, 45-47, 64-65, 103, 109, 122, 239
Blackwell Companion to Social Movements,
<i>The</i> (Snow <i>et al.</i>), 11
Blackwell, Morton, 144
Blum, R., 164, 181
Blumin, S. M., 10, 59
Boebert, Lauren, 184
Boehner, John, 165, 168
Bolivia, Movimiento al Socialismo, 15
Bow Group, 137
Bowser, Muriel, 200
Boynton, Bruce, 112
Boynton, Supreme Court decision, 112
Brand New Congress, 202
Brazil, Worker's Party (PT), 15
Breitbart, 182
British Rochdale system, 55
Brooks, C., 36
Brooks, Mo, 184
Brooks, Preston, 29
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,
118-20
Brown v. Mississippi, 108
Brown, John, 34
Brown, Michael, 197
Bryan, William Jennings, 50, 52, 65–67, 162
Buchanan, James, 119, 166
Buckley, William, Jr, 136
Bureau of the Budget, 129
Burnham, W. D., 52
Burns, Lucy, 75, 77
"Burnt-Over District," 36
Bush, George W., 145, 149, 155 reaction to Trump's election, 178
Butler, Andrew, 29
Butler, Benjamin, 40, 44
California a
Cable Act, 93
campaign financing reforms, 132-33

```
political impact, 169
Canada, growth in the black population, 35
candidate selection mechanism, reform, 133-34
```

```
Cantrell, G., 11, 13, 52, 55, 64, 68
CAP (Community Action Program), 117
cap-and-trade bill, 169
Capitol invasion, January, 2, 3, 3-5, 6, 8, 26,
    176, 176, 177, 183-84, 204-5, 207,
    233-34, 247
"cartel parties," 130
Carter, Jimmy, 144
Catholic Church
  influence in Italy, 213
  opposition to abortion law, 141
Catholics, 37, 37, 141, 212
Catt, Carrie, 77, 78, 82, 88, 92
Chambers v. Florida, 108
Chang, P. Y., 214, 218
Change They Can't Believe In (Parker &
    Barreto), 161
Charles Koch Institute, 170
Charlottesville protest, neo-Nazi attack,
    178, 182
Chase, Salmon, 44
Chauvin, Derek, 198
Chenoweth, E., 23, 193-94
Chile, 7, 26
  Communist Party, 222
  comparison with Argentina, 221
  contention after pact making, 223-24
  democratization journey, 219-27
  elections, 227
  emergence of new parties, 224
  experience of democratic transition, 220-21
  indigenous Mapuche movement, 224
  movement/party interaction, 221-22,
  neo-liberalism and its resistance, 221
  pact making and the durability of inequality,
    222-23, 230
  party institutionalization, 225-26
  Pinguino movement, 223
  sidelining of movements by party leaders, 208
  student protest against fare increases, 226-27
  "Washington Consensus" and, 221, 229
Choice Not an Echo, A (Schlafly), 143
Christian conservative movement, 18, 92, 128,
    130, 138-40, 244
  Phyllis Schlafly and, 143
 see also long New Right; Tea Party movement.
Christian schools, taxation of, 121, 135,
    138-39, 146
Chun Doo-hwan, 214
CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations), 14,
    98, 100, 105-6, 115, 237
```



276 Index

Citizens' Councils, 119 dissension from the right, 37 Citizens for a Sound Economy, 186 economic policy, 51 Citizens for the Republic, 139 emancipation as Republican cause, 40-41 Citizens' United, Supreme Court decision, 166, formation and rise of the Republican Party, 169, 230 37-38 Civic Gifts (Clemens), 11 Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 30 Civil Rights Act of 1866, 44 mobilization around the issue of slavery, Civil Rights Act of 1875, 44 35-37 Civil Rights Act of 1964, 115, 123, 124, movement-party interactions and, 31 new forms of organization and, 41 142, 241 civil rights movement post-bellum reactionary countermovement, anti-lynching campaign, 101-02, 104 43-47 as "long movement," 101-06 resistance within the political class, 39 connections to the party system, 239 transformation of the American state, 32 countermovement, 240 Union League and, 42 "Wide Awake" movement and, 42 Democratic Party and, 101, 121-23 election of black mayors and, 131 women's role, 41, 81 Freedom Rides, 112, 114, 146 class-based movements, 61-63, 151 Freedom Summer, 116, 121 Clebourne convention, 63 Great Migration and, 102, 103, 237, 239 Clemens, E. S., 11, 30, 52, 58, 79, 81, 83, 89 growth of black institutions, 103 Cleveland, Grover, 51, 66 impact of World War II, 110 Clifford, Clark, 111 Clinton, Hillary, 93, 155, 158 NAACP and other organizations, 104-05 New Deal alliance with the Labor movement, NRA rhetoric, 187 105-06 reaction to Trump's election, 178 party alliances, 244 Trump's attacks on, 182, 187 party political participation, 116 weakness as a candidate, 178 political competition and, 110-13 Cloward, R., 14 political participation of African American club movement, 79 organizations, 109 coalitions, 7, 13, 26, 61, 75, 90, 105, 141, 153, President Johnson's relationship, 21, 157, 216, 218-19, 224, 231 235, 239 coalitions, contentious radical turn and decline, 117-18 in South Korea, 213-19 Code Pink: Women for Peace, 157 relations to the party system, 14 repertoire of contention, 113-18 COFO (Council of Federated role of courts and parties, 106-13 Organizations), 122 role of the courts, 107-08 coinage, free coinage of silver, 50-51, 65, sit-ins and their aftermath, 114-15 67, 242 tactics, 116 Cold War, 100, 111, 129, 133, 214, 239, 244 violence against, 102, 104 collective action, Charles Tilly's work, 12 white countermovement, 118-21 collective claims, categories of, 176, 242 civil society, America's tradition of civic Collier, D., 127 Colored Farmers' Association, 64 association with state structuring, 11 Civil War Comey, James, 178 antecedents, 32, 34 Command of the Army Act, 44 Committee on Negro Affairs, 109 antiwar protests, 39 balance rule and its collapse, 33-34 Communist Party banks' economic governance role, 53 Chile, 222 Italy, 211, 212 basis of, 31 contentious politics and, 38-39 United States, 99, 111 creation of benevolent societies, 11 competitiveness, of party systems, 24, 59-60, creation of movements and, 38-42 78, 86-90, 110-11, 243



Concertación, 223, 226–27, 231	crop-lien system, 53, 54-55
Congressional Women's Caucus, 93	Cruz, Ted, 2, 188
Connor, Eugene "Bull," 112	CSIS (Center for Strategic and International
conspiracy theories, growth of under	Studies), 183
Trump, 183	currency
Constitution of the United States	Bryan's silver basis argument, 51
Thirteenth Amendment, 44	deflation, 57, 60
Fourteenth Amendment, 44, 47, 108	cycles of contention, 4–5, 117, 146, 152,
Fifteenth Amendment, 44, 84	191, 201
Seventeenth Amendment, 94	Chile, 223–24
Eighteenth Amendment, 238	dynamics of, 234
Nineteenth Amendment, 76, 85, 87, 89, 90,	aynamics 01, 254
92, 245	Daily Action, 195
"contentious democratization," 231	Dakota Access pipeline, 196
contentious politics	Daley, Richard J., 133
definition, 16	Darden, Colgate, 119
effects of war and, 38–39	Declaration of Independence, 48
normalization of in Western democracies, 23	Deeply Divided (McAdam & Kloos), 245
Cook, J., 81	deflation, 57, 60
cooperatives	della Porta, D., 10, 231, 236
farmers' creation, 66	Demagogue for President: The Rhetorical
political strength, 60	Genius of Donald Trump (Mercieca), 182
Corder, J. K., 90	democracy
CORE (Congress for Racial Equality), 105, 112	coalition for (South Korea), 215, 218, 219, 23
coronavirus pandemic, 1, 182–83, 183, 190,	dangers to, 5, 26, 207, 213, 227
197, 200, 201, 206, 227	failures of, 209, 210
corporations, power of, 53, 55, 60, 132, 153	features of, 26
Cortez, Alexandria Ocasio "AOC," 195, 202	of agreements (Chile), 220
Cortright, D., 154	social movements and, 26, 48, 50, 227, 229.
Coughlin, Charles "Father," 236, 247	236, 242, 246
countermovements	threats to, 208, 227, 240
conditions that promote the rise of, 191	transitions to, 7, 209, 213–15, 216, 219, 230
definition, 191	231-32, 247
progressive activists as, 248	and Trumpism, 4
Resistance as, 191–92, 241	United States, 8, 26, 32, 59, 143, 177, 204,
coup attempt	207, 208
Argentina, 221	war and, 110
January 6, 1, 6, 26, 177–78, 183, 205,	Democratic Party
207, 249	accretion of interest groups, 135
courts	anchoring groups during the New Deal, 97
role in the civil rights movement, 107–08,	antiwar network and, 157–58
see also Supreme Court.	association with access to abortion, 141
Cowie, J., 99	civil rights movement and, 101, 121-23
Crisis, The (DuBois's paper), 101	creation of a Women's Bureau, 93
"critical elections," Burnham's theory, 52	division dedicated to placing African
critical junctures	Americans in government, 109
centrality of party/movement relations, 26	election performance at 2018 midterms,
concept of, I	195, 202
"reactive sequences," 155	free coinage of silver and, 50–51, 65, 67
"Critical Junctures and Historical Legacies"	gap between New Left and, 133
(Collier & Munck), 127	growth in women's support after Trump's
Croly, Herbert, 85	election, 202–04



Democratic Party (cont.)	Eagle Forum, 143, 149
ideological composition of the "class of	economic crises, 1, 53, 131, 206, 210, 221
2019," 202 , 202	Economic Opportunity Act, 131
impact of secession on, 40	Eddy, M., 176
impact of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 38	Edwards, G. S., 183
influence of the 1930s industrial workers'	Eighteenth Brumaire, 1, 178, 207
movement, 98	Eisgruber, C. L., 36
insertion of Populists, 22	Ekins, E., 159
labor movement's relationship with, 14, 18,	election results
99–100, 135	1854, 88
leftward shift, 105	1912, 88
merger of labor radicals and civil rights	1920, 90
advocates, 23	1928, 90
movement mobilization and African	1932, 90
American anchoring, 121-23	1936, 90, 106
movementization of, 134-40	1964, 127, 135, 138, 239
policies toward the South, 106-07	1968, 123, 139
postwar realignment, 99	1980, 127, 144
regional support, 55, 103	2008, 155
special committee on equal rights, 133	2010, 149, 164, 179
structural comparison with the Republican	2012, 169
Party, 146–47	2016, 175-76
women's movement and, 84	2018, 195, 202
Democratic Resilience (Lieberman et al.), 209	2020, 3, 171, 176, 178, 180, 191, 204
democratization, 26, 208-09, 213, 214, 216,	female turnout and, 90
222, 227, 231, 240, 247	elections, impact of movements on, 242-44
South Korea, 213, 215–16, 217, 218	electoral college, 178
Depression	electoral politics, 5, 31, 52, 66, 80, 83, 88, 89,
impact on American politics and class	132, 245
relations, 99	Emancipation League, 39, 41
worker and social movement	emancipation of slaves, as Republican cause,
mobilization, 99	40-41
DeVos, Betsy, 190	End US Wars, 157
diffusion, 14, 25, 53, 55, 56, 61, 115, 153, 180,	energy crisis, 144
193, 195	equal pay, establishment of the principle, 93
direct primaries, adoption of, 133-34,	equal rights, limitations of the Populists'
139-40	dedication to, 64
disenfranchisement of black voters, 69, 85, 103,	ERA (Equal Rights Amendment), 94, 128, 140,
240, 244	141, 146, 149
Tom Watson's promotion of, 65	long New Right and, 141–43
Donoso, S., 219, 224	Schlafly's activism against, 143, 241
Douglas, Stephen A., 33-34, 37	Europe, interwar authoritarian involution of
Douglass, Frederick, 21, 39, 43, 45	movements, 11
Downs, A., 13	evangelicals
draft riots, 39	New Right and, 138
Drudge Report, 159	overrepresentation in Republican
Dubois, W. E. B., 47, 101	primaries, 140
Dunlap, Andrew, 63	Trump's promises, 186–87
Dynamics of Contention (Tilly et al.), 17	exceptionalist readings of American history,
dynamics of movement/party relations, major	fragility, 26
forms, 7	executive partisanship, 131–32



Fair Employment Practices Committee, 111	Freedman's Bureau, 44
Faith and Freedom Coalition, 186	Freedom Cities, 196
Falwell, Jerry, Jr, 138-39, 144, 149, 186	Freedom Rides, 112, 114, 146
Farley, Jim, 109	Freedom Summer, 116, 121
farmers	Freedom Works, 162
collective purchasing agreements, 66	Freeman, Elizabeth, 102
farmer-labor coalitions, 61, 62	Frymer, P., 124
impact of the railroads on, 53-54	Fugitive Slave Act, 35, 38
insurgency, 7	7,537,5
lobbying strategy vs. third-party strategy,	G.I. Bill, 107
59–60	Garcia-Montoya, L., 34
party identifications by region, 55, 61	garment workers' unions, 100
political strength of cooperatives, 60	Garner, Eric, 197
see also agrarian movement.	Garrison, William Lloyd, 36, 43, 48
Farmers' Alliance, 64	Garvey, Marcus, 102
southwestern rail strike and, 62	Generation Opportunity, 167
Farneti, P., 210	Genovese, E. D., 10
fascism, 210, 210, 212	Gentry, Kevin, 167
Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA),	Georgia, 2, 3, 46, 56, 64, 65, 67, 108, 109, 11
132-33	Gervais, B., 160, 161, 181
Federal Elections Bill, 65	GFWC (General Federation of Women's
federal judiciary, Trump's impact, 191	Clubs), 79
Federalist Society, 145	Gienapp, W. E., 38
Fellowship of Reconciliation, 112	Gig Economy Data Hub, 151
fiat money, 51	gilded age
Fighting for Democracy (Parker), 110	corporations and the railroads, 53–54
financial crisis, 17, 155, 159, 160, 179	periphery farmers and, 53–55
Finegold, K., 98, 99 First World War	Gillion, D. Q., 10, 11
	Gingrich, Newt, 206
Italy, 210	Giuliani, Rudolf "Rudy," 2, 184
United States, 75, 78, 97	Goedde, P., 217
Fisher, D. R., 151, 193, 241	gold standard, 51–52, 54, 57–58, 66
Fishman, R., 231	Goldstone, J. A., 10, 18
Flexner, E., 80, 82	Goldwater movement, 18
flippable, 195	Goldwater, Barry, 7, 122, 127, 146
Florida, 2, 46, 56, 108, 197	and the birth of the New Right, 135–36,
Floyd, George, 187, 197–201	239, 244
Foner, E., 45–46	Gompers, Samuel, 98, 105
FOP (Fraternal Order of Police), 187	Goodwyn, L., 52, 53, 56, 57, 59
Force Bill, 64	Goss, K. A., 75, 93
formative movements, 20–21, 23, 48–49, 75,	Gould rail empire, 54, 62, 63
78, 113, 124, 197, 236, 241, 247	Gramsci, Antonio, 211
"fourth American party system," 70	Granger movement, 55
Fox News, 162, 163	Great Depression, 7
Francis, M. M., 101–02, 104, 108	Great Migration, 102, 103, 109, 237, 239
Frank v. Mangum, 108, 108	Greenback Labor Party, 51, 62
Frank, Barney, 179	Grossmann, M., 135, 140, 147
Frank, J., 68	guerrilla war, 32, 39, 48
Fredrickson, G. M., 35	Gulf War, 157
free coinage of silver, 50–51, 65, 67, 242	II.1 C
Free Soil Party, 34, 36	Hahn, S., 11
Free, L. E., 84	Hall, S., 127



Hamer, Fanny Lou, 122, 133	common occupations, 61
Hamm v. City of Rock Hill, 115	Democratic Party's influence in the 1930s, 98
Han, H., 195	New Deal and, 97, 98–101
Harding, Warren, 94, 129	inequality
Harvey, A., 93	and the creation of a new class of
Hawley, Josh, 2	workers, 151
Hayek, Friedrich, 166	as threat to American democracy, 229–31
Hayes, Rutherford B., 47	institutional movements, 21, 147, 237
Heaney, M. T., 156–57	institutionalization of protest, 117–18
Hearst, William Randolph, 83	institutionalization of protest, 11/–16 institutionalization of the party system (Chile),
Heritage Foundation, 136, 138–39, 152	225-27
Hertel-Fernandez, A., 153	insurrection at the US Capitol (2021), 3–5, 6,
Hild, M., 61	26, 176, 177, 184, 204-05, 233-34, 247
Hillman, Sidney, 106	interest rates, 54
Hipsher, P., 222	Internet
Hochschild, A., 175, 177	anti-Iraq War movement and, 154, 155
Hollins v. Oklahoma, 108	role in the anti-Trump Resistance
hollowing out	movement, 151
parties, party organizations and the party	role of in the expansion of contentious
system, 4, 6, 18, 21, 24, 128, 148–50, 236	politics, 23, 150
Republican Party, 178, 234	interwar period, authoritarian involution of
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 108, 108	movements of Europe, 11
Hopkins, D., 135, 140, 147	Iran hostage crisis, 144
HUAC (House UnAmerican Activities	Iraq War
Committee), 136	antiwar movement, 149, 154, 155-58
Hughes, Richard J., 133	long-term legacy, 155
Humphrey, Hubert, 133	Italy, 7, 26, 207
Huntington, Samuel P., 208	"biennio rosso" movement, 211-12
hybridization of the party system	Communist Party/peasant movement
antiwar movement as horizontal hybrid,	links, 14
154-58	democratization journey, 209-13
concept of hybridity, 148	Fascist movement, 212
Koch network as vertical hybrid,	influence of the Catholic Church, 213
165-70, 231	influence of the revolution in Russia, 211
party/movement change in the early twenty-	movement/countermovement
first century, 150–54	interaction, 212
Tea Partiers in the Republican Party, 164–65	polarization and "social sorting," 212–13
Tea Party movement as blended hybrid,	polarization between movement
158–64	subcultures, 208
	The state of the s
types of hybrid formations, 149–50	post–WWI emergence of new parties, 210
IECA (III: : E 1 C (C A : :) O	protest cycle comparison with South
IESA (Illinois Equal Suffrage Association), 83	Korea, 215
immigrants, widespread intolerance of, 37	role of social movements in demise of
impeachment	democracy, 229
Andrew Johnson, 44	- 1 - 1
Donald Trump, 205, 206, 209, 233	Jacobs, M., 107
Korean president, 219	Jacobs, N. F., 19, 129, 132–33, 139
indigenous-based parties, in the Andes, 15	Jäger, A. M. M., 62
Indivisible network, 194–95, 197	Jai Kwan Jung, 214
Indivisible, A Practical Guide for Resisting the	January 6, 2, 3, 3-5, 6, 8, 26, 176, 176, 177,
Trump Agenda (online guide), 196	183-84, 204-05, 207, 233-34, 247
industrial workers' movement	Trump movement and, 205–06



Jefferson, Thomas, 33	relationship with the Tea Party movement, 159
Jenkins, J. C., 116	as vertical hybrid, 165-70, 231
Jim Crow, 5, 18, 46, 48, 69, 85, 102–03, 237	Koch, Charles, 166, 205, 231
John Birch Society, 136, 143, 247	Koch, David, 168, 231
Johnson, Andrew, 43–44	KOL (Knights of Labor), 53, 61, 62-63
Johnson, Lyndon B.	Korea, see South Korea.
creation of new federal agencies, 131	Kremer, Kylie Jane, 3
election of, 122, 135	Ku Klux Klan, 5, 46, 112, 117–18, 120,
relationship with civil rights movement, 21,	121, 240
235, 239	comparison with the Tea Party
Jones, S., 183	movement, 165
Jung, J. K., 216	Kuchel, Thomas, 138
Justice Democrats, 202	
jute boycott campaign, 66	La Follette, Robert M., 90, 94
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	La Raja, R. J., 132, 169
Kabaservice, G., 137, 143	labor movement, 7, 15, 80, 101, 124, 157
Kansas, 84–85	Chile, 221, 224
Kansas-Nebraska Act, 7, 29–30, 33, 34,	Europe, 24
36-38	farmer-labor coalitions, 61, 62
Karol, D., 141, 166	Italy, 210–12
Karp, M., 11, 30, 31, 38	New Deal alliance with the civil rights
Katz, R. S., 130	movement, 105–06
Kavanaugh, Brett, 194	relationship with the Democratic Party, 14,
Kelley, Florence, 82, 88	18, 99–100, 135
Kelly, Megyn, 182	South Korea, 214–15
Kennedy, John F., 111, 133, 235	Labor Non-Partisan League, 100, 106, 149
Kentucky, 56, 198	Lander, M., 176
Kerensky, Alexander, 77	Latin America
Kerry, John, 155	advent of "movement-parties" in, 14
Key, V. O., 13, 52	destabilization of the party system, 17
Kim Young-sam, 217	history of social movements in, 219–20
King, Coretta Scott, 111	neoliberal transformation, 127
King, D., 129, 132, 238	pacted transitions in, 220
King, Martin Luther, Jr, 21, 111-12, 146,	party/movement relations in, 219-27,
236, 249	see also Chile.
Kirby, D., 159	Leavitt, Humphrey H., 39
Kitschelt, H., 15	Legal Defense Fund, 105
Klandermans, B., 185	Lewis, John L., 100
Kloos, K., 22, 145, 245	LGBTQ community
Know Nothings movement, 37, 37, 38, see also	election successes, 202
American Party,	rights movement, 21, 157
Koch network, 150	liberalism, redefinition, 106
affiliates, 167	Liberty party, 36
characteristics and power, 167-68	LIBRE Initiative, 167
classical Leninist repertoires, 236	Lieberman, R. C., 8, 22, 131, 209, 227, 228,
effect on policy making, 169	230, 232
infiltration of the Republican Party, 21	Lincoln at Gettysburg (Wills), 49
influence on the Trump movement, 184, 186	Lincoln, Abraham, 4, 6
intervention in the party system, 24	conscription and, 39
origins and strategy, 166-67	election victory, 30
reaction to events of Capitol	emancipation of slaves and, 40
insurrection, 176	relationships with activists, 21



282 Index

Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr, 65, 143 Matthews, D. R., 110 long movements, examples of, 5 Mayer, J., 166, 168 long New Right, 239 Mayhew, D., 153 abortion debate, 141 McAdam, D., 12, 14, 16, 22, 104, 109, 113, campaign finance reform, 132-33 116, 118, 120, 122, 144, 180, 245 candidate selection mechanism reform, McCarthy, J. D., 130, 185 McCarthy, Joseph, 18, 137 133-34 Christian conservative movement, 130, McCarthy, Kevin, 187 McCarty, N., 13, 153 138-40 Equal Rights Amendment campaign and, McConnaughy, C. M., 83, 85, 87 McConnell, Mitch, 233 McGovern-Fraser reforms, 133-34, 139, 146 executive partisanship, 131-32 Goldwater and the birth of the New Right, McKinley, William, 52 McMillen, N. R., 119 135-36, 239, 244 McNamara, Robert, 143 institutional sources of party decline, McVeigh, R., 165 130-34 Meadows, Mark, 187 movement/countermovement interaction, Medel, R., 224 movementization of the Republican and Democratic parties, 134-40 coverage of protest events, 86, 118 Phyllis Schlafly and Christian movement/party relations and, 25 conservatism, 143 role in the civil rights movement, 112, Reagan's engagement with the Christian 114-15, 116 right, 21, 143-44 role in the Tea Party movement, 159, 163-64, rise of the New Left and 1960s protest 165, 177, 180, 181 role of in the Trump movement, 189-90 culture, 136-38 structural sources of party decline, 128-30 Mercatus Center, 167 Long, Huey, 65, 180, 247 Mercieca, J., 175, 180, 182 Louis Napoléon, Prince Impérial of the French, Meredith, James, 114 coup d'état, 207 MeToo movement, 150 Mettler, S., 8, 227-28, 230, 232 Louisiana, 46, 56, 64-65, 118, 121, 180 Mexican-American War, 33 Luders, J. E., 18, 112, 119 lynching Meyer, D. S., 163, 175, 184, 191, 240 campaign against, 101-02, 104 MFDP (Mississippi Free Democratic Party), Jesse Washington, 101-02 122, 123 post-bellum spread, 46 MFF (Michigan Freedom Fund), 190 Michels, R., 245 MacLean, N., 119, 166 midwestern farmers, party loyalties, 55, 61 Macune, Charles, 56-57, 63 militant movement, 21, 75 Mahoney, J., 34, 48 Milkis, S. M., 19-21, 40, 42, 48, 75, 78, 129, Mair, P., 130 132, 133, 135, 139, 238 Mann, T. E., 246 Minkoff, D. C., 105 Mansbridge, J., 142 Mississippi, 46, 56, 64, 108, 114, 116, 118-19, "March to Save America," 2-3 120, 121-22, 133, 240 marginal movement, 20 Free Democratic Party, 122, 123 Martin, Trayvon, 197 Missouri, 56 Missouri Compromise, 30, 31, 33, 34, 37-38 Marxists, early research on movements carried out by, 11 "Mobilizing the Moral Majority" MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo), Bolivia, (Viguerie), 139 15 monopolies, 54, 66, 69 Moore v. Dempsey, 108 Mason, L., 22, 213 Moral Majority, 138, 149 Massachusetts, 65, 78, 240



Morgan v. Virginia, 112	"social movement society" thesis, 22-24
Morgan, D., 75	three themes of, 209
Morris, A., 110	transitions to democracy, 219, 227–28
Morris, I., 160, 161, 181	trigger mechanisms, 15
mortgages, 54, 60, 68	movement/presidential relations, Milkis and
Mothers Against Drunk Driving, 236	Tichenor's typology, 20–21
movement scholarship, 10–12	movement-countermovement interactions, 25,
leftward lurch, 11	46, 118–21, 124, 144–45, 191, 192, 212,
moves toward fusion with party scholarship,	240–41
14–16	movementization, 6, 15, 21, 25, 133–34, 144,
ontological differences between party	146, 165, 176
scholarship and, 12	movement parties, 14–15, 30, 37, 66, 67,
movement/party interaction in democratization	224, 247
episodes	movements
Chile, 219–27	defined, 191
inequality by pact, 229–31	repertoire expansion in the twenty-first
Italy, 209–13	century, 151–52, see also social
polarization and social sorting, 228–29	movements.
prioritization of democracy, 231–32	MoveOn, 157
relevance to America's current crisis, 227–32	Munck, G., 127
South Korea, 213–19	Mussolini, Benito, 212, 213
movement/party relations	mutual aid societies, 45, 63
twenty-first-century trends, 21–22, 150–54	
in American history, 4–6	NAACP (National Association for the
centrality to democratization and de-	Advancement of Colored People)
democratization in American history,	civil rights movement and, 104-05
247–48	courts and, 106–08
changes in institutions and, 24–25, 237–38	launch, 102
Civil War period, 31	legal mobilization campaign, 108
current situation, 6–8	membership numbers as predictors of
Democrat/civil rights alliance, 101-06	electoral change, 121
Democrat/labor alliance of the 1930s,	parties and, 106–07
99, 100	President Kennedy and, 111
effects of "anchoring," 245	Woodrow Wilson's relations with, 21
examples of movement/party hybrids, 25	NARAL (National Association for the Repeal
goal displacement and institutionalization,	of Abortion Laws), 141
245-46	Nash, Roy, 102
impact of movements on elections, 242–44	National Assembly to End the Iraq and
impact on democracy, 236	Afghanistan Wars and Occupations, 157
industrial workers' movement, the New Deal	National Association of Manufacturers, 139
and, 97, 98-101	National Bar Association, 194
institutions and, 237–38	National Conservative Political Action
Latin America, 219–27	Committee, 137, 139
long New Right, 145, 150	National Equal Rights League, 45
major forms, 7	National Review, 136, 145
movement-countermovement interactions,	national security, 129
46, 118-21, 144-45, 212, 240-41	NAWSA (National American Women's
New Deal, 98–100, 123	Suffrage Association), 75-76, 77, 78, 84,
polarization and its roots, 22	87, 92
polarization and social movements, 246-47	alliance with the WCTU, 81
presidential elections of 2020 and, 1-4, 6	countermovement, 78, 92, 240
short- and long-term interactions, 238-40	Neely, M. E., Jr, 39
- '	e e



Negro Political Participation Study (Matthews	NLWV (National League of Women
& Prothro), 110	Voters), 93
Negro Voters' League, 109	Nofziger, Lynn, 144
neo-liberalism, 128, 143	North Carolina, 64, 66–68, 69, 109, 114, 120,
Chilean pact making and the durability of,	185–86, 188
222-23, 230	NOW (National Organization for Women), 92,
resistance to in Chile, 221	194, 239
Nevada, 52, 233-34	NRA (National Rifle Association), 184, 187
New Deal	NUL (National Urban League), 105
alliance between civil rights and labor	NWP (National Women's Party), 75, 76, 78,
movements, 105–06	142, 243, 245
anti-lynching campaign, 104	
convergence between movements and	Obama, Barack, 179, 182, 236
institutional actors, 14	antiwar movement and, 155, 158
creation of new agencies, 131	Tea Party movement and, 158–59
inclusion of African Americans in the	Occupy movement (2011–12), 20, 236
coalition, 110	O'Donnell, G., 214
industrial workers' movement and, 97,	office holders, primacy of in Downs-Aldrich
98–101	model, 13
links between organized labor and the	Okawara, M., 195
Democratic Party, 18	Oklahoma, 234
merger of labor radicals and civil rights	Operation Rescue, 145
advocates in the Democratic Party, 23	Organizing for Action, 21, 152
partisan-inflected policies, 129	Organizing for Equality (Minkoff), 105
racial contradiction at the heart	Ornstein, N. J., 246
of, 107	Orren, K., 44
redefinition of liberalism, 106	Ostler, J, 56, 58, 60
Southern Democrats and, 47	Our Revolution, 202
women's election to public office and,	Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics
89-91, 93	(Boix), 12
women's political participation as bridge	DAG (Its 1 et al.)
between Progressivism and, 89	PACs (political action committees), 132
New Dem PAC, 202	pact making
New Left, gap between Democratic Party	Chilean contention after, 223–24
and, 133	durability of inequality, 222–23, 230
New Republic (journal), 85	Palin, Sarah, 163
New Right	Panic of 1893, 51, 67
birth of, 124	Park Coup by 210
origins, 130, see also long New Right.	Park Jone Chui 217
New South entrepreneurs, 59 New South, most common types of industrial	Park Jong-Chui, 217 Parker, C., 110
workers, 61	Parkland, Florida, mass murders, 150
New York State, 84	participation, main modes, 9
Niagara movement, 104	parties
NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act), 99	Aldrich's argument, 32
Nixon, Richard, 118, 123	comparison of state-level variation in election
"law and order" campaign, 131	performance, 60
strengthening of the presidency, 129	defining, 12–13
NLRA (National Labor Relations Act - Wagner	Downs-Aldrich model, 12–13
Act of 1935), 98–99, 101, 106–07, 239	increase in negative attitudes toward, 130
NLRB (National Labor Relations Board),	interactions between suffrage activism and,
101, 131	85-87



> Index 285

Key's definition, 13 Pinochet, Augusto, 7, 223 regional identification, 59 Piven, F. F., 14 regional loyalties, 61 role in the civil rights movement, 106-13 polarization structural role in post-bellum American public life, 59 UCLA model, 13 party organization, 12-13, 18, 24, 78, 92, 130-31, 133, 136, 149, 153, 160, 166, 185, 226, 237-38 party scholarship police officers moves toward fusion with movement scholarship, 14-16 ontological differences between movement scholarship and, 12 party system polarization of the American party system, 22 structural sources of decline, 128-30, see also hybridization of the party system; postbellum party system. Populism party-sponsored protests, 151 Patterson, T. E., 206 Paul, Alice, 75-77, 78, 92, 141, 150, 243 peasant movement, links between the Italian Communist Party and, 14 Pelosi, Nancy, 4, 179 Portugal, 231 Pence, Mike, 3-4, 233 People Power, 195 People's Lobby (Clemens), 10 People's Party (Populists) attempt to merge with Democrats, 50 broad platform, 51 Bryan's relationship, 51 cleavage within the ranks, 66 collapse, 51 election performances, 51-52, 60, 67 ethos, 62 free silver policy, 50-51, 52, 65, 66, 242, 245 heartland of voting strength, 60 inability to gain purchase in the party system, 52 modernizers framing, 68 new kind of political movement, 56 relations between the agrarian movement and, 11, 13 Prothro, J., 110 roots, 15, 51 People's Revolt, The (Cantrell), 68 Perlstein, R., 138 Phillips, Wendell, 39, 43 Pierson, P., 175, 176, 177 Piñera, Sebastián, 227

Plessy v. Ferguson, 47, 107 as threat to American democracy, 228-29 of the American party system, 22 pernicious, 209 role of social sorting and, 26 social movements and, 246-47 social sorting and, 26, 212-13, 228-29 murdered in response to killing of Eric Garner, 197 role in deaths of young black men and women, 187 Political Action Committee, 149 political mediation, Amenta's model, 14 political participation, two registers, 4 politics, as "superstructure" of society, 11 collapse of, 65-69 free silver movement and, 65, 66-68 legacy of the insurgency, 68-69, see also People's Party (Populists). Populist Vision, The (Postel), 68 post-bellum party system agrarian movement and, 58-61 class and populism, 61-63 partisan competitiveness and third-party emergence, 60-61 politics of sectionalism, 59 race and populism, 65 state comparisons, 60 structural role of parties, 59 subtreasury bill and, 57-58, 59-60 Postel, C., 52, 68 Powell v. Alabama, 108 presidency, administrative armature, 129 private school subsidies, 119 progressive movement, 69, 76, 80, 85, 93 Progressive Party, women's suffrage and, 76, 88 protest culture, of the 1960s, 136-38 protest, effect on voter turnout, 10 Proud Boys movement, 3, 201 public policy, weight on the poor, 14 Pussyhat Project, 194 Putnam, L., 203, 249

Q-Anon conspiracy network, 183



286 Index

African American voters and, 46-47, 63, race and post-bellum populism, 65 64, 109 anti-Trump Resistance movement and, agrarian roots, 31 "anchoring" of abolitionist and free soil 197-201 Falwell's preaching on, 139 activists, 22 racism, experienced by black WWII anti-slavery movement and emergence of, veterans, 110 31-32 Radical Republicans, 34, 40, 43, 44, 49 Christian conservative movement, 130, radicalism, in the women's movement, 76 138-40 radicalization, 56, 157 Civil War and, 37-38, 40-41 dislodging of traditional party elites, 15 civil rights movement, 117-18 election performance (1920), 90 Raffensperger, Brad, 3 railroads, 53, 54, 55, 58, 62, 69 expansion of the national state, 129 fusion of Trump's support base with, 6 Rana, A., 237 Reactionary Republicanism (Gervais & gender equity rule, 92 Goldwater and the birth of the New Right, Morris), 181 reactive sequences, 5, 7, 31, 42, 48-49, 146, 155 135-36, 239, 244 "Reagan Revolution," 127, 128 historic attachment of African American Reagan, Ronald, 7, 101, 127, 143, 146, 238 voters, 109 relationship with the Christian Right, 21, hollowing out, 178, 234 ideological trends of the 1960s, 135 impact of the 1960s civil rights Reconstruction, 7, 29, 44–46 African American organizations and, 45 movement, 5 amendments, 44, 47 infiltration and takeover, 128, 146 black enfranchisement and, 45 infiltration by the Koch network, 21 end of, 46-47, 49 "movementization," 134-40, 177, 229, impact on the Republican Party, 32, 38 234, 247 legacy of reactions against, 5, 42 potential impact of Trumpism on, 204-06 military occupation and, 44 regional support, 61 rise of anti-black vigilantism during, 240 shift of southern whites to, 123 Sumner's advocacy for African Americans' structural comparison with the Democratic rights during, 29 Party, 146-47 Reconstruction Act, 44 Tea Partiers in, 164-65 referendums, 67, 70, 77, 84, 88, 227 Trump's takeover, 176 religion women's rights and, 84 as base of women's involvement in Republican party, emergence of peripheral abolitionism, 80 conservative groups, 136 Republican Study Committee, 139 Tea Party and, 159, 163, see also Catholics; Christian conservative movement; Republican voters, 2, 164, 247 evangelicals. research on movement/party relations Remmer, K., 221 focus of in the United States, 9-10 repertoire of contention, new, 113-14 fusion of the streams, 14-16 historians' focus, 10-11 repression, 46-47, 98, 102, 109, 114, 117-18, 121, 123, 200, 218, 220-21, 227 Milkis and Tichenor on presidents and Republican Attorneys' General Association, 3 movements, 19, 21 movement scholars' focus, 11-12 Republican Party twenty-first-century move toward Schlozman's "anchoring" study, 18-19 sociologists' and political scientists' focus, a movement-party model, 15 abandonment of southern black voters, 46-47 abolitionist movement and, 48 Tilly and "contentious politics," 16-18 adaptation of progressive nominating use of survey methodology, 12 reforms, 139 Resistance, 191, 194-97



Index 287

Second Great Awakening, 36 race and, 197-201, see also anti-Trump Second Reconstruction, 124 Resistance movement. Revolution, The (suffrage newspaper), 84 Second World War, see World War II. sectionalism, politics of, 59 revolutions, 6, 16, 31, 38, 42, 84, 91, 128, 143 segregation Right to Life League, 141 right-wing extremism, 23 Farmers' Alliance and, 64 right-wing populism, 176, 181 private academies and, 120-21, 135 right-wing terrorism, definition, 183 SCLC campaign against, 112 sit-in campaigns against, 18, 114-15 Ripon Society, 137 Rivalry and Reform: Presidents, Social Supreme Court rulings, 112, 135 Truman's promise to end in the military, 111 Movements, and the Transformation of Wilson administration's promotion of, 107 American Politics (Milkis & Tichenor), 19, Selective Service Act, 103 38, 78 Roberts, K. M., 177, 221, 222-23, 228 "separate but equal" doctrine, 108 Rockefeller, Nelson, 135, 138, 143 September 11 terror attacks (9/11), 155 Rodgers, D. T., 127 Seward, William, 30, 40 Shafer, B. E., 134, 245 Roe v. Wade, 143 Rojas, F., 156, 157 Shapiro, I., 128 Roosevelt, Franklin Delano (FDR) sharecroppers, 54, 68 civil rights and, 101, 106-07 Sheppard-Towner maternity and Infancy labor movement support, 4, 100, 105 Protection Act, 93 Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 51, 66 military recruitment of African Americans and, 103 Shin, G.-W., 216, 218 percentage of Northern black vote, 109 Siavelis, P., 226 strengthening of the presidency, 129 Sierra Club, 194 SIEU, 194 Roots of Reform (Sanders), 68 Silbey, J. H., 10, 58 Rosenbluth, F. M., 128 Rosenfeld, S., 18, 129, 135, 137, 138, 145 silver, free coinage, 50-51, 65, 67, 242 Rowe, James, 111 sit-in campaigns, 18, 114-15 Rule of Law Defense Fund, 3 Sitkoff, H., 109 Rupp, L. J., 89 Skocpol, T., 98-99, 153, 160-62, 185, 186 Skowronek, S., 44 Rusher, William, 136, 145 Slave Power, 34, 36 Rushin, S., 183 Ryan, Paul, 168 slavery/slave trade Civil War mobilization around the issue of, Salandra, Antonio, 210 sanctuary cities, 196 historical research, 10 Sanders, Bernie, 178, 195 role of radical movement activists in Sanders, E., 52, 55, 61, 68 reshaping public debate, 48 Santelli, Rick, 159 small farmers' potential as a constituency Sapiro, V., 95 against expansion, 33 Schaffner, B. F., 169, 180 Smith v. Allright, 110 Schattschneider, E. E., 52 Smith, R. M., 237 Schickler, E., 13 SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Schlafly, Phyllis, 143, 149, 241 Committee), 105, 122 Snow, D. A., 181 Schlozman, D., 18, 32, 75, 99, 129, 135, 137, 138, 139 social media, 23, 150-51, 152, 163, 189, 196, Schwartz, M., 52, 66, 68 205, 236 SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Social Movement Society, The (Meyer & Congress), 105 Tarrow), 6, 150 Scranton, William, 135, 138 social movements SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), 145 as threat to American democracy, 8, 227



social movements (cont.)	Stevens, Thaddeus, 36, 45
Civil War creation of, 38-42	Stockman, David, 144
definition, 148, 191	"Stop the Steal!" campaign, 2
function and structure, 13	STOP-ERA campaign, 140, 143, 241
literature on, 14	Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 35
participation in elections, 6	strikes, 62, 63
polarization and, 246–47	potential consequences for workers, 98
role in demise of Italian democracy, 229	relationship between economic conditions
"social movement society" thesis, 22-24	and, 98
status of in public politics, 12	sit-down strikes, 113, 115
social sorting	student movement
American parties, 22	Chile, 223–24, 226–27
polarization and, 26, 212–13, 228–29	lunch counter sit-in campaign, 114–15
Somma, N., 224	South Korea, 215–16
South Carolina, 64–65, 121	subtreasury bill, 57–58, 59–60, 63, 68
South Korea, 7	suffrage
brokerage role of the New Korean	abolition and, 80
Democratic Party, 216	black, 41, 43, 84
"candlelight protests," 219	elected politicians and, 85
coalition for democracy, 208	impact of expansion, 70
comparison with Portugal, 231	
contentious democratization and, 231	labor movement and, 82–83
	temperance and, 81–82
continuing pattern of reform through protest,	suffragists, 24, 80–83, 95, 237, 243
216–19	Sumner, Charles, 29, 30, 36, 40, 45
cycles of contention, 214	suppression of movements, potential danger for
democracy movement, 218	the party system and democracy, 26
democratization journey, 213–19	Supreme Court
history of elective authoritarianism, 214	Alexander v. Holmes County, 120
impeachment of the president, 219	Boynton decision, 112
institutionalization of coalitions, 218	Brown v. Board of Education, 118–20
Lawyers for a Democratic Society	Citizens' United decision, 166, 169, 230
(Minbyun), 217	Dred Scott v. Sandford, 35
protest cycle comparison with Italy, 215	Frank v. Mangum, 108, 108
use of torture, 217	Hamm v. City of Rock Hill, 115
Southern Christian Leadership Council	influence on countermovement against
(SCLC), 112	integration, 123
Southern secession movement, 31	Kavanaugh's nomination, 194
southern states	Moore v. Dempsey, 108
beginning of period of white ascendancy, 47	Morgan v. Virginia, 112
creation of "white academies," 135	Plessy v. Ferguson, 47, 107
electoral power of African American	racial justice and, 107–08
voters, 64	segregation in public schools and, 135
party loyalties, 61	Smith v. Allright decision, 110
post-bellum military occupation, 44	Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v.
sovereignty commissions, 118–19	Sawyer, 100
Soviet Union, 111, 208	Swing Left, 195
Spain, 231	Syrian civil war, 158
Staggenborg, S., 191–92, 240	
Stanton, Edward, 43	Taft Hartley Act (1947), 100
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 41, 83-84	Taney, Roger, 35
States, Parties and Social Movements	Tarrow, S., 12, 14, 16, 150
(Goldstone), 10	Taubeneck, Herman, 67



Index 289

taxation Christian schools, 121, 135, 138-39, 146 conservatism and, 136 Tea Party opposition, 160 Trump's reform, 176 Taylor, Breonna, 197 Taylor, V., 89 Tea Party Express, 162 Tea Party movement, 15, 18, 147, 149, 158-64 as blended hybrid, 158-64 Bachmann's "House Tea Party Caucus," 165 brittleness of the Republican Party and, 229 comparison with earlier right-wing movements, 165 electoral successes, 177, 179 Fox News and, 162, 163 identity, 159-63 influence on Trump's rhetoric, 181 media's role, 159, 163-64, 165, 177, 180, 181 Obama's election and the emergence of, 158-59 relationship with the Koch network, 159 role of big-money groups and national advocacy organizations, 162-63 Tea Partiers in the Republican Party, 164-65 Tea Party Nation, 162 Tea Party Patriots, 162 Teele, D. L., 85, 86, 87 temperance movement, 37 federal focus, 237 relationship with other movements, 80-82 women's movement and, 76, 80 tenant farmers, 54, 68 Tennessee, 43, 46, 56, 104 Tenure of Office Act, 43 Terry, Randall, 145 Tervo, C., 185 Texas, 2, 46, 51, 55, 62-64, 66, 67, 69, 101-02 Texas Farmers' Alliance, 56-57, 62-63 Thatcher, Margaret, 143 third-party politics farmer-labor coalition and, 62 opposition to, 63 women's movement and, 88-89 "Third Wave of democratization," 208-09, 213, 220 Three Percenters, 3 Thurston, C., 141 Tichenor, D. J., 16, 19, 21, 40, 42, 48, 75, 78 Tillman, Ben, 65

Tilly, C., 6, 11, 32, 38, 236 Townsend Plan, 14 Train, George Francis, 84 "transitology," 208 Trefousse, H. L., 37, 40 Trotter, William, 104 Truman, D., 13, 134 Truman, Harry S., 100, 111 Trump movement antipolitical nature, 205 capture of Republican Party, 15 characteristics, 204 countermovement on the ideological left, 191-202 dispersed organizational infrastructure, 185-90 future potential, 204-06 hybrid nature, 175, 185-87 influencing organizations, 184 invasion of the Capitol building, 3-5, 6, 26, 176, 177, 184, 204-05, 233-34, 247 Koch network's influence, 184, 186 potential longevity, 248 role of the media, 189-90 roots of Trump's populist constituency, 177 Tea Party roots, 187-89 Trump, Donald, 145, 147 alliance with white nationalists, 21 anti-Trump marches, 150 appeals to racial resentment, 180 as leader of a movement, 175 Black Lives Matter movement and, 197, 201 "bread and circuses" strategy, 180 campaign infrastructure, 205 charismatic appeal, 180, 181 claims of election rigging, 1, 180 combinaion of populist rhetoric with plutocratic elements, 246 deregulatory program, 176 divisive rhetoric, 181-84 election defeat, 25 election of and rise in reported hate crimes, 183 encouragement of violence, 182-84 factors behind unexpected electoral victory, 178-79 inauguration speech, 178 invites demonstrators to march on the Capitol, 3-4 law and order rhetoric, 187, 200-01 movement-countermovement interaction and, 25



290 Index

Trump, Donald (cont.) national and global protest events following election of, 192-94 NRA support campaign, 187 police support campaign, 187 post-election growth in women's support for Democratic Party, 202-04 reliance on the media, 205 rhetorical devices employed by, 182 rioting in Washington and, 233 sectors of the population threatened by the Trump presidency, 192, 241 success in capturing the Republican Party's leadership, 235 support base, 6 Tea Party-influenced rhetoric, 181 "transaction" with the Christian Right, 186-87 willingness to use racist and sexist language, 179 women's march against, 5, 150 Trumpism, 175-76, 204, 206 Tufekci, Z., 151 Twitter and Tear Gas (Tufekci), 151 Twitter, Tea Party activism, 159 Two Faces of American Freedom (Rana), 237

UFPI (United for Peace and Justice), 157 UMW (United Mine Workers), 105 Uncivil Agreement (Mason), 22 "underground railroad," 35 Understanding the Tea Party Movement (McVeigh), 165 UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association), 102 Union League, 42, 45-46, 48 unions, decline, 100 United Negro College Fund, 105 United States comparison with other countries, 208 democratic resilience, 207-09 focus of research on movements and parties, 9-10 "long" conservative movement, 18 movement/party relations in history, 4-6 presidential elections of 2020 and aftermath, 1-4, 6success of "vertical hybridity" model, 231 threats to democratic processes in, 26 Uruguay, 221

Vallandigham, Clement, 39 Vallely, R., 47 VCCG (Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government), 119 "vertical hybridity" model, US success, 231 Veterans for Peace, 157 Vietnam War, 123, 131, 133, 146, 154-56 Viguerie, Paul, 139, 234 Viguerie, Richard, 138-39 violence against black troops, 103 electoral influence, 118 race riot in Springfield, Illinois (1908), 104 role of in success of anti-segregation campaigns, 112 Trump's encouragement of, 182-84 violent attack on a black neighborhood of St. Louis (1917), 102, 104 women's movement and, 77 Virginia, 40, 46, 107, 112, 112, 119, 182 von Bülow, Marisa, 219 Von Mises, Ludwig, 166 voter turnout, effect of protest on, 10 voting rights African Americans, 45, 59, 61, 69, 240 women, 89 Voting Rights Act of 1965, 124

"Voyage of Reconciliation," 112, 135 Wagner Act of 1935 (National Labor Relations Act), 98-99, 101, 106-07, 239 Wagner, Robert, 98 Wall of Us, 195 War on Poverty, 131 war, impact on social movements, 42, 110 Washington rioting in (2021), 233 women's suffrage march (1913), 77, 150 "Washington Consensus," 220-21, 229 Washington, Jesse, 101 Wasow, O., 114, 118 Watergate scandal and campaign finance reform, 132-33, 139 and candidate nomination reform, 139 Watson, Tom, 65, 67 WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Union), 41, 81-82 Weaver, James, 65 Weaver, Robert, 109

Weaver, V., 102, 124

Wechsler, B. D., 64 Weingast, B. R., 32

Welch, Robert, 136

welfare state, 99, 129, 160



> Index 291

welfare system, 44 Wells, Ida B., 104 Weyrich, Paul, 136, 138 When Movements Anchor Parties (Schlozman), 18 Whig party, 30, 41, 70 White House, women's picket (1917), 75, 77 white supremacy, 7 White, Cliff, 234 White, F. Clifton, 137 White, Paula, 186 Whitmer, Gretchen, 182-83, 190 Whittier, John Greenleaf, 35 "Who Made the Women's March?" (Chenoweth & Berry), 193 "Wide Awake" movement, 6, 42, 242 Wilkie, Wendell, 103 Willard, Frances, 81-82 Williamson, V., 160-62 Wills, G., 49 Wilmington insurrection (1898), 64 Wilson, James Q., 203 Wilson, Woodrow, 21, 76-77, 88, 107, 238, 244 Wineapple, B., 43-44 WNLL (Women's National Loyal League), 81 Wolbrecht, C., 90 women abolitionism and, 41 Civil War role, 41, 81 entry into the workforce, 75 march against Trump, 5, 150 New Deal and election to public office of, 89-91,93 picket the White House (1917), 75, 77 political participation as bridge between Progressivism and New Deal, 89 post-Trump election growth in support for Democratic Party, 202-04 religious base of involvement in abolitionism, 80 "separate spheres" argument, 78, 81 "Women for America First" movement, 3 Women's Bureau, 85, 93 Women's Jury Movements, 94 women's march, 192-94, 202 women's movement, 7 allied movements, 76, 80-82 anti-suffrage countermovement, 78-79 cleavage, 83-85 Code Pink: Women for Peace, 157 diversity of activism, 77-79

election results and, 90 embedding of the suffrage movement, 79-83 female voting participation and, 90-92 first march on Washington (1913), 77, 150 grassroots expansion, 79 interactions between suffrage activism and the party system, 85-87 link between women's suffrage and labor rights, 82-83 mobilization vacuum, 80 nonpartisan methods of influence, 83-89 party alliances, 244 party efforts to capture the women's vote, 92-93 policy outcomes of votes for women, 93-94 political apprenticeship, 94-96 post-World War II, 89-94 race and, 84 role of third parties, 88-89 separate spheres argument, 78 suffrage campaign, 76 suffragists and elected politicians, 85 temperance movement and, 76, 80 tensions between NAWSA and NWP, 78 Woodrow Wilson's relations with, 21 women's rights movement, 80 women's suffrage march, 77, 150 women's suffrage movement, 11, 36 Britain's influence, 77 countermovement, 78, 240 institutional constraints, 237 mass petition strategy, 81 roots, 235 World War I and, 78 Worker's Party (PT), Brazil, 15 World War II black recruitment into the armed forces, 103 impact on American politics and class relations, 99 impact on civil rights movement, 110 WPA (Works Progress Administration), 131 WTUL (Women's Trade Union League), 82, 83 136-38, 145

YAF (Young Americans for Freedom), Young Men's Civic Club, 109 Young Republicans, 137, 244 Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. v. Sawyer,

Zald, M. N., 130, 185, 245 Zoorob, M., 186



Books in the Series (continued from p. ii)

Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality*, *Grievances*, and Civil War

Christian Davenport, How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa

Christian Davenport, Media Bias, Perspective, and State Repression

Gerald F. Davis, Doug McAdam, W. Richard Scott, and Mayer N. Zald, Social Movements and Organization Theory

Donatella della Porta, Clandestine Political Violence

Donatella della Porta, Where Did the Revolution Go? Contentious Politics and the Quality of Democracy

Mario Diani, The Cement of Civil Society: Studying Networks in Localities

Nicole Doerr, Political Translation: How Social Movement Democracies Survive

Barry Eidlin, Labor and the Class Idea in the United States and Canada

Todd A. Eisenstadt, Politics, Identity, and Mexico's Indigenous Rights Movements

Grzegorz Ekiert, Elizabeth J. Perry, and Yan Xiaojun editors, Ruling by Other Means: State-Mobilized Movements

Manfred Elfstrom Workers and Change in China: Resistance, Repression, Responsiveness

Olivier Fillieule and Erik Neveu, editors, Activists Forever? Long-Term Impacts of Political Activism

Diana Fu, Mobilizing Without the Masses: Control and Contention in China

Daniel Q. Gillion, The Political Power of Protest: Minority Activism and Shifts in Public Policy

Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso, Street Citizens: Protest Politics and Social Movement Activism in the Age of Globalization

Jack A. Goldstone, editor, States, Parties, and Social Movements

Jennifer Hadden, Networks in Contention: The Divisive Politics of Climate Change Michael T. Heaney and Fabio Rojas, Party in the Street: The Antiwar Movement and the Democratic Party after 9/11

Tamara Kay, NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism

Neil Ketchley, Egypt in a Time of Revolution: Contentious Politics and the Arab Spring Joseph Luders, The Civil Rights Movement and the Logic of Social Change

Doug McAdam and Hilary Boudet, Putting Social Movements in Their Place: Explaining Opposition to Energy Projects in the United States, 2000–2005

Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, Dynamics of Contention

Holly J. McCammon, The U.S. Women's Jury Movements and Strategic Adaptation: A More Just Verdict

Shivaji Mukherjee Colonial Institutions and Civil War: Indirect Rule and Maoist Insurgency in India

Sharon Nepstad, Religion and War Resistance and the Plowshares Movement Olena Nikolayenko, Youth Movements and Elections in Eastern Europe Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, Rightful Resistance in Rural China Eleonora Pasotti, Resisting Redevelopment: Protest in Aspiring Global Cities Silvia Pedraza, Political Disaffection in Cuba's Revolution and Exodus

Héctor Perla Jr., Sandinista Nicaragua's Resistance to US Coercion



Federico M. Rossi, The Poor's Struggle for Political Incorporation: The Piquetero Movement in Argentina

Chandra Russo, Solidarity in Practice: Moral Protest and the US Security State

Eduardo Silva, Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America

Erica S. Simmons, Meaningful Resistance: Market Reforms and the Roots of Social Protest in Latin America

Sarah Soule, Contention and Corporate Social Responsibility

Suzanne Staggenborg, Grassroots Environmentalism

Sherrill Stroschein, Ethnic Struggle, Coexistence, and Democratization in Eastern Europe

Yang Su, Collective Killings in Rural China during the Cultural Revolution

Sidney Tarrow, The Language of Contention: Revolutions in Words, 1688-2012

Sidney Tarrow, The New Transnational Activism

Wayne P. Te Brake, Religious War and Religious Peace in Early Modern Europe

Ralph A. Thaxton Jr., Catastrophe and Contention in Rural China: Mao's Great Leap Forward Famine and the Origins of Righteous Resistance in Da Fo Village

Ralph A. Thaxton Jr., Force and Contention in Contemporary China: Memory and Resistance in the Long Shadow of the Catastrophic Past

Charles Tilly, Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000

Charles Tilly, Contentious Performances

Charles Tilly, The Politics of Collective Violence

Marisa von Bülow, Building Transnational Networks: Civil Society and the Politics of Trade in the Americas

Lesley J. Wood, Direct Action, Deliberation, and Diffusion: Collective Action after the WTO Protests in Seattle

Stuart A. Wright, Patriots, Politics, and the Oklahoma City Bombing

Deborah Yashar, Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge

Andrew Yeo, Activists, Alliances, and Anti-U.S. Base Protests