

5. Expressive movements
6. Hybrid types

III. CAREER OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

A. LIFE CYCLE OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

B. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

1. The incipient phase
2. The organizational phase
3. The stable phase

C. INTERNAL FACTORS IN GROWTH

1. Goals
2. Ideology and propaganda
3. Organization and status system
4. Group cohesion
5. The development of morale
6. Tactics

D. EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

E. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON GROWTH

F. END PRODUCTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

I. SOCIAL AND INDIVIDUAL CIRCUMSTANCES CONDUCTIVE TO THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF MOVEMENTS

A. CULTURAL CONFUSION (K 15)

1. Lack of agreement in standards and their interpretation.
2. Inconsistency and instability of mass society,
3. Social movements provide answers and ideals.

B. SOCIAL HETEROGENEITY AND ORGANIZATION (K 16)

1. Multiplicity of group norms and codes; overlapping group membership.
2. Individuals organize to promulgate their views.

C. INDIVIDUAL DISCONTENT

1. Individual discontent has a tendency to lead to social unrest when enough individuals are discontent. (K 17)
2. Lack of cultural integration results in individual discontent. (K 18)
 - a. Values and ideals of different reference and membership groups conflict. (K 18)
 - b. The individuals status is not recognized by others. (K 19)
 - c. His goals are opposed by other groups. (K 19)
 - d. His goals are not realizable because of personal inadequacy and/or the absence of socially defined means of the goal. (K 20)
3. Discontent makes individuals more receptive to suggestion. (1<21)(see r.1)

D. THE RELATION OF A MO TO ITS SOCIAL MILIEU IN THE SELECTION OF ADHERENTS

1. There is "...competition between the activities of the movement and the many conventional activities available to potential members. To become an adherent...the individual chooses activity in the movement in preference to other possible activities. Thus, the gratifications of movement participation must outweigh the gratifications available to the individual from more conventional activities." (TK 432)
2. "...each adherent must adjust himself to whatever reaction his associates may have to membership in the movement." The respectability of the movement is important. (TK 432)
3. These two factors select certain types of people for movement members.

- a. People who are fully integrated into family, neighborhood, community, and special interest groups will be unlikely to be adherents to movements. (TK 432)
- b. People who are relatively isolated or who are "outcasts" will be more likely to find personal gratification in membership. (TK 432)
- c. "Frustration may lead to devaluation of conventional demands and provide the more intense motivation necessary to overcome ordinary obstacles to movement membership...Frustration from recent losses or the experience of improving conditions is more likely to make receptive individuals than long-continued frustration." (TK 432)

E. MEMBERS AND THEIR MOTIVES

1. Goal-oriented: "...most people who join a movement do so subscribing to its ideology and its goals which they view as an answer to some crisis; ...motivated by the belief that they will somehow benefit by the social changes to be effected when the movement attains its objectives" (K 64)
2. Utilitarian: They seek immediate benefits unrelated to the movement's goals. They have a lack of conviction about, or feeling of loyalty to, the goals, ideas, or ideology. (K 65)
3. Altruistic: The extreme idealists who enter the movement with motives unrelated to personal crisis. (K 65)

F. PARTICIPATION-PRONENESS: SOME PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. "Imperviousness to certain kinds of social isolation may be necessary...a sort of prestige isolation overtakes any individual who sets himself apart from his fellows by assuming...an active role with respect to values that his fellows accept passively." (TK 440)
2. "Something of a desire for martyrdom often seems to be a component of movement participation." (TK 440)
3. "Authoritarian types are to be found among the adherents of almost any movement with a program of societal reform. These are people who are dissatisfied unless they can impose their will on others." (TK 441)
4. There is a "...sense of personal inadequacy that drives some people to identify themselves with a movement that is symbolized as strong and uncompromising." (TK 441)
5. The presence of "...a tendency to see issues in simple 'black and white, terms. Any tendency to see elements of truth in both of two opposing viewpoints interfere with one's enthusiastic participation." (TK 441)

G. INDIVIDUAL BIOGRAPHICAL DETERMINANTS IN THE ACCEPTANCE OF INNOVATION: factors which lead a person to accept or reject a given innovation.

1. There are factors in the life history of a person which cause dissatisfaction with certain customs or values of his society. (K 61)
2. Four types of individuals who are potential acceptors of innovations (Barnett; pp. 381-404) These are "...fairly stable and identifiable categories existing at any time in societies irrespective of specific proposals for change and the particular organizations or agencies advocating the proposals." (K 62)
 - a. Dissident: people who object to some convention of their group though: perhaps they are overtly conventional (K 61)
 - b. Indifferent: though not necessarily critical of conventions, they are not dedicated to them. (K 61)
 - c. Disaffected: these are critical, at the moment of conventions they previously supported. (K 61)
 - d. Resentful: the envious have-nots who believe the change might benefit their circumstances and are receptive to it. (K 62)
3. "Many members of the mass society share certain biographical determinants because their position in the society is similar...because of this...an area of dissatisfaction exists which is common to and especially characteristic of a given sub-group." (K 62)

H. THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL CRISIS

1. "A crisis exists when an individual's life experiences have produced in him a state of chronic discontent and when his discontent is intensified by a convergence of events and forces in a single situation representing to him a culmination of his chronic dissatisfactions." (K 63)
2. The crisis situation transforms potential into active acceptors, i.e. their dissatisfactions are not intense enough until the crisis occurs. (K 63)
3. Crisis is a product of dissatisfactions and frustrations which are actively resented because they are regarded as unnecessary and avoidable. "Crisis involves the element of deprivation, the elimination (or threatened elimination) of something the individual views as essential and feels he has the right to expect." (K 63)
 - a. Social movements are devices by which people try to secure those essentials they believe are due them. (K 63)
 - b. Crisis are relative to the expectations which the individual has acquired from his groups (K 64)

4. "A critical situation may be said to arise when an individual -is confronted by a chaotic external environment which he cannot interpret and which he wants to interpret." (C 63)

I. CONDITIONS OF SUGGESTIBILITY

1. "An individual has no standard of judgment or frame of reference adequate to interpret a given situation and wants some standard or frame of reference." (C 65)
2. "An individual not only lacks an adequate frame of reference or standard of judgment by means of which he may orient himself but he also lacks even the awareness that he needs and is seeking a new frame of reference." (C 69)
3. "An individual's mental context fails to provide him with a needed interpretation or with any reliable standard by which he can make a desired check on alternative interpretations offered." (C 70)
4. "A...condition of suggestibility arises when an individual's mental context is so patterned that a stimulus or interpretation is thoroughly consistent with the frames of reference and standards of judgment that constitute the mental context." (C 71) The determinants of the degree of suggestibility under this condition are:
 - a. The breadth of the frames of reference, the inclusiveness of the assumptions on which the frames are based. (C 72)
 - b. "...the personal significance of the frames of reference, the degree to which the values from which they are derived involve the ego. The more the self is sustained or enhanced by a suggestion the greater the likelihood it will be accepted." (C 73)
5. Critical ability: is "...the capacity to evaluate a stimulus in such a way that a person is able to understand its inherent characteristics and to judge and act appropriately." (C 75). The determinants of the degree of critical ability are:
 - a. "If all other things are equal, people who have standards of judgment or frames of reference, which they feel cannot be relied upon to interpret a given stimulus or event, are likely to display critical ability to some extent. The greater the relevant knowledge or experience upon which standards are based, the greater will be the individual's critical ability." (C 76)
 - b. "People who have no standards of judgment or frames of reference appropriate to interpret a given stimulus, people who desire some interpretation, but who have developed a readiness to question the interpretations offered them show critical ability...proportional to skepticism." (C 76)
 - c. "People who are not able to interpret a given event directly by means of existing standards or frames, may nevertheless, have other tangential standards or frames which they can rely on and which they can use as trustworthy pegs to test evidence which they gather." (C 76)

- d. "When people have a mental context so patterned that a stimulus or interpretation seem thoroughly consistent with it but also have sufficient insight to know their own biases and prejudices, to check the interpretation and if necessary to enlarge or alter their mental contexts...(they) have critical ability." (C 76)

II. TAXONOMY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: DEFINITION & TYPES

A. DEFINITIONS

1. A social movement is "...a group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought, behavior, and social relationships." (K 27)
2. "A social movement is a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part." (TK 308)
 - a. "The movement's objective must be of the type that requires sustained activity." (TK 308)
 - b. "...there will be some continuity in movement strategy." (TK 308)
 - c. "There will...be some continuity in the division of function, with some stability of leadership and other roles." (TK 308)
 - d. "There will be continuity in the sense of group identity..." (TK 308)
3. The essential aspects of a social movement are: (TK 320)
 - a. A program for the reform of society.
 - b. The promotion of membership gratifications.
 - c. The establishment of power relations favorable to the movement.
4. Quasi-movements possess some but not all the characteristics of movement.
 - a. Mass movement (TK 308)
 - (1) "...phenomena that fall somewhere between the mass and the social movement."
 - (2) "...there is a certain amount of social contagion and we-feeling though in the final analysis the behavior remains individual."
 - (3) "There may be considerable activity in the common interest...but the governing objectives and plans of action remain individual."

b. The following.

- (1) "...a collectivity that is united in its attention to, and admiration of, a public individual." (TK 309)
- (2) "the attachment to a hero is the basis for continuity and the subject of interaction among 'fans'." (TK 309)
- (3) "The attachment is to the hero himself rather than to any cause that he represents." (TK 309)
- (4) "...while there may be some organization and a vitally developed we-feeling, the following is short of being a collectivity concerned with promoting some program." (TK 309)
- (5) "...the difference between a following and a true movement built about an admired leader tends to be one of the degree to which admiration for the leader causes the followers to promote a program of social change." (TK 309)
- (6) "...to the extent that the following approaches a true movement, . it represents an almost pure case of a participation-oriented movement." (TK 455)

(7) Common characteristics of the following:

- (a) "The followers develop a definite group sense, communicate extensively among themselves, and develop symbols and norms whereby the in-group can be distinguished from the out-group." (TK 455)
- (b) "The followers develop a prestige hierarchy among themselves based upon proximity to the leader and recognition extended by him." (TK 455)
- (c) "Members of a following invariably define their relations to other followings as opposition and rivalry." (TK 455)
- (d) "The members of a following preoccupy themselves with accumulating every conceivable item of information about their hero, preoccupying themselves with identifying and interpreting the hero's opinions on various subjects." (TK 455)
- (e) "The followers identify with the leader, so that they gloat in his successes and suffer personally under his setbacks." (TK 455)
- (f) "To the followers, the prestige of their leader translates the commonplace into the profound and resolves uncertainties by providing a position that they can adopt." (TK 457)

c. The Cult (TK 309) (See. II, F. 2)

- (1) This has the continuity of a social movement.
- (2.) It makes demands only on the behavior of its members (participant oriented).
- (3) "The cult membership is content to remain withdrawn from the society in general."
- (4.) "To the degree to which collectivities proselytize as a means toward changing society, they become true social movements."

B. SOME DESCRIPTIVE DIMENSIONS

1. Amount of change advocated, (K 28), the scope of the objectives of the movement. (B 212).
2. Point of attack of prevailing social order. A general attack on a large part of the society or an attack on a specific aspect. (B 212)
3. General procedure and tactics (B 213)
 - a. Rate of change advocated (TK 321)
 - b. Change in the same or opposite direction of the prevailing change. General movement. (see I.d.17 (TK 321)
4. Function or purpose; the type of change desired; the type of activity and objective with which the movement is concerned. (TK 320)
5. Degree of respectability. (B 212)
 - a. The movement's relationship to the fundamental values of society (TK 327)
 - b. The degree to which the movement uses the existing institutions, (B 212)
6. Degree of formal organization of the movement. (K 28)
7. Co-ordination; the amount of uniformity with regard to the goals, policies and procedures within the movement. (K 29)

C. CONSTRUCTING A TYPOLOGY OF MOVEMENTS

1. Some general principles (TK 326)

- a. "...the same movement...may fall into different types at different times. The type refers to the current characteristics of the movement rather than to any immutable characteristics...the entire dynamics of a movement may change from time to time. With each type, the kind of accomplishment that constitutes 'success' for the movement is different."
- b. "The construction of types (derives) from the way in which the movement seeks to relate itself to groups outside the movement."
- c. "...the categories refer to ideal types, since any movement is likely to combine elements of each -- a movement may be examined according to the degree to which each of these elements prevails...Only in those instances in which one of the tendencies becomes so clearly dominant as to shape the whole internal and external dynamics of the movement can the movement be placed in just one of the categories."

2. A classification in terms of public definition, character of the opposition evoked and access to legitimate means of action. (TK 329)

Public definition	Type of opposition	Means of action
Respectable -Nonfactional -Factional	Disinterest and token support Competing movements advocating same general objectives	Legitimate Legitimate
Peculiar	Ridicule and ostracism	Limited access to Legitimate
Revolutionary	Violent <u>suppression</u>	Chiefly illegitimate

- a. "...every movement is viewed in the society either as generally consistent with or fundamentally antagonistic to the established value system." (TK 328)
- b. "Every movement through defining and promoting consideration of an issue, thereby creates or fosters a public concerned with the issue and with the movement itself." (TK 328)
- c. "Part of the function of the public will be to define the movement's relations to society's value scheme." (TK 328)
- d. "The effective definition that emerges from the public will determine the access that the movement has to legitimate means for promoting its program in society." (TK 328)

- e. "Certain movements must cope primarily with competing schemes claiming to promote similar ends by superior means. Hence, they are likely to be concerned not so much with gaining adherence to their general objective as to promoting their own particular scheme for attaining it." (TK 328-329)
3. Turner and Killian's three fundamental ideal-types of movements. (TK 329)
 - a. This is "...based upon the degree to which the internal interaction, the maintenance of membership, and the conception of what constitutes success are oriented about the predominance of one aspect of the movement.
 - b. The three are: value-, power-, and participation-oriented movements.

D. VALUE-ORIENTED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

1. Movements vary "(a) in the degree to which support of their members is derived from a conviction of the worth of the movement's manifest program and (b) in the degree to which the key decisions which govern the movement's course from within are directed toward promoting the manifest program." (TK 331)
2. Value-oriented movement is one whose publicly understood program is crucial for (a) and (b) above.
3. Value-orientations are those respects in which any movement is directed or limited in its activities and recruitment of adherents by its publicly understood program. (TK 331)
4. One must distinguish between the particular program of change that is advocated (the set of procedures for attaining the given conception of society) and the ideology of the movement which is the conception of society by which it justifies the program.
5. The ideology includes: (See III. C. 2.a) (TK 332)
 - a. "...an interpretation of the historical processes that have led to the present state of affairs."
 - b. "...a prediction for the future."
 - c. "...a re-evaluation of the worth of population segments..."
6. "The ideology and program usually evolves interdependently...the ideology must justify the program and the program must be sound in light of the ideology." (TK 332)
7. The program and ideology may point toward changing individuals directly or changing social institutions. There are three conditions essential if a movement is to take the direction of changing individuals." (See II.F)

- a. "...there must be a world-view prevalent in the society that incorporates a basis for believing that widespread self-improvement is possible." (TK 333)
 - b. "...the conception of the universe must be such as to lead people to assume that the state of social order will reflect the integrity and character of individual men."
 - c. "...the circumstances giving rise to the movement must be such that the people can take some responsibility upon themselves for their present unsatisfactory condition." (TK 334)
8. "Movements for personal transformation characteristically exhibit tendencies to shift towards a societal manipulation emphasis when they have achieved some success and added to their membership persons of influence in society." (TK 334)
 9. "The value-oriented movement working through the conversion of personal attitudes and behavior moves in the direction of the participation-oriented movement, gaining much of its strength from the sense of personal satisfaction which follows the conversion." (TK 335)
 10. "The value-oriented movement stressing societal manipulation necessarily combines some of the features of the power-oriented types." (TK 334-335)
 11. For value-oriented movements, success is measured by the degree to which the desired changes are promoted in the larger society. (TK 335)
 12. "The ability of a value-oriented movement to marshal effective support for change in society depends upon combining within the program and ideology both a promise of societal betterment and a promise of immediate and tangible benefits to the members of an important segment of society." (TK 335) This segment need not be large if it is crucially related to the legitimate means for realizing the movement's values (TK 336).
 13. "To achieve sustained effectiveness a movement must present a hierarchy of goals; ranging from some that are fairly immediately attainable to others that are practically unattainable." (TK 336)
 14. "In order to retain access to legitimate means of creating a favorable public, a movement must justify its values by the sacred values of the society and must avoid infringing the sacred values." (TK 336)
 15. "To the degree to which a movement incorporates only major sacred values, its power will be diffused by a large body of conspicuous lip-service adherents who cannot be depended upon for the work of the movement. ...A movement needs enemies who threaten its success so as to marshal the determination of its members to overcome the obstacles." (TK 337)
 16. "To maintain its effectiveness a value-oriented movement must reveal publicly only tactics that are in keeping with its values." (TK 337)

17. General movements:

- a. "...the concept of general movement is merely a simplified representation of the gradual and cumulative emergence into prominence of certain types of ideas and values during any period of social and economic change." (TK 351)
- b. "Their background is constituted by gradual and pervasive change in the values of people ...cultural drifts...a general shifting in the ideas of people, particularly along the lines of the conceptions which people have of themselves, and of their rights and privileges." (B 199-200) (See III.E.2.b.)
- c. Indefinite images and behavior: "...people have come to form new conceptions of themselves which do not conform to the actual positions which they occupy in their life...These new images of themselves...are vague and indefinite...The behavior in response to such images is uncertain and without definite aim." (B 200)
- d. "General movements give rise to large numbers of interrelated specific movements and limit the possible success of movements whose ideologies are in opposition to the prevalent general movement." (TK 334-345)

e. A comparison of general and specific social movements.

	General	Specific
Objective and goal	General direction only. No clear objective	Well defined goal
Mode of attainment	Move in slow halting manner to goal	Seek actively to reach goal
Degree of organization	Aggregation of individual lines of action. Loosely organized; impulsive behavior	Essentially a society with organization and structure; division of labor and status positions
Leadership	No established leader but individual pace-makers	Recognized and accepted leaders
Membership	No recognized membership	Definite membership with 'we-consciousness'
Controls & individual behavior	Little guidance and control; behavior and thinking largely under dominance of restlessness and collective excitement	There is a general body of specific expectations to members
Ideology & content	Usually characterized by a varied and ill-defined literature which is likely to be an expression of protest; which vaguely outlines a philosophy based on new values & self-conceptions. Such a literature is of importance in spreading a view and implanting suggestions, awakening hopes and arousing dissatisfactions.	A body of traditions, guiding set of values,' a philosophy, a set of rules.

E. POWER ORIENTED SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

1. A control movement is "...a movement devoted to dominating the larger group or society of which it is a part while leaving its value objectives flexible or undefined.." (TK 361)

a. Some movements operate through strategic infiltration and the *coup d'état* with their activities and existence concealed from the mass. (TK 362)

(1). They a-re not dependent on mass support.

(2) They begin within a group that already possess some important legitimate power that is limited in scope.

- (3) Their success normally reflects a strongly embedded cultural tradition that provides justification for such extensions of power.
- (4) "Societies in which power is conceived as incorporating a responsibility toward the governed provide less fertile soil for such movements than those in which power is regarded chiefly as a prize.

b. Movements which operate on the basis of extensive mass support. (TK 362)

- (1) Two conditions are essential if control movements dependent on mass support are to develop and succeed.
 - (a) "There must be some weakness in the established power.."
 - (b) "...The masses must lack effective organization through which to determine and register their interests in a continuous manner."
- (2) "Except when there is no established power, control movements appealing to mass support succeed in large part because of the support they receive from one or more of the established elite groups."

c. "The control movement is generally a highly centralized, authoritarian organization, making up for its lack of sanctioned respectability by evidence that it can take decisive and drastic action where established authorities appear to act with indecision and compromise." (TK 362)

d. The growth of control tendencies.

- (1) "Within any movement there is likely to be a fairly continuous struggle between value-orientation and power-orientations." (TK 372)
- (2) There are three ways in which movements which originate with the promotion of a clear sense of value undergo transformation until the value objectives are extensively subordinated to power objectives.
 - (a) "...a strong belief in the unlimited worth of a movement's objectives tends to provoke the attitude that any means are justified by the ends to be gained. (TK 372) The acquisition of power seems to be a much easier way to accomplish the aim..."
 - (b) "...a movement may be taken over or subverted to power considerations by outsiders who see potential usefulness to themselves." (TK 373)
 - (c) "...certain kinds of opposition so narrow the range of tactics available to a movement that it has no alternative other

than to adopt effective means irrespective of their immediate consonance with the values of the movement." (TK 373)

e. Power and strategic considerations. (TK 374)

(1) "No movement can progress far without some deliberate formulation of the strategy for gaining power. The value-orientations will dictate the general outlines within which strategy may be formulated." (TK 374)

(2) "...some general strategy must determine specific tactical decisions..." (TK 374)

2. Counter movements

a. This is a movement "whose principal objective is to oppose and defeat another movement...defeat of the other movement comes to exceed in importance the values at issue." (TK 361) "...the effort to defeat or wrest power from the initial movement begins to transcend the original program and ideology in shaping the opposition movement's course....In a true counter-movement the ideology and program are adjusted as necessary to support strategic power considerations." (TK 383)

b. "The presence of any vested interest group whose prerogatives seem to be threatened by the initial movement is a primary source of counter-movements." (TK 383)

c. "The likelihood that opposition of vested interests or other groups will be organized into a counter-movement depends on the supposed strength of the initial movement itself." (TK 383)-

d. "A counter-movement is more likely to develop against an initial movement combating widely recognized grievances than against a movement reflecting superficial dissatisfactions." (TK 383)

e. "The most important determinant of changes in the ideology of a counter-movement is the increasing success or failure of the initial movement." (TK 383)

f. "The counter-movement begins to adopt popular elements of the initial movement's ideology as its own..." (TK 383)

g. "...a movement and counter-movement may become ideologically indistinguishable." (TK 383)

h. "The ideology of a counter-movement may also have certain distinctive characteristics because it is more preoccupied with opposing than with promoting a particular program." (TK 384)

- i. The long-range effects of the conflict of movement and counter movement may lie in the effect on societal "myth", i.e. "beliefs concerning fundamental reality which justify prevailing institutions." (TK 384)
 - (1) "Counter-movements depend chiefly on evoking the established myths of the society to oppose change." (TK 384)
 - (2) "...as a counter-movement absorbs elements from the new movement's ideology it must reinterpret the societal mythology into consistency with these additions." (TK 384)

- 3. Separatist movements are movements which seek to "...sever ties with a dominant group or to achieve some separation or autonomy within the dominant group...the preoccupation with reducing or eliminating the power of the dominant group by achieving some degree of separation exceeds other objectives in importance..." (TK 361)
 - a. Some movements which are originally independent bodies become separatist movements in the process of resisting absorption. They are in close competition and have similar programs. (TK 386)

 - b. There is the splintering of established bodies: dissent within a parent body producing splinter movements. (TK 386)
 - (1) Separation is often a culmination of an unsuccessful reform or control movement within the parent group. The conflicts with -regard to ideology and values within the parent body give rise to splintering when there is a failure to convert the group to the policies of the dissident members. (TK 387)

 - (2) Splintering may be the work of persons who possess only a second-class membership in the larger group. (TK 387)

 - (3) "Separatist movements may consist of people who have always been rather fully identified with the parent body...but have become dissenters on a single issue or as a consequence of recent developments. On the other hand they may involve a group that has never been identified.. with the parent body." (TK 386)

 - c. Three conditions which will determine whether internal differences and dissent will lead to splinter movements. (TK 396)
 - (1) "...the extent of integration of the dissenting group into the parent body." "...only those who have been consistently deprived of the normal privileges of membership or have failed to attain an emotionalized self identification with the group are likely to band together in a separatist movement. (TK 396)

 - (2) "...the power of the parent body to enforce its legitimate actions and suppress dissent." This depends upon its possession of values which the members are unwilling to dispense with. (TK 396)

- (3) "...the ability of the parent body to absorb dissent either through changing in response to growing pressures or by encompassing internal variability." (TK 396) "...the confidence of the parent body in its own principles makes for toleration of divergent elements within its membership." (TK 397)

d. Characteristics of separatist movements

- (1) "The values that appear most prominently in the official ideology of the separatist movement will be selected more on the basis of the fact that they differentiate the separatist group from the parent body or competing movement than because of the members initial attachment to them." (TK 398)
- (2) "The greater the initial identification of the dissident group with the parent group the later in the movement's development will the separatist orientation become the dominant one." (TK 398)
- (3) "Separatist movements are among those types that are most likely to depend upon a charismatic leader for their strength." They have no important value differences from the parent group. (TK 398)
- (4) "The stated values of separatist movements tend to appear trivial or ridiculous to those who have no interest in the conflict. As a consequence the person who joins a separatist movement is likely to forfeit his social respectability." (TK 399)
- (5) "...the values of separatism tend to be short-lived, either being abandoned by all but the die-hard minority of the original membership or becoming subordinated to a more conventional value-orientation in time." (TK 399)
- (6) "Members of a persisting and strong separatist movement are likely to experience more than ridicule and contempt and become the victims of active intolerance." (TK 405-6)
- (a) The extent of this intolerance is partly determined by the degree to which separatism encompasses the total lives of the members.
- (b) "A segmental movement, one whose members continue normal social participation in most respects, is more likely to continue to be regarded as harmless than a total movement which governs the entire lives of its members." (TK 406)

F. PARTICIPATION ORIENTED MOVEMENTS

1. In a participation-oriented movement "...the major characteristics of the movement center around the satisfactions the members gain from the mere fact of participation in the movement itself." (TK 409) There three sub types: Passive reform, Personal status, and Limited personal.
2. Passive reform movement:
 - a. "...members occupy themselves with preparing for a state of societal reform. This is to come without their active intervention." (TK 409)
 - b. "...a fantasy reform is substituted for active promotion of reform the members decry the existing state of the social order (but) they develop a conviction that the reform is inevitable and requires no assistance from them." (TK 409-410)
 - c. Two concerns dominate the activity of these movements. (TK 410)
 - (1) "...the movement cultivates the conviction of inevitable reform against the skepticism of outsiders. This is accomplished through creating a powerful in-group sentiment and through rationalizing their belief."
 - (2) "...the movement prepares its members for a favorable status in the new order...(they practice techniques which) permit the believers to gain a head start over outsiders and assure them the best positions when such reform occurs."
 - d. "In preparing for the imminent better world of messianic promise, the members of passive reform movements are at the same time achieving for themselves a new status in the social order and a new vantage point from which to interpret the flow of events. Hence, the orientation toward passive reform cannot be viewed apart from the personal status that participants seek." (TK 414)
3. Personal status movements
 - a. These movements "...promise their members the benefits of greater success or recognition within the society or afford them a basis for reinterpreting their own position in the larger society." (TK 409)
 - b. They "...serve chiefly to re-define the status of their members within the existing social order --- the altered status of members does not wait upon the achieved reform." (TK 414)
 - c. "...the personal status movement must alter crucial frustrating aspects of the individuals life." TK 414)

- d. There are two ways in which a movement may reorient the member to the present society:
 - (1) "...re-define the individual's value scheme supplanting his old reference groups with new ones representing new values." (TK 414)
 - (2) "...assisting (members) to attain the types of success already recognized in the society." (TK 414) ".....the personal status movement does not challenge the existing status system, but accepts it wholeheartedly." (TK 415)
- e. The role of the microcosm: "The movement becomes a small world in itself, commanding the total allegiance of its members and providing a totality of values and gratifications requiring renunciation of the larger world outside." (TK 421)
- f. Personal status movements are likely to thrive in periods of social change in areas of acculturation.
- g. "Movements that promise their members the means to attain what everyone in the society wants generally offer a caricature of the culturally sanctioned means for achieving success." (TK 422)
- h. These movements attract individuals who spend their lives passing from one such movement to another.
- i. "Typically these movements reach a peak of membership in enthusiasm quite early in their existence when they take on the attributes of a fad, and then gradually drop to a small loyal residue of members as the mass of adherents search for ways of winning quicker and more drastic indication that their lives have been transformed."
- j. These movements are quite subject to exploitation for financial gain. "If the founder himself does not see the opportunity for personal enhancement such movements quickly attract numbers of persons who feel no compunction over fleecing the gullible. An important factor in the demise of many such movements has been the public exposure of corruption and exploitation of members through legal action or publicity." (TK 422)

4. Limited personal movements.

- a. "...the primary gratification of membership in a somewhat exclusive movement compensates for the frustrations of conventional life without replacing that life." (TK 409)
- b. They "...provide a substitute or fantasy status for the individual or offer him means to alter his major status in society." (TK 423)

- c. They "...are dramatic but touch the lives of fewer people than the many movements that afford more modest escapes or supplements to daily life." (TK 423)
- d. These movements "...shade off into the myriad of voluntary associates which people establish for recreational purposes and which cannot genuinely be referred to as movements." (TK 423)
- e. They "...spring up about the persistent points of strain induced by the mores and the status structure of a society and respond to any shift in prestige and role of a major status group in the society." (TK 423)
- f. "...an important fund of 'joiners' for these limited movements is provided by those classes...who feel themselves losing out in the historical re-arrangements of status." (TK 423)
- g. "A certain amount of exclusiveness and mystery are requisites if a movement is to provide a supplementary prestige or some respite from the restraints of ordinary customs...Through elaborate induction ceremonies and ritual requirements for membership the composition is made to appear more exclusive than it really is." (TK 423)
- h. "The exclusiveness...constitutes a problem for the group. A movement that is too exclusive remains unknown, insignificant, and, unless recruited from an established elite, without prestige. Some proselytizing is therefore essential. More prestige can be gained from a larger movement because of the very recognition and size of the organization. At the same time, however, the typical members' position in the movement becomes less significant and membership differentiates him from fewer people." (TK 425)
- i. "...adherents of the limited personal movements seek only to supplement rather than to reject conventional valuation...Accordingly, the procedure of these movements must be consonant with conventional values." (TK 423)
- j. "The status enhancing aspects of these movements depend ultimately on the prestige accorded them by outsiders." (TK 423)

5. Expressive movements.

- a. "The distinctive feature of expressive movement: "the tensions and unrest out of which they emerge are not focused on some objective of social change which the movement seeks collectively to achieve, Instead, they are released in some type of expressive behavior which, however, in becoming crystallized, may have profound effects on the personalities of the individuals and on the character of the social order." (B 214)

b. Religious movements.

- (1) They begin essentially as cults. (B 214)

- (2) "They represent an inward direction of unrest and tension in the form of disturbed feelings which ultimately express themselves in movement designed to release the tension." (B 214)
- (3) "The situation from which religious movements emerge...is a situation where in people are upset and disturbed, but wherein they cannot act...a situation of frustration. The inability to release their tension in the direction of soon actual change in the social order leaves as the alternative the mere expression of behavior." (B 214)
- (4) The sect or cult arises out of the dancing crowd type of situation where there is: (a) "A feeling of intense intimacy and *esprit' de corps*" (b). A heightened feeling of exaltation and ecstasy which leads individuals to experience personal expansion and to have a sense of being possessed by some transcendental spirit." (c) "...the projection of the collective feelings on outside objects...which thereby take on a sacred character." (d.) "With the recurrence and repetition of this crowd behavior, the *esprit de corps* becomes strengthened, the dancing formalized and ritualized, and the sacred objects reinforced." (B 214-215)

(5) Features of the sect.

- (a) Common brotherhood: Members are recruited from heterogeneous backgrounds and these distinctions have no significance in the sect since every one is -reduced to a common level of brotherhood. (B 215)
- (b) Creed and ritual: A series of beliefs and rites which grow around the feelings of exaltation and sacred symbols in which these feelings become crystallized. "Since they symbolize the intense feelings of the group they become absolute and imperative." (B 215)
- (c) Theology: "The creed of the group becomes elaborated into an extensive body of doctrine as the sect becomes cognizant of criticisms made by outsiders and it seeks to justify its views." (B 215)
- (d) There is a belief that the sect is a select group of sacred souls. (B 216)
- (e) Proselytization is usually present to some degree. (B 216)
- (f) "There is conflict between the sect and the outside world. (B 216)

(6) Characteristics of a religious movement. (B 216)

- (a) "Its program represents a new way of living."
- (b) And it aims at a moral regeneration of the world.
- (c) "...it tends to acquire a structure like that of the sect, and so develops into a society."

6. Hybrid Types

- a. "...the ostensibly value-oriented movement whose objectives are so remote as to seem improbable of achievement...Mixed with the reform interest there is often concern with validating the self-conception that one is right in a world that is wrong...To the degree to which membership in any value-oriented movement strengthens such self-conceptions, it is immaterial that the movement should achieve any tangible successes." (TK 429)
- b. "...the proselytizing individual reform movements...which not only seek to reform the character of their adherents but have an active program of proselytizing in order to make a better society." (TK 430)

III. CAREER OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

A. LIFE CYCLE OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

1. The life cycle consists of an idealized series of states, This approach is helpful in several respects:
 - a. "It places emphasis on process which is particularly important in the study of phenomena whose most important characteristic is change." (TK 309)
 - b. "...the life cycle is a way of organizing our knowledge about movements so as to permit predictions of forthcoming events." (TK 309)
 - c. It "...offers a frame work within which the main aspects of a movement may be seen working together...rather than each studied separately." (TK 309)
 - d. "...it provides a frame work within which the determination of 'success' of a movement may be approached." (TK 309)
2. "...the life-cycle acquires significance in casual analysis when each stage is regarded as containing some of the casual preconditions for the development of the following stage. Without the proceeding stage, any particular stage cannot come about. However, since each stage includes only a portion of the preconditions to the following stage, the progression to succeeding stages is not inevitable...the special value of the life-cycle, then, is to permit us to discover the additional conditions that have to be present if a movement is to proceed from any given stage to the next." (TK 319)

3. A four stage scheme: Blumer (B 203)

- a. Social unrest: People are restless, uneasy, and acting in a random fashion. The agitator is likely to play an important role. The behavior sensitizes people to one another and makes possible the focusing of their restlessness on certain objects.
- b. Popular excitement: Behavior is not quite so random and aimless. "More definite notions emerge as to the cause of their condition and as to what should be done in the way of social change." There is a sharpening of objectives; the leader is likely to be a prophet or reformer.
- c. Formal organization: "The movement becomes more clearly organized with rules, policies, tactics, and discipline." The leader is likely to be in the nature of a statesman.
- d. Institutionalization: "...the movement has crystallized into a fixed organization with a definite personnel and structure to carry into execution the purposes of the movement." The leader is likely to be an administrator. (See III.F.3.)

4. Growth of a movement.

- a. "The minimum requirement for the survival of a movement is membership...membership growth not only increases financial and human resources but also renders the movement more conspicuous and often with more prestige." "...to exert...a maximum influence on a society's institutions, numerical growth is generally a prerequisite. Such growth is therefore not only an immediate objective of any movement but also a preliminary criterion of its success as a movement." (K 58)

b. Growth as an index of selection

- (1) "The movement itself constitutes a social change of greater or lesser extent, depending on its size and activities." (K 58)
- (2) "...the growth of a movement...serves as the best available index of its success in diffusing the beliefs which it espouses..." (K 59)
- (3) Means vs. ends: "At any given time...there are probably people in a society who believe in the desirability of the goals toward which a given movement is oriented but who never join because they view the means employed as inexpedient or unethical or both." (K 59-60)

5. Crisis situations in the movement's history. (TK 447)

- a. These are tests of member loyalty which exceed the usual strength of *esprit de corps* and ordinary dedication to the movement's values.
- b. Crises essentially force on the adherent an irrevocable choice between the movement and the outside world.
- c. "Techniques that lead to repudiation of the outer world in advance of the test, or create partial withdrawal and disillusionment from the outer world, prepare the individual for the ultimate test."
- d. Martyrdom is the most extreme test.

6. Accidental influences on a social movement

- a. Fortuitous events within or outside a movement can give a movement tremendous impetus or mortally damage its chances for growth. (K 108)
- b. These accidents are phenomena which cannot ordinarily be anticipated with the information at hand. (K 108)
- c. The accident is often a product of a convergence of factors which occur so rapidly that there is not time for an analysis necessary for prediction. (K 108-109)
- d. It often results from decisions by individuals or small groups whose power or position is such that they can alter the life of others but whose motives and reasons preclude examination. (K 109)
- e. However, the importance of these fortuitous influences should not be exaggerated. (K 111)
 - (1) Their operation is not constant.
 - (2) When they do occur they are not usually crucial and often play a role subordinate to more predictable forces.
 - (3) With the growth of information and techniques, what were formerly regarded as "accidents" are being increasingly brought within scientific understanding and prediction.

7. Two general dimensions of development

- a. Internal development: alteration within the movement
- b. External development: trends in the relation of the movement to the external society, especially reactions of outsiders to the movement and its impact on groups and cultures.

B. INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT (See II.E.1.d.)

1. The incipient phase

- a. This phase is only recognized and defined in retrospect (K 42)
- b. It begins when the individual or individuals chiefly responsible for the inception of a movement become conscious of this possibility.
- c. It extends through the period when a small nucleus of followers share the leader's enthusiasm and ideas.
- d. The initial members constitute a primary group with no formal status differentiations.
- e. It is characterized by simple organization.
- f. Goals are general, other ideological elements are nebulous, and tactics are unformed. (K 43)
- g. Loyalty is intense and group cohesion is strong.
- h. This intimacy can give rise to conflict and internal dissension.
- i. Due to limited size, experience and resources it is quite vulnerable to opposing groups. (K 43)

2. The Organizational phase

- a. Division of labor arises; functionaries become specialized
- b. The officials are given titles. (K 44)
- c. A hierarchy emerges.
- d. With the increase in membership, there develops branches or chapters.
- e. Channels of communication and control are developed connecting the local units with the central headquarters and possibly to each other.
- f. Ideological aspects also undergo modification and rearrangement. (K 45)
 - (1) Original goals are reappraised and some are defined as ultimate rather than immediate and some are discarded.
 - (2) The general values and goals of the incipient phase are supplemented by more specific aims and values.
- g. Norms for behavior are established.

- h. Proselytative tactics become more systematic and organized, based less on improvisation or whim.
- i. The alteration of goals or tactics to combat external threat may alienate the present members or create dissension. (K 45-46)
- j. The rapid growth and influx of new members with new views has inherent danger. (K 46)
- k. The number of potential functionaries becomes large and competition for status may be intensified.
- l. The local units may seek greater autonomy and local leaders greater recognition.
- m. The apostate may arise and cause an internal cleavage.
- n. Those individuals who joined under impulse may become easily disenchanting. (K 46)

3. The stable phase

- a. Stability "refers...to an internal development in which the unsettled, organizational phase gives way to clarification and stabilization of the component elements of the movement." (k 47)
- b. Stable phase is necessary because:
 - (1) Any venture which remains in an extreme state of ferment exhausts its energies. (K 46)
 - (2) The hope of finding meaning and direction for some parts of their lives makes people converts; if normlessness and shifting goals are found, this may make the hopeful member a disappointed deserter. (K 47)
- c. The charismatic leader may postpone or limit stabilization but with the end of such leadership the stabilization is imminent and inevitable. (K 47-48)
- d. Principles are formulated to select the functionaries. (K 48)
- e. Positions of authority and prestige are given an air of legitimacy. (K 48)
- f. The process of routinization involves the transition from the charismatic staff to one which handles every day problems. (K 48)
- g. Stabilization requires a different type of leadership (the legal type). (K 48)
 - (1) This involves the belief in the legitimacy of rules and the right of those elevated to authority by these rules to issue orders.

(2) Conformity is mostly obedience to legal commands or impersonal orders.

(3) Officials are organized as a bureaucratic hierarchy.

h. Enthusiasm is not a necessary factor and official obligation is substituted in its stead to keep the movement going. (K 48)

C. INTERNAL FACTORS IN GROWTH

1. Goals

a. Goals are the objective toward which the movements activities are directed.

(1) Explicit-Implicit dimension: Explicit statement of the form of social change desired; other ends may be implicit. (TK 336) (K 30)

(2) General-specific dimension: General aims lend flexibility to the organization and tactics and have wider appeal to potential members. Specific goals are needed to keep the movement moving. (K 30-31)

(3) Time dimension of immediate-ultimate: Immediate goals are preliminary steps to ultimate goals- the more abstract ideals of the movement. (K 31)

(4) Amount of change dimension: The degree of change in the social order that may be expected as a result of goal attainment. (K 31)

b. The intrinsic qualities which may influence the degree of acceptance of goals:

(1) Utility: The degree to which goals are immediately facilitative of need satisfaction. This is especially important among converts who have examined the goals only in a cursory fashion. (K 68)

(2) Realism: With respect to basic human needs. The degree to which the goals hinder or facilitates their satisfaction. (K 68).

(3) Flexibility-generality: Inflexibility is often characteristic of specific immediate goals. Changing conditions rob inflexible goals of their relevance and appeal. General objectives permit more ready adjustments since they lend themselves to many different interpretations. (K 68)

c. Goals possessing favorable attributes-realistic, utilitarian, flexible, and attainable-do not guarantee that a movement will be greeted with enthusiasm, but a movement whose goals lack these attributes does not have the minimum assets for success. (K 69)

2. Ideology and propaganda

a. Ideology. (K 32) (TK 332-)

- (1) It provides a rationale for the objectives and the tactical and organizational means to these objectives; the dogma deduced from the goals and also a statement of the justification for seeking them. (K 70)
- (2) The ideology stands or falls with the goals it encompasses and from which it is derived. (K 70)
- (3) Ideology is relatively stable, often codified as a body of tenants closely woven around the central ideas and ideals of the movement. (K 70)
- (4) Ideology contains the basic doctrine to which all members are expected to subscribe. (K 70)
- (5) The contribution of ideology in winning converts is limited and indirect. Its function being chiefly to unite and guide those who are already members. In its more erudite guise it adds a flavor of respectability and appeals to people to whom obvious propaganda might not reach. (K 70-71)
- (6) Five contents of the ideology according to Blumer (B 210)
 - (a) A statement of the objective, purpose and promises of the movement.
 - (b) A body of criticism and condemnation of the existing structure which the movement is attacking and seeking to change.
 - (c) A body of defense doctrines which serves as a justification of the movement.
 - (d) A body of beliefs dealing with policies, tactics, and practical operations.
 - (e) The myths of the movement.
- (7) The ideology furnishes to a movement: direction, justification, weapons of attack, weapons of defense, inspiration and hope. (B 211)

b. Propaganda is a more obvious, specific, simplified and opportunistic version of the movement's ideology. It is improvised to suit a particular audience of potential converts. (K 70) (What Blumer calls the "popular aspect of ideology")

3. Organization and status system

a. The pattern of relationships between groups and statuses within a movement.
(K 34) There are two categories of members:

b. Personnel:

(1) The ordinary members whose participation is sporadic and whose roles are unspecialized. (K 72)

(2) "...the broad base of the movement's organization is made up of personnel,...the importance of the personnel resides not only in their number but in the fact that they, as much as the functionaries, come to be regarded as advocates of 'the cause.' Each member is a representative of the movement in the eyes of the outsiders." (K 76)

(3) "The course of a movement is dependent in part upon the kinds of members it attracts and upon the interaction that takes place between different types of members within the movement. The techniques that can be effectively employed by the movement will be related to membership composition." (TK 441)

(4) "Recruitment of a major portion of membership from the impotent and deviant members of society makes it unlikely that an extensive enough friendly public could be created." (TK 442)

(5) "Kinds of membership will affect internal relations and stability. Movements that draw upon the chronically discontented and the determinedly isolated soon become objects for the same reactions as their members had toward the larger social order." (TK 442)

c. Functionaries: The persistently active members whose roles are likely to be more specifically defined.

(1) Leader: "The individual in the role of the leader as a so often played the role of the founder (or successor to the founder); frequently appearing...as responsible for the policies and objectives distinctive to the movement." (K 72)

(a) Legal-formal leader: authority is derived from the position or office and is defined by the structure. (K 35)

(b) Charismatic-dynamic leader: He cannot be ordinary and his authority and power stem from unique aspects which set him apart from others and above the formally defined status. (K 35) Charisma is "...a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, super-human or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. (TK 464)

(c) A movement based exclusively on charismatic leadership will end when the leadership ends unless there had been some bureaucratization. (K 36)

(d) "A movement takes on certain characteristics by virtue of being built around a charismatic leader...the personal following of the charismatic leader provides a highly flexible body of adherents who will give enthusiastic support...which may be lacking in movements without a charismatic leader." (TK 464)

(e) "There is a major tendency in every charismatic movement for the leader, by virtue of his elevated position, to be protectively isolated from normal criticism...the personal and impulsive element in decision-making increases, the disproportionate influence of personal favorites becomes greater and the probability of strategic blunders that will wreck the movement is magnified." (TK 464-465)

(f) The leader as a symbol:

[1] This leader is "...one whose own activities are of less significance to the course of the movement than the image of him that the members hold." (TK 465)

[2] "As a symbol he represents to them some important aspect of the movement..."

[3] "The charismatic leader has the...quality symbolizing the entire character and objectives of the movement and the struggle from which it emerges." (TK 465)

[4] "The symbol that a leader represents is partly a product of his own personal characteristics, partly a creation of the promoters of the movement, and largely a projection of the followers...Some apparent success, recognition, or personal strength is a necessary condition for such large scale projection to take place." (TK 472)

[5] Two mechanisms by which the leader symbol is protected:

[a]"...the self-protecting character of the symbolizing process itself, which makes for selective perception and a special valuation of the actions of the symbolized person."
(TK 473)

[b.] "...the delegation to subordinates of the more practical tasks and the assignment to them of responsibility for actions which might compromise the leader symbol." (TK 473)

[6] Specialized symbols: "These...may be crucial at certain stages in the development of a movement or in dealing with some group of adherents." (TK 473)

[7] Martyr symbol functions "...chiefly to strengthen the determination of those who are already adherents and to marshal active support from those who are giving possible support or are ambivalent...(TK 473)

[a] "...the image of the martyr symbolizes true and unwavering devotion to the cause and thereby evokes guilt and shame in the half-hearted adherents."

[b] "...the image of the martyr arouses indignation against the opponents of the movement." (TK 474)

(g.) The leader as a decision maker:

[1] This leader is "...one who actually helps determine the course of the movement by his own preferences and activities and by the effectiveness with which he promotes his own inclinations." (TK 465)

[2] The succession of leader types as the movement progresses reflects a "...steady increase in preoccupation with administration of the movement itself and with tactics for implementing objectives, and an increasing separation between the functions of symbol and decision-maker." (TK 474-475)

(2) Bureaucrat: his activities are predominantly administrative. The higher the rank the more he determines policy. (X 72)

(3) Agitator: "...serves as a liaison between the movement and the outside world. His chief function being either promotion or proselytizing." (K 72-73) (B 203-204)

d. "...if a movement survives the organizational stage and achieves stability, a degree of differentiation between bureaucrats and agitators is almost inevitable." (F 73)

e. The three types of functionaries do not necessarily define three non-overlapping classes of individuals

- (1) Bureaucrat and leader: "The leader may be left in an impotent position so far as internal affairs go, manipulated by strong bureaucratic functionaries ...(who)...often possess professional skill and competence but little emotional stake in an organization's avowed objectives. They may take action consistent chiefly with interests and problems of their own roles, actions which have more and more internal relevance and which may result in the deflection of the organization from its original path." (K 74)
- (2) Bureaucrat and agitator: Agitators do not originate the message they spread, define the goals they try to popularize nor control the converts they secure. Their status provides them with little authority even though their work is directly and immediately relevant to the expansion of the movement. They are supervised and directed by the bureaucratic tacticians and planners and there is a tendency for conflict to develop between these two types of functionaries, each one seeking to enhance his power on the basis of the activities peculiar to his role in the movement. (K 75)

f. The actual course of a movement may not correspond to personal decisions of any of its leaders. (TK 475)

- (1) "...there is usually a somewhat continuous conflict between those leaders who are more value oriented and those more concerned with the power and organization of the movement itself."
- (2) "...a movement is frequently precipitated into an extreme position which its personally more moderate leaders then find themselves committed to defend and promote."
- (3) "...the ideologist or prophet who formulates the ideals of the movement frequently suffers disillusionment over the translation of his ideas into the less visionary frames of reference of the movement personnel."

g. In summary, some degree of specialization of labour is needed if a movement is to grow.

- (1) A leader may direct the movement as a whole, bring in new members if his charisma is great, or merely provide a symbol for unifying the movement. (K 75)
- (2) A corps of agitators is necessary if extensive growth is to take place. They "...tend to keep the movement flexible through their observation of, and sensitivity to changing social conditions and public opinion."(K'75)
- (3) "The bureaucrats provide the firm underpinnings of order and system around which the leader and agitator can drape such colorful appurtenances as idealism, emotion, and social protest." (K 76)

4. Group cohesion. (B 205) (TK 442-443)

- a. "...recruitment and agitation alone cannot forever sustain (supporters) without internal cohesion." (K 77)
- b. Cohesion is the sense of loyalty and consciousness of kind which is essential for holding the movement together. This involves: (K 33)
 - (1) Dedication to common aims and values
 - (2) Benefits incidental to the major objectives.
 - (3) Negative sanctions.
 - (4) Inspirational leadership.
 - (5) The aim is not to simply retain members but to retain a close-knit membership which can function effectively.
- c. "Internal cohesion is....greatly influenced by the distribution of power in a movements structure and in the conduct of its functionaries." (K 78)
 - (1) Bureaucrats of the policy-making level are in a very strategic position to benefit themselves and harm the movement. (K 78)
 - (2) Agitators may damage the movement most commonly in two ways: (K 78)
 - (a) By deviating radically from established policy and thus upsetting long range plans.
 - (b) By acquiring undue popularity and a personal following thereby splintering the membership.
- d. "*Esprit de Corps*...serves to reinforce the new conception of himself that the individual has formed as a result of the movement and of his participation in it." (B 206)
- e. Three techniques for fostering group moral and loyalty to the movement:
 - (1) Ingroup-outgroup relation: in-group loyalties are cultivated by an emphasis in ethnocentrism in the movement's ideology and tactics. "...the 'enemy' plays the important role of a scapegoat." (B 206) (K 78) (see II.D.15.)
 - (2) Informal fellowship: Friendly and intimate contacts in the group and chiefly in leisure-time activities. These contacts generate and reinforce a consciousness of kind. (K 78-79) This furnishes "...the opportunity of coming to know one another as human beings

instead of as institutional symbols. They are then in a much better position to take one another's roles..." (B 207)

- (3) Ceremonial behavior: provides personal contact on a more formal level and reminds the participant that he belongs. (K 79) Large assemblages give the person the sense of vast support "...the paraphernalia of ritual...serves to foster feelings of common identity and sympathy." (B 207-208)

5. The development of moral

- a. "...*esprit de Corps* is a collective feeling which gives life, enthusiasm, and vigor to a movement. Morale can be thought of as giving persistency and determination to a movement." (B 208)

- b. Morale is based on, and yielded by, a set of three types of convictions:

- (1) "...a conviction of the rectitude of the purpose of the movement. This is accompanied by the belief that the attainment of the objectives of the movement will usher in something approaching a millennial state." (B 208)

- (2) "...a faith in the ultimate attainment, by the movement, of its goal...since the movement is felt to be a necessary agent for the regeneration of the world, it is regarded as being in line with the higher moral values of the universe, and in this sense is divinely favored. Hence there arises the belief that success is inevitable..." (B 208-209)

- (3) "...the belief that the movement is charged with a sacred mission." (B 209)

- c. "...the development of morale in a movement is essentially a matter of developing a sectarian attitude and a religious faith." (B 209)

- (1) A saint cult emerges in every enduring and persisting social movement.

- (a) "There is usually a major saint and a series of minor saints, chosen from the popular leaders of the movement." (B 209)

- (b) "Such leaders become essentially deified and endowed with miraculous power. They are regarded as grossly superior, intelligent, and infallible." (B 209)

- (2) Heroes and martyrs also come to be regarded as sacred figures. (B 209)

- (3) There is the emergence of a creed and sacred literature.

- (4) Myths: "...usually grow out of, and in response to, the desires and hopes of the people in the movement and acquire by virtue of their collective character, a solidity, a permanency, and an unquestioned acceptance." (B 210)

6. Tactics

- a. "...the tactics are evolved along three lines: gaining adherents, holding adherents, and reaching objectives." (B 211) They are activities and policies which are directed at the "outside world." Tactical blunders can be fatal and alienate potential supporters and present members. (K 37)

- b. Three attributes of tactics which help win supporters:

- (1) Utility with respect to goals: (K 80)

(a) "...concrete evidence that things are moving along, that tactics are, often by attaining more immediate goals, bringing close the day when the 'great changes' can be brought about."

(b) "The possibility of such 'practical' attainment is enhanced by effective proselytizing."

- (2) Realism concerning the cultural setting and changing social conditions, as well as a realistic differentiation between long-range and short-range objectives.

(a) Tactics must be geared to the existing culture.(K 81)

(b) Not all goals can be achieved by the same tactics; long range objectives require more preparation. (K 81)

(c) Tactics should be flexible. CK 82)

- (3) Developing needs where they are absent or the intensification of needs which already exist.

(a) "...one function of a movement's tactics is to lead people to define their life conditions so as to enhance the value of the movement in their absence." CK 83)

(b) One of the guiding principles of a movement's functionaries is to "...strive for the creation of a new desire for changes and a dissatisfaction with the status quo..." CK 83)

D. EXTERNAL DEVELOPMENT

1. Innovation

- a. This is "the act or process of introducing a new element into a society..." (K 50)
- b. (From Barnett: Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change p. 7) ".Any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms."
- c. Only a small percentage of innovations get beyond their inception. (K 51)

2. Selection

- a. "Once a new item has been conceived, its ultimate place in the social order depends less on its originator than on those to whom it is displayed." (K 52)
- b. Both the movement as an organization and its goals are independently subject to selection. (K 52)
- c. "A movement and all its goals may not be socially acceptable as a complete package since some items are separable and fare differently in the selective process." (K 54)
- d. "...when it does occur, acceptance rarely involves the entire society but usually means that only certain individuals or subgroups within the society are favorable in their reactions." (K 54)

3. Integration

- a. An innovation has found continuing social acceptance and has passed the test of selection. (K 55)
- b. Criteria for integration: (K 56)
 - (1) The integrated element may be regarded as traditional or normative for the entire society.
 - (2) The item acquires traditional and normative value for certain subgroups identifiable to most of society.
 - (3) "...an integrated element is one which is tied in closely with other cultural elements and contributes to the existence or operation of the society."

E. EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON GROWTH

1. "The flourishing social movement is the result of a congenial marriage between elements within the movement and external social conditions." (K 85)

2. The general cultural context (norms and values)

a. Cultural consistency

(1) "Some degree of consistency with the society's general culture is essential if a movement is to find acceptance." (K 86)

(2) But no movement need be compatible with all the society wide orientations to be acceptable. Movements usually do not seek to change an entire society nor have relevance for all the major value configurations of the society. (K 88)

(3) The widely held values of a society are usually expressed in such general terms that they may be achieved by alternative means and also their inherent qualities are open to different interpretations. (K 86)

(4) Ideals vs actual behavior: "Rather than seeking change in ideals or norms, social movements often simply aim to bring social behavior into line with existing folkways and mores." (k87)

(5) "The significance of compatibility between amazement and its surrounding culture varies with the phase of the culture which the movement proposes to alter." (K 87)

b. Cultural drift

(1) Drift is the process "Where minor alterations slowly change the character and form of a way of life, but where the continuity of the event is apparent." (From Herskovits Man and His Works p. 581) (K 88)

(2) There is consistency between a movement and the drifts or tendencies already under way in some areas of that culture. "Resistance to., or acceptance of a new proposal may hinge largely on these preexisting tendencies toward change rather than on long-established traditions." (K 89)

(3) "...an enterprising movement is rarely the original source of a social trend but rather capitalizes on an existing (though sometimes latent) me." (K 89)

c. Form and meaning

- (1) "The reception of an innovation will depend upon the meanings ascribed to it, as well as upon its formal attributes, those attributes most immediately or readily apparent to the observer." (K 90)
- (2) "Acceptability may be enhanced by ascribing old meanings to new forms or by ascribing new meanings to old forms...a proposal must--to evoke a favorable reaction from potential acceptors--lend itself to identification and association with previous experience...The critical question...is whether (a movements) proposals 'make sense' to people on the basis of their cultural equipment." (K 91)
- (3) "In the case of social movements, however, lack or confusion of meaning is probably less often an obstacle to acceptance of a group's goals than it is for other kinds of innovations...The goals of successful social movements are deliberately provided with interpretations...by functionaries in the effort to make them magnetic as well as intelligible." (K 91)
- (4) "Proposed changes are often made to appear not only meaningful and acceptable, but essential; at the same time, the traditions these goals are designed to replace are interpreted by the movement as dispensable and obsolete." (K 91-92)

3. The structure of the society (statuses, strata, subgroups, and associations. The differential receptiveness of subgroups.

- a. "The very heterogeneity...which contributes to the general proliferation of movements also accounts for the fact that not all the members of a society are equally receptive to their appeal...Therefore, social structure., particularly as it involves a variety of economic, ethnic, religious, and racial subgroups, must be considered one of the important dimensions of the social setting having an influence on the career of a movement." (K 93-94)

b. Some reasons for diverse receptiveness:

Linton: the influence of the utility, compatibility, and prestige of the innovation. Innovations are "rarely of a sort which can be useful to all the members of all existing categories or compatible with all the constellations of functionally interrelated culture elements associated with various categories. This means that the dissemination of most elements is selective." p.472) "The prestige level at which the new element enters the society very largely delimits the group of individuals to whom it may spread." (Linton p. 473)

c. Social rank

- (1) "Social rank comes into operation if and when a social movement is identified with some particular prestige level or social class." (K 96)
- (2) "...a proposal will be adopted somewhat more readily if it is identified with people who are admired rather than with those who are discounted or despised." (K 97)
- (3) The influence of social rank on acceptance of movements is slight because of the tendency of most Americans to profess middle class and display middle class sentiments, especially the sentiments involving the denial that class differences exist or are significant. (K 98)

d. Compatibility of norms. The compatibility between a movement's goals and the normative structures of particular subgroups. (K 99)

- (1) Movements face two criteria of cultural acceptability (K 100)
 - (a) The broad normative code of the society as a whole.
 - (b) The various codes of subgroups.
- (2) Since the values and norms of the subgroups to which an individual belongs often seem more related to his personal welfare and satisfaction than do the norms and values of the society as a whole, "...a lack of consistency between a movement's proposals and the norms of the subgroup toward whom these proposals are especially directed is a much more serious obstacle to growth than is an incompatibility involving norms common to the total society." (K 101)

e. Apparent utility

- (1) The function of an element is its contribution to the survival and welfare of a group, organization or individual...An objective and presumably valid judgment has been, or can be, made concerning that contribution." (K 101)
- (2) The assumed usefulness of an element is its apparent utility; it involves "...a subjective and sometimes erroneous judgment or belief held by the individual or group considering the element." (K 101)
- (3) "Since the attainment of a movement's goals involves changing certain phases of the existing social order, among the various subgroups confronted with this possibility, some will be inclined to react favorably, others unfavorably." (K 101)

- (4) "The groups for whom the movement appears to have utility are...a likely source of converts and supporters..." (K 102)
- (5) "...an individual's assessment of a movement's objective when he regards them from a pragmatic...point of view is largely a consequence of one or more of his statuses: his enthusiasm, opposition, or apathy will in part reflect his membership in subgroups..." (K 103)
- (6) Indifference: "unconcern is usually widespread when a movement is still at the innovation stage because so many people are unaware that it exists or...fail to see in the movement any meaning or significance for themselves." (K 103)

f. The joint effect of rank, norms and utility.

- (1) "...when a movement is so organized and oriented that its appeal for a subgroup is enhanced by all three of the elements...their operation is functional in that the likelihood of support from that subgroup is at a maximum; the greater the number of subgroups of which this would be true, the more extensive will be the movement's growth." (K 105)
- (2) "...the three variables may, instead of reinforcing each other, operate in contrary fashion." (K 105)
- (3) "...the effects on a movement of apparent utility and social rank can be either functional or dysfunctional. Each factor is capable of evoking active interest and support of a movement or...of alienating a subgroup so as to preclude interest or support." (K 105)
- (4) "The influence exerted by compatibility of norms...is usually either inconsequential or is dysfunctional...Though incompatibility impedes the popularity of a movement compatibility merely facilitates the operation of other factors." (K 106)

F. END PRODUCTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

1. "A social movement cannot continue as such indefinitely...(it) is by definition dynamic." (TK 480)
2. "What transitions take place in a movement will depend on the effects that the movement has on the environing social order and on the effects that social order has on the movement." (TK 480)
3. Institutionalization
 - a. "A movement is institutionalized when it has reached a high degree of stability internally and been accorded a recognized position within the larger society." (TK 480-481)
 - b. There is "...the establishment of patterns for dealing with the group. An indispensable condition for such dealings is responsibility, the assurance that authentic decisions will not be negated by unpredictable shifts in leadership or in the localities of members." (TK 481)
 - c. "...the prestige structure built up within the movement tends to be modified so as to fit better the prestige structure of the society and the requirements of stable responsible commitments." (TK 481)
 - d. There is "...the recognition of certain areas of competence and of certain functions as constituting the legitimate scope of the movement." (TK 481)
 - e. "...institutionalization may restrict the scope of a movement that has tended toward a self-definition of universalized competence." (TK 481)
 - f. A stabilized body of adherents with expectations, helps bring about institutionalization. "Members come to be dependent upon participation in the movement for certain gratifications...participation tends to create needs that can only be satisfied through continuing predictable participation." (TK 481)
 - g. "As it becomes institutionalized, the movement tends to diversify the gratifications of participation." (TK 481)
 - h. The addition of societal prestige. "Participation and prominence in the movement become a recognized route to prestige in the larger society." (TK 481)
 - i. "An influential movement may become institutionalized without surviving as an independent organization...(it) may be accorded a place within an existing organization or it may take control of an existing organization." (TK 491)

4. Movement decline

- a. "Even with decline in many aspects, movements of any consequence tend to persist for fairly long periods." (TK 492) "Typically, a movement that undergoes serious loss ...passes through a period of transformation leading to restabilization following which it may persist without decline for an extended period." (TK 492)
- b. Some conditions which operate to keep a movement alive in spite of apparent failure.
 - (1) "...Leaders and functionaries within the movement have an interest in maintaining even an ineffectual movement as a source of income and prestige." (TK 492)
 - (2) "The participation-gratifications of membership perpetuate a movement after the chances of promoting its reforms become negligible...a determinant of such continued adherence is probably the extent of involvement and commitment of members." CTK 492)
- c. "As the interests of leaders and the involvements of members keep a movement in existence, it must necessarily be shaped by these newly dominant factors. Since the criterion of success through promoting some value in the larger society is no longer relevant other criteria of success must come to dominate." (TK 493)
- d. "Commonly...the restabilization takes place as a participation-orientation." (TK 493)

5. Manifest and latent consequences of a movement

- a. In a social movement the various internal elements may, by producing unintended effects, not only impede the attainment of explicit goals but endanger the very existence of the movement itself. (K 112)
- b. Manifest consequences are those which are foreseen and explicitly intended. (K 112)
- c. Latent consequences are those which are not explicitly intended and presumably unforeseen. (K 112)
- d. "...manifest consequences are usually beneficial to the movement while latent consequences may be either beneficial or harmful." (K 113)
- e. "Some of the latent consequences which accompany a movement's development occur within the movement itself and seem chiefly to affect goals, internal organization, and membership growth...(movements) tend to develop an informal structure in the course of meeting day-to-day

problems and situations, a structure which differs from the formally established system of offices and specialized jobs ...This informal structure...is sometimes responsible for the abandoning or modifying of original goals." (K 113)

f. When a movement has achieved its goals the movement has no reason for being unless additional objectives are devised. (K 114)

g. "What a person 'gets' out of his participation (in a social movement) may have little or nothing to do with avowed objectives and creeds." (K 115)
"...emotional satisfactions account in large part for conversion and continued loyalty in most movements, and often they occur as latent rather than manifest consequences." (K 116)

REFERENCES

Code
Letter

Barnett, R.G. Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change, McGraw-Hill, 1953

B Blumer. H. "Collective behavior" in Lee, A.M. (ed.) Principles of Sociology, Barnes and Noble (College Outline Series), 1957

C Cantril, H. The Psychology of Social Movements, Wiley, 1941

K King, C.W. Social Movements in the United States, Random House, 1956

TK Turner, R.H. and Killian, L.M. Collective Behaviors Prentice-Hall., 1957

Herskovits, M.J. Man and His Works., Alfred A. Knopf., 1949

Linton, R. (ed.) Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, D. Appleton -Century Co. 1940