

Social movements and organization theory: toward a new synthesis

Jerry Davis
Group ESC Rouen
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Organization theory and social movements: Twins separated at birth?

- Organizations are “systems of interdependent activities linking shifting coalitions of participants; the systems are embedded in...the environments in which they operate” (Scott)
- Social movements are “collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elite opponents and authorities” (Tarrow)
- Both are forms of collective action with common concerns (strategy, human resource management, technology, alliances...)

Early efforts at rapprochement

- Zald and Berger (1978), “Social Movements in Organizations: Coup d'etat, Bureaucratic Insurgency and Mass Rebellions”
- Then: twenty years of silence...

Signs of cross-fertilization in the 1990s

- Neo-institutional explanations of changing repertoires in women's political organizations (Clemens)
- Social movement explanations of struggles for corporate control (Davis and Thompson)
- Ecological explanations of feminist social movement organizations (Minkoff)
- Resource mobilization explanations of employee rights movements (Creed and Scully)
- Industry emergence as a social movement (Wade, Swaminathan, Powell)

Then: intrusions from the real world

- Social movements aimed at organizations
 - Shell and Brent Spar; Shell and Nigeria
 - Nike and the “no brand” movement
- Social movements in and among organizations
 - Spread of domestic partner benefits
 - Organizational change as social movement
- Organizations that look like movements
 - Fluid, permeable, project-based coalitions
 - Networks and coordinated action

Why now?

- **Economic globalization:** shifting boundaries of economy and polity
- **What firms and movements do:** post-industrialism and the society of the spectacle
- **How they do it:** information technologies and the transaction costs of collective action
- **Who/what they do it to:** changing centers of power from states to corporations

The field of play has shifted for states, corporations, and social movements. Organization theory has yet to catch up.

Shift 1: Globalization has changed the shape of corporations and social movements

Corporations as “rootless cosmopolitans”

TOMMY HILFIGER

Headquarters: Hong Kong

Incorporation: British Virgin Islands

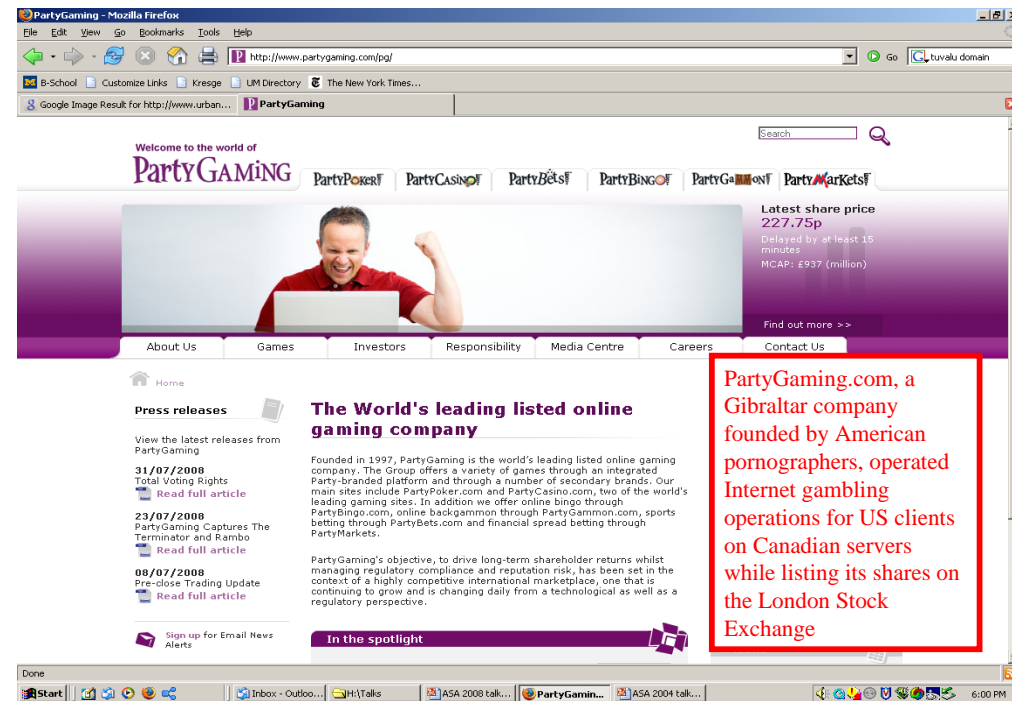
Annual meeting: Barbados

Manufacturing: Mexico and China

Stock listing: New York Stock Exchange

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WSJ
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
ONLINE

May 9, 2007

ADVERTISING

101 Brand Names, 1 Manufacturer

The Mass Pet-Food Recall Reveals a Widespread Practice: Many Competing Products Come From the Same Factory

By ELLEN BYRON
May 9, 2007

(See Corrections & Amplifications item below.)

Pet owners have been reeling ever since tainted pet food led to the confirmed deaths of more than a dozen dogs and cats and likely sickened many more.

Some owners were also startled to learn that dozens of competing brands, from discount to premium, are all made by the same company, Menu Foods Inc. of Ontario.

Menu has recalled more than 60 million cans of pet food under more than 100 brand names ranging from Procter & Gamble Co.'s Iams and Eukanuba brands to Hill's Pet Nutrition Science Diet, owned by Colgate-Palmolive Co., to Ol' Roy pet food by Wal-Mart Stores Inc. Each was apparently affected by wheat gluten contaminated with melamine, a chemical substance with no approved use in food.

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Multinational corporations are increasingly “boundaryless,” “stateless,” and network-like, yet they are held responsible by social movements for actions of their associates

- Nike and Wal-Mart: accountability for labor practices in their supply chains
- Unocal: accountability for the human rights abuses of the government of Burma

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15 Fevrier 2003: “The World Says No to War”

Up to 10 million citizens on every continent (including Antarctica) marched in protest on the same day against the imminent US invasion of Iraq



For post-industrial collective actors, the “output” is often an image or perception

- Corporations: brand management and investor relations
- Movements: perceptions of WUNC (we’re worthy, unified, numerous, and committed)

Shift 2: Information and communication technologies (ICTs) enable changing repertoires of collective action

18 Brumaire de Joseph Estrada?

- February 1986: “People Power” results in the ouster of Ferdinand Marcos after 17 years of autocratic rule and 3 years of popular struggle
- January 2001: “People Power II” results in the ouster of Joseph “Erap” Estrada after 2.5 years of democratic rule and 4 days of popular struggle

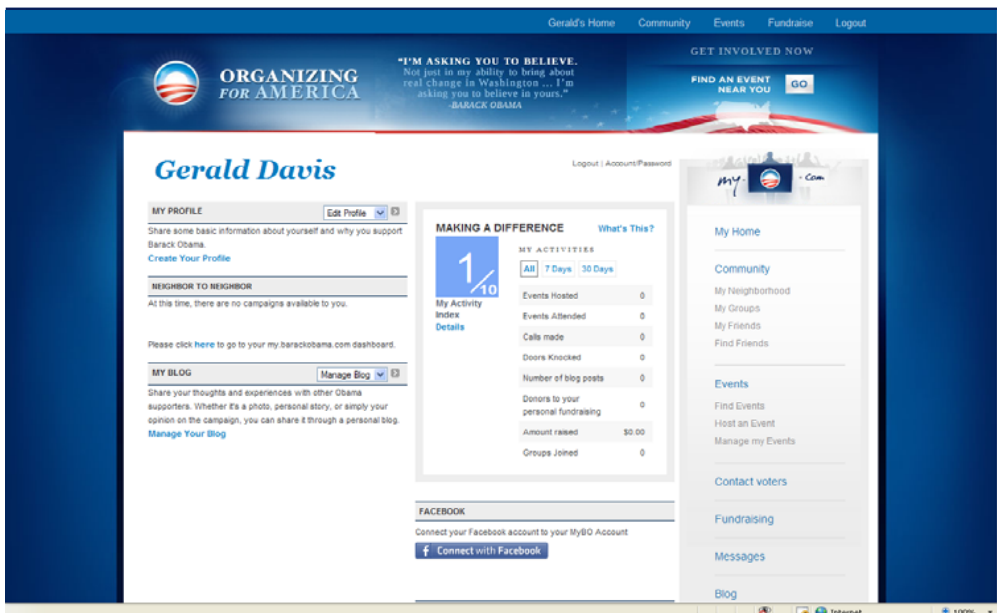
Why People Power II?

- Evidence of presidential corruption and declines in foreign investor sentiment create perception of threat among business elite, which revives anti-Marcos Kompil coalition and sponsors “popular” uprising
- ICT-enabled repertoire of contention:
 - E-petition with global catchment area
 - Web gives 2-way access to global information and commentary, allowing expatriate engagement
 - 700,000 street protestors at EDSA mobilized by cellphone text messages (obliged by mobile cellsites)

How to organize a mass demonstration, ca. 2008

- Put out a call on e-mail listservs with defining principles and directions to a website; hope for massive forwarding
- Build coalition of sponsors
- Educate participants in tactics, consensus-based decision making
- Set up a convergence center
- Enable flexible tactics on the ground via cell phones, text messaging, Blackberry
- Provide alternative channels for independent media coverage (e.g., streaming video)

How to win the American presidency, ca. 2008

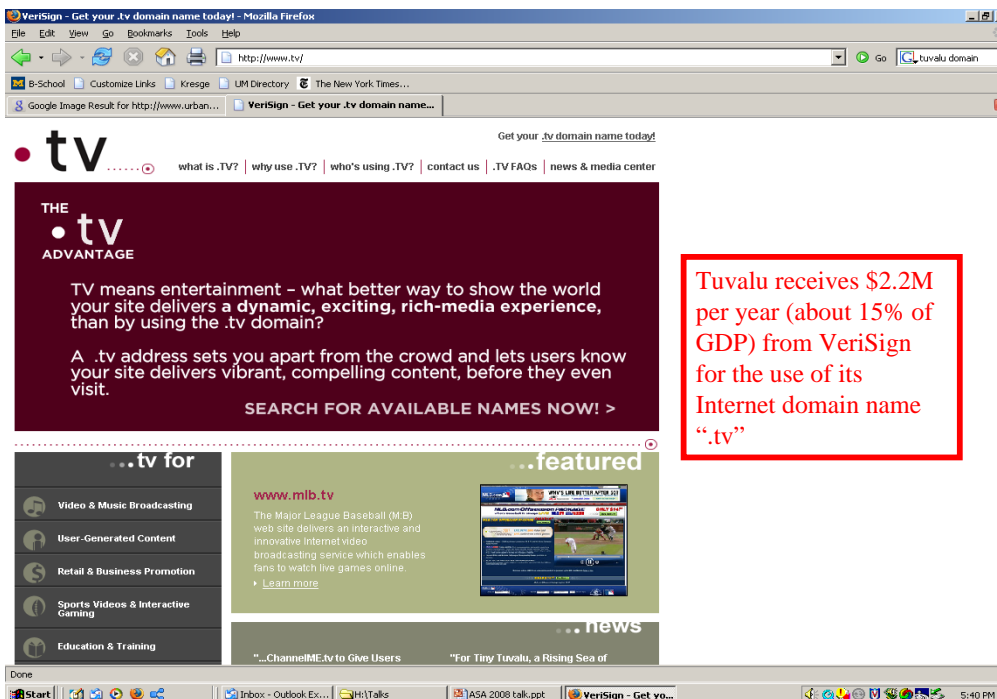


The characteristic forms of collective action for corporations and movements now are temporary coalitions—networks of collaboration for particular performances

Shift 3: Post-industrial states emulate post-industrial corporations

What would states that emulated postindustrial corporations look like?

- Financially driven
- Attentive to their brand
- Focused on their core competence
- Skilled at outsourcing
- Ties to place are provisional



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The Major League Baseball (MLB) web site delivers an interactive and innovative internet video broadcasting service which enables fans to watch live games online

...news

"...ChannelME.tv to Give Users "For Tiny Tuvalu, a Rising Sea of

Tuvalu receives \$2.2M per year (about 15% of GDP) from VeriSign for the use of its Internet domain name ".tv"



Placebrands - place branding, city branding, city brands, country branding, country brands, nation branding, nation brands, region branding, region brands, branding places, branding cities, br...

http://www.placebrands.net/

placebrands places with purpose

experience | clients | services | principles | place branding | reading | contact | > news

Why brand places?

As globalisation intensifies, places increasingly compete with other places for attention, influence, markets, investments, businesses, visitors, residents, talent and events. And competition is no longer restricted to the familiar places down the road, over the hill or across the water. Places now compete with cities, regions and countries halfway around the world. Places are increasingly getting caught off guard by unexpected and seemingly sudden shifts in competition and abruptly lose their historic purpose or their competitive edge, be it economic, social or cultural.

Place branding is not solely a task for the public sector, but rather a collaborative undertaking of the place's key stakeholders. We help create and work with Brand Partnerships in the places we work for. These Partnerships consist of such diverse groups as the place's public, private, civic and cultural sectors (and specialist entities within them). It is the task of the Partnership to devise a joined up brand strategy, as well as shared implementation plans that ensure the place will exhibit 'on brand' behaviour.

Placebrands helps create "brand equity" for state clients including Botswana, Croatia, and Malaysia

[Note: "brand equity" formerly known as "imagined community"]

We work to make places become and remain more competitive. We help our clients redefine the purpose of their place and we ensure that the world learns about their place for the right and compelling reasons. This 'brand equity' is what sustains the community, attracts and retains the people, businesses, events, visitors and institutions that the place needs in order to grow and prosper. The places we work for range from urban regeneration projects, urban districts, cities and countries to supra-national regions. Please click here to view our client list.

News

- > August 2008
- > City Branding Book
- > Job Opportunities

September 30, 2004

Laundering Queries Focus on Delaware

By GLENN R. SIMPSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 30, 2004

WILMINGTON, Del. -- Delaware's corporate-secrecy laws may be making it a haven for foreign criminal groups, prompting prosecutors in Eastern Europe and Russia to flood the Justice Department with requests for help in probes of Delaware shell companies.

In the past four years, law-enforcement agencies in Russia, Hungary and a dozen other nations have made more than 100 formal requests to the Justice Department to go before the U.S. District Court in Delaware to obtain subpoenas to learn more about the companies. In many cases, foreign prosecutors say in their requests that they believe the companies are controlled by or connected to Eastern European criminals who use them to move money into and out of the U.S.

The cases also have connections to U.S. and foreign banks, and are generating concern among top U.S. regulators and law-enforcement officials that crime groups were able to penetrate the U.S. economy despite warning signs such as a \$7-billion money-laundering probe at the **Bank of New York** in 1999.

Delaware allows anonymous incorporation over the Internet for Russian money launderers, making it the Amazon.com of financial crime

How is the US government like Nike?



DOCID: fpub070.106
[Page 2381]

FEDERAL ACTIVITIES INVENTORY REFORM ACT OF 1998

[Page 112 STAT. 2382]
Public Law 105-270
105th Congress

An Act

To provide a process for identifying the functions of the Federal Government that are not inherently governmental functions, and for other purposes. <<NOTE: Oct. 10, 1998 -- [S. 3140]>>

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, <<NOTE: Federal Activities Inventory Reform Act of 1998, 31 USC 501 note.>>

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Federal Activities Inventory Reform Act of 1998".

SEC. 2. <<NOTE: Records.>> ANNUAL LISTS OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES NOT INHERENTLY GOVERNMENTAL IN NATURE.

(a) <<NOTE: Deadline.>> Lists Required.--Not later than the end of the third quarter of each fiscal year, the head of each executive agency shall submit to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget a list of activities performed by Federal Government sources for the executive agency that, in the judgment of the head of the executive agency, are not inherently governmental functions. The entry for an activity on the list shall include the following:

- (1) The fiscal year for which the activity first appeared on a list prepared under this section.
- (2) The number of full-time employees (or its equivalent) that are necessary for the performance of the activity by a Federal Government source.
- (3) The name of a Federal Government employee responsible for the activity from whom additional information about the activity may be obtained.

(b) OMB Review and Consultation.--The Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall review the executive agency's list for a fiscal year and consult with the head of the executive agency regarding the content of the final list for that fiscal year.

- The Federal Activities Inventory Reform Act of 1998 ("FAIR Act") encourages all Federal agencies to hire private contractors for tasks not "inherently governmental"
- The number of Federal employees declined by 350K under Clinton
- The definition of "inherently governmental" has proved flexible...

Government tasks that can be (and have been) outsourced

- Operating prisons
- Collecting taxes
- Hiring other contractors and investigating charges of contractor fraud
- Interrogating prisoners at Abu Ghraib
- "Aggressively" protecting diplomats:
"We cannot operate without private security firms in Iraq. If the contractors were removed, we would have to leave Iraq."
-Patrick F. Kennedy, Under-Secretary of State for Management

But what about "brand America"?

The New York Times
nytimes.com

October 23, 2005
Armchair M.B.A.

Erasing the Image of the Ugly American

By WILLIAM J. HOLSTEIN

CORPORATE leaders need to improve the international image of the United States because their companies' futures are increasingly at stake, says Keith Reinhard, president of Business for Diplomatic Action and chairman of the advertising agency DDB Worldwide. Here are excerpts from a conversation:

Q. Which American business sectors are feeling the effects of a poor international image?

A. Inbound travel from other countries is off at least 1.5 percent, in terms of market share, from 2000 levels. One share point is 7.6 million visits and \$12 billion in sales, because people who visit from other countries tend to stay longer and spend more. That's the equivalent of 153,000 jobs and lots of tax dollars.

Q. Which chief executives are feeling that impact?

A. No C.E.O. is willing to say the bottom line is hurting. But we have research that shows intention. For example, we know that 37 percent of the British intelligentsia say they will avoid buying U.S. brands because of the "cultural identity" of the United States. We know that in Group of 8 countries, 18 percent of the population claim they are avoiding American brands, with the top brand being Marlboro in terms of avoidance. Barbie is another one. McDonald's is another. There is a cooling toward American culture generally across the globe.

- US foreign policy turns out to have spillover effects on foreign sales
- Consumers in the Group of 8 nations are avoiding Marlboro, Barbie, and McDonald's (among others) because of their association with "brand America"

Shift 4: Corporations may be called on to participate in social movements—to take the place of states in solving social problems

Kofi Annan's call at the US Chamber of Commerce

"HIV/AIDS is a global problem of catastrophic proportions. ... And so today I come to you, the leaders of American business: representatives of one of the greatest forces in the world, but one which has yet to be fully utilized in the campaign against HIV/AIDS. It is high time we tapped your strengths to the full... **Business is used to acting decisively and quickly. The same cannot always be said of the community of sovereign States.** We need your help -- right now."

-Kofi Annan, June 1, 2001

Milton Friedman's response

One may argue that "the problems are too urgent to wait on the slow course of political processes, that the exercise of social responsibility by businessmen is a quicker and surer way to solve pressing current problems..."

What [this] amounts to is an assertion that those who favor the taxes and expenditures in question have failed to persuade a majority of their fellow citizens to be of like mind and that they are seeking to attain by undemocratic procedures what they cannot attain by democratic procedures."

-Friedman, "The social responsibility of business...", 1970

Why should corporations care?

- AIDS is a "predictable surprise" for business ("a problem that, if left unattended, will get worse, eventually creating a far bigger problem, yet the organization ignores the problem"-- Bazerman)
- A simple cost and benefit calculation:
 - Treating TB can greatly extend the lives of those with AIDS
 - Administering TB treatment is best done by someone who has daily contact with the sufferer (e.g., one's employer)
 - Effective treatment for TB costs ~\$11 in total
 - On average, live employees are more productive than non-live employees

Business cares about AIDS, but...

World Economic Forum 2003 Executive Opinion Survey found:

- 47% of firm leaders feel HIV/AIDS is having/will have an impact on their business
- 16% provide employees with HIV info; 5% provide anti-retrovirals to staff; 6% have formal policies
- "...firms are not particularly active in combating HIV/AIDS, even when they expect the epidemic to cause serious problems for their business"

Who joins the movement?



GBC MEMBERS & AIDS

09.17.04 AIDS: the private sector is vital
Juan Pablo Gutierrez and colleagues (July 3, p 63)¹ calculate the costs of achieving the WHO/UNAIDS "3 by 5" target at up to US\$5.9 billion, and UNAIDS calls for US\$20 billion a year by 2007.² These estimates are for the additional ...more

09.16.04 Bank Donates \$90 Million Goods, ...

09.14.04 Seven months after trial, city ...

09.08.04 Global fund for AIDS calls for more corporate ...

09.07.04 CBS plans auction for childhood ...

09.06.04 A Crisis Business Can't Ignore AIDS threatens India, ...

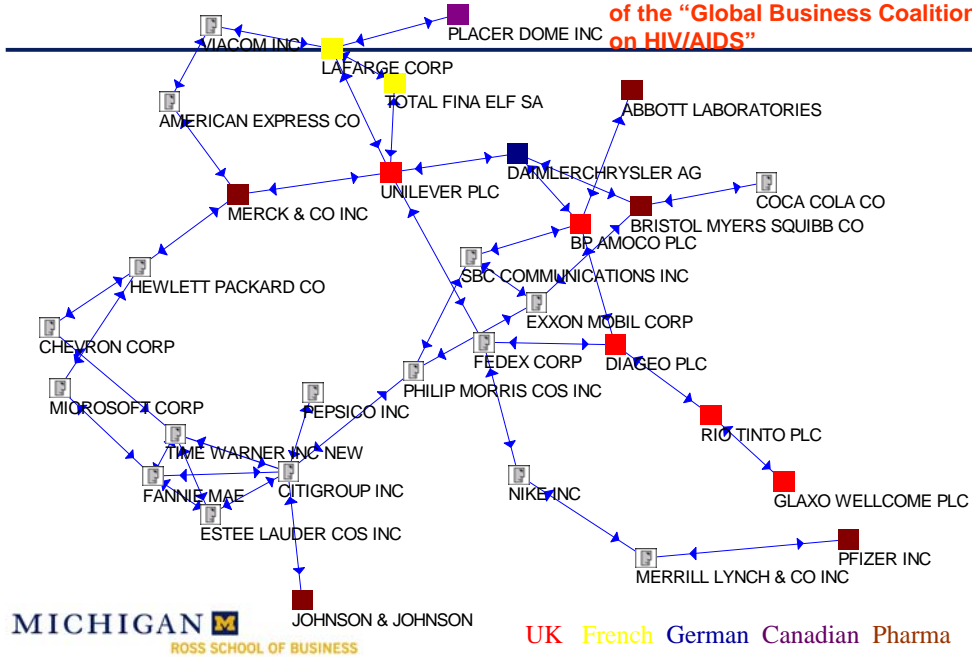
Why would companies join?

- Because their **size** and **profitability** give them visibility and/or slack (sales, employees, market/book ratio, from Compact Disclosure)
- Because their **global presence** increases their exposure to the problem (% sales outside the US calculated from geographic segment data, from Compustat)
- Because they are a **pharmaceutical company**, and this is their business (industry, from Disclosure)
- Because they are in the vanguard of **HR policies around diversity** (KLD rating for diversity)
- Because all their **friends are doing it** (board interlocks with GBC members, from GBC and corporate proxy statements)

Among the Fortune 500, what distinguishes the 23 GBC member companies from the other 477?

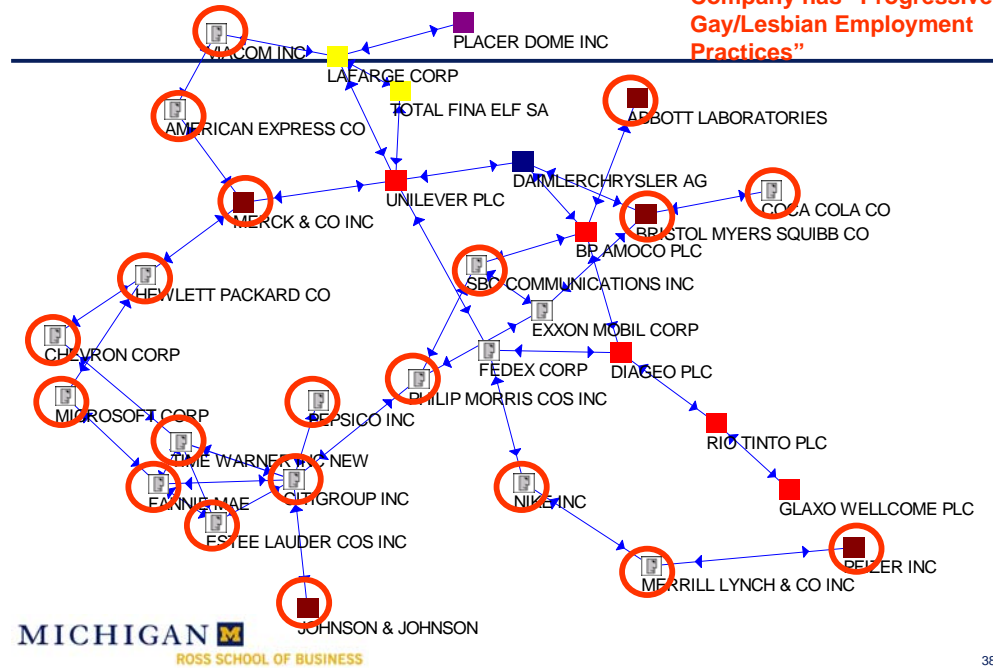
Variable	Multiplier (est)	t	Sig?
# employees	1	-0.04	
Market/book	1.11	0.95	
% foreign sales	1.04	2.24	*
Pharmaceutical	6.27	2.05	*
Diversity policies	7.93	2.89	*
Board tie to GBC member	4.06	1.91	*

Shared directors among members of the "Global Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS"



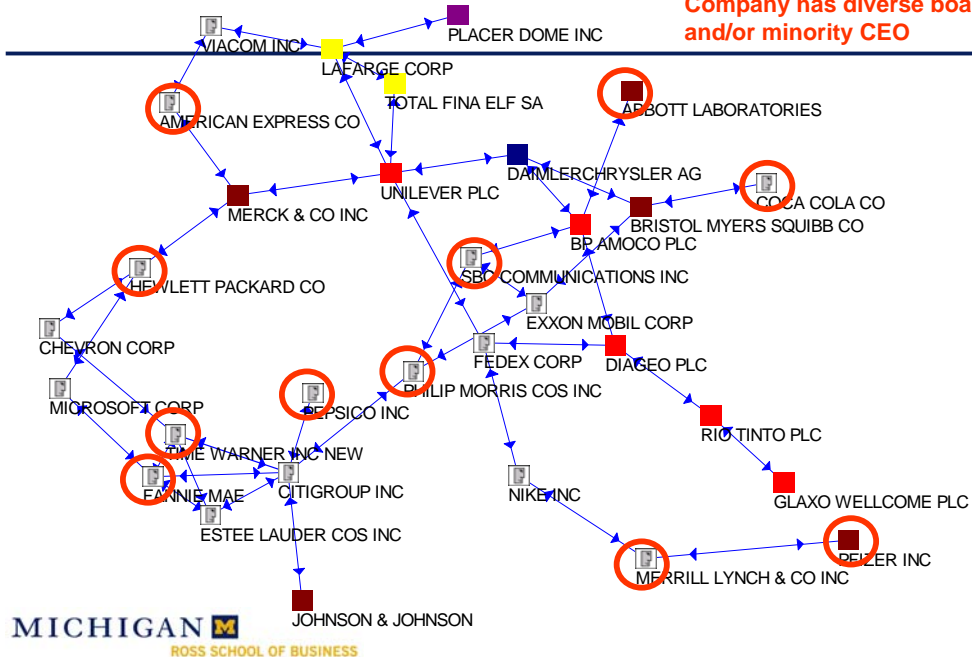
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Company has "Progressive Gay/Lesbian Employment Practices"



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Company has diverse board and/or minority CEO



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What does this all mean for research and theory?

- Times of upheaval and transition are opportunities for theory building
- How to study social structures that look like polymer goo: the field approach to organizational and movement analysis
- The centrality of mechanisms of explanation

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