SOCIAL MOVEMENTS & ORGANIZATIONS

Organizational social movements comprise one important component in larger social movements

Social movement on-going collective efforts by relatively powerless groups using extra-institutional means to <u>promote or resist</u> social change (e.g., political, cultural, economic)

EX: Civil & sexual rights; right-wing militias; Pro-life vs. pro-choice SMs

Social Movement Organization (SMO) a named formal organization engaged in actions to advance the movement's goals

Paid staff and volunteers of SMO are distinct from a movement's adherents, constituents & beneficiaries

EX: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual Alliance; War Resisters League; Earth First!

Extra-institutional means – public rallies, demonstrations, protest marches, petition drives, staged media happenings, violent actions (pie-in-face, assault, bank-robbery, bombing)

QUEX: Are terrorist cells a type of SMO; why or not?

EX: U.S. ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Following the 9/11 attacks, anti-war rallies in Berkeley, San Francisco, Washington DC with thousands of marchers

Photos <sf.indymedia.org> SMO1, SMO2, SMO3, SMO4, SMO5, SMO6

Rally video "Stronger than Bombs" PASSION_BOMB

<http://www.passionbomb.com/video/index.htm>

• Why rallies in those cities, not Minneapolis-St. Paul?

• Evidence of <u>organizational</u> activity by SMOs at rallies?

• What are the movement's goals & targets? What chance of successfully influencing the Anti-Terrorist War?

• Will hostility counter-movements, public backlash, government repression squash the anti-war movement?

SMO MOBILIZATION PROCESSES

With other VAs, SMOs face a classic Resource Dependence dilemma – How to mobilize & coordinate sufficient resources from members & sympathizers for collective actions?

Types of resources available, esp. bodies for mass action

Incentives that incite supporter turnout (esp. solidary rewards)

As public goods are change goals too weak (free riding)?

Threats from authorities, opponents that deter participants

SMO tactical "repertoire" evolves in reaction to opponents' actions

QUEX: Must outsider SMOs inevitably "sell out" – transform into legitimate public interest groups that participate in conventional political influence activities, like other organized interest groups (NPOs, VAs, for-profits)?

How can SMOs avoid two horns of dilemma: (1) remain so radical ("pure") that they become ineffective and politically irrelevant; (2) compromise their goals so much that they cease to champion fundamental social changes?

MOVEMENTS INSIDE ORGS

You can study more about SMOs in other Sociology courses

In this organizations course, we'll focus on social movements & SMOs by participants inside formal orgs

Organizational Social Movements efforts by relatively powerless participants to change policies and practices of their formal organizations

Most occurring in for-profit firms; also government bureaux & NPOs such as hospitals, universities

OSMs are continual struggles between managers & workers over who <u>really</u> controls workplace conditions

Power imbalances (resources, information, legitimacy) give management exceptional advantages in any struggle

Difficult for individuals acting alone to change conditions

Collective actions to mobilize sufficient resources (inside <u>and</u> outside org) hold key to successful reforms-from-below

STRUGGLING in the WORKPLACE

Employee-manager conflicts and legal transformations in the workplace throughout the 20th century

Legal control and power in for-profit orgs exercised by the owners (stockholders) & their agents (managers)

Management protects its prerogative to run the workplace without intereference from workers or government

Individualistic Resistance **Grumbling, slacking, sabotage; sparking management counter-strategies to control workers**

Scientific management (Taylorism)   "Human relations" approaches
Bureaucratic rules & regulations   Total Quality Management fads

Collective Resistance **Under what conditions do workers act collectively and succeed in wresting power over their work lives from the bosses?**

MN public employees strike to improve pay, working conditions in state agencies

Gay-lesbian employees won domestic-partner health coverage from large corporations by arguing "good for morale & productivity"

TYPES of OSMs

Collective actions for worker rights and empowerment mirror societal conflicts over class, race, gender, sexual orientation, immigration

Zald & Berger (1978) Typology of Org'l SMs

Coup d'Etat: Boards oust the CEO (NAACP, General Motors)

Bureaucratic insurgency

- Product development movement: Lockheed "Skunk works"

- Policy choice movement: Gay-lesbian domestic partner benefits

- Whistle-blowing: *The Insider* (B&W Tobacco v. Wygand)
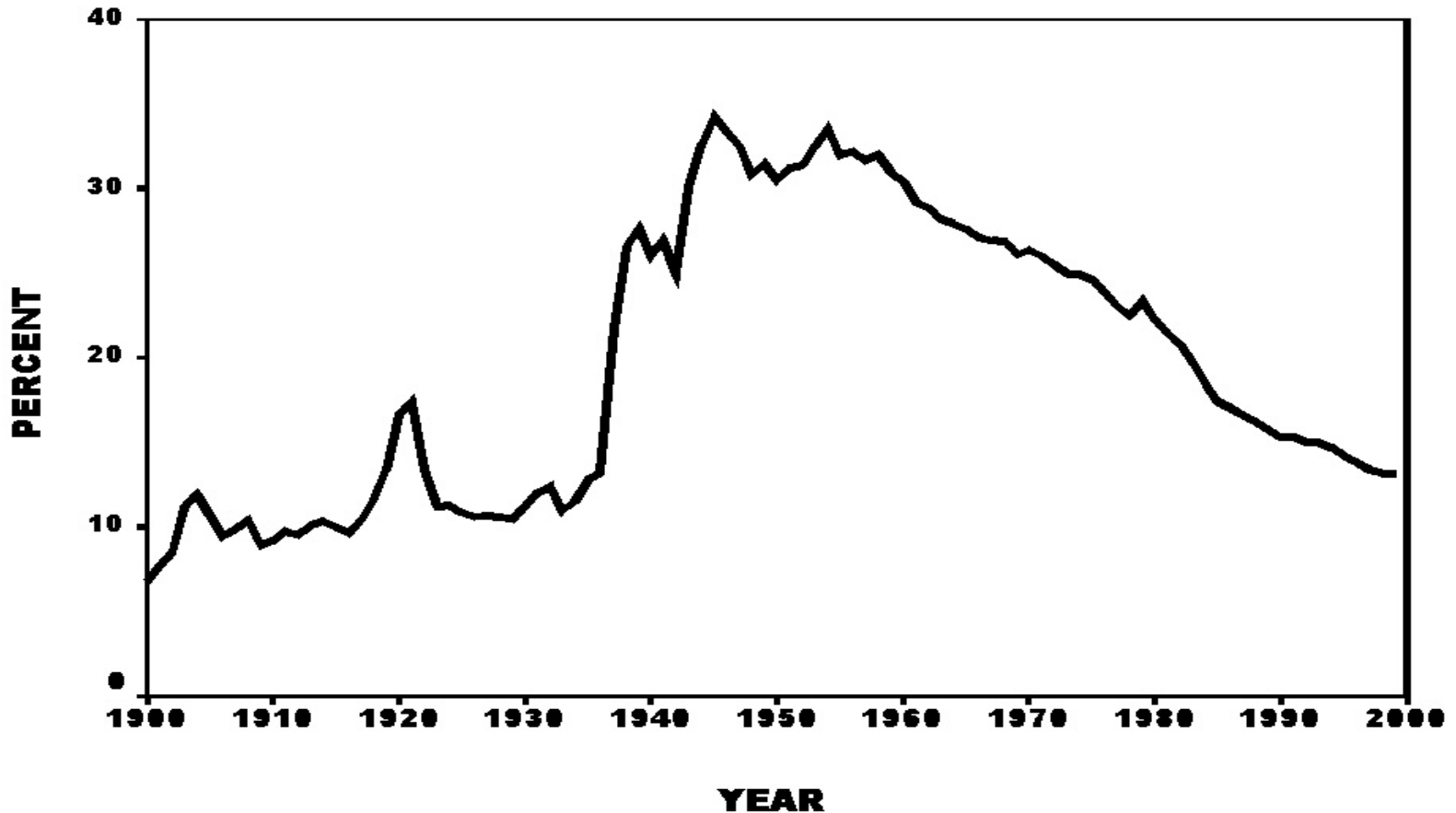
Mass Organizational Movements:

College student protests in 1960s; Unionization in 1930s

ERODING UNIONIZATION

Union density in U.S. collapsing since 1940-1950s peak
Continuing to fall to less than 10% of private sector

Fig. 8.1. Unionization of U.S. Labor Force

SOURCE: Freeman (1997), Bureau of Labor Statistics

UNION REVITALIZATION?

Power & resource dependence vicious cycle (Freeman)

- **With lower densities, unions lack resources for organizing drives**

- **Employers rationally resist, often win NLRB decertification elections**

> **AFL-CIO strategy to revitalize its organizing campaigns resembles 1960s social movements** (Kate Bronfenbrenner 1997)
>
> 1. Networking that relies on slow, underground, person-to-person contacts at the beginning
> 2. Emphasizing union democracy & inclusive, interest-representative participation
> 3. Building support for initial contact with employee-voters during organizing drive
> 4. Using escalating pressure tactics to build worker commitment and compel the employer to run a fair campaign
> 5. Stressing issues such as "respect, dignity, fairness, and service quality that go beyond traditional bread-and-butter issues of wages, fringes, benefits, and job security"
> 6. Accentuating an organizing culture that permeates the entire union

LEGALIZATION of the WORKPLACE

Institutionalization of Human Resources practices designed to <u>restore good employee relations</u>, but which strengthen management control of workers, and allow persistent inequities in hiring, pay, promotion, harassment by race, gender, age

- **Employer efforts to comply yet evade anti-discrimination laws (Civil Rights Acts; ADEA; ADA)**

- **Legal ambiguities, weak enforcement of EEO & AA enable firms to create illusion of compliance with few real substantive changes**

- **Loose coupling of legal form with actual personnel practices**

Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) rapidly spread with increased EEOC complaints as mechanisms for firms to <u>avoid costly litigation</u> by handling conflicts inside the org

Fact-finding	**Internal mediation**
Negotiation	**External mediation**
Peer review	**Arbitration**

THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

Two theoretical explanations of both organizational <u>compliance and resistance</u> to workplace legalization (Edelman & Suchman 1997)

Materialist deterrence: legal incentives, sanctions coerce companies to adhere to external legal norms

Enforcement of government's regulatory policies is necessary to prevent rational orgs from mistreating employees

But are EEOC fines sufficient deterrent to discrimination?

Cultural institutionalism: the U.S. legal system succeeds by appealing to desirable symbols, morals, normative commitments (e.g., "fairness")

Corporations & agencies usually express highly appropriate cultural values, even while their managements seek to evade legal burdens of compliance by selective interpretations of laws

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Empirical evidence indicates <u>institutional diffusion</u> of corporate grievance, dispute resolution & disciplinary mechanisms that depoliticize conflicts

Highest adoption by large, unionized orgs close to public sector with personnel professionals, during eras of federal enforcement (Democrats)

Corporate **complaint handlers** subtly sacrifice employee legal protection, e.g., right to counsel, burden of proof

• Treat disputes as worker-supervisor personality clashes needing therapy and compromise, <u>not institutional transformation</u>

• To avoid lawsuits & restore good employee relations, complaint handlers interpret "fairness" as due process, not as reaching a just resolution (Edelman et al. 1993)

CONCLUSION: Despite increased legal safeguards, do owners & managers still control the workplace?

WHAT is SEXUAL HARASSMENT?

EEOC guidelines: two types of unlawful sexual conduct in workplaces under 1964 Civil Rights Act Title VII (handout)

"Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature" are:

1. **Quid pro quo** when submission to such conduct is explicitly or implicitly a condition for an individual's employment or used as basis of employment decisions [e.g., promotions]

2. **Hostile environment** when such conduct unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates "an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment"

GROUP EXERCISE: READ & APPLY EEOC CRITERIA to SIX SCENARIOS

Q_&_A_About_Sexual_Harassment.pdf

Sexual_Harassment_Where_Do_YOU_Draw_the_Line.pdf

SHORTER WRITING #6:

Based on the PBS video news report and Chap. 8 of *Changing Organizations*, provide an <u>organizational analysis</u> of the sexual harassment at Mitsubishi's auto plant in the mid-1990s.

Identify the <u>legal class</u> of sexual harassment that occurred.

Apply theoretical concepts and principles about <u>worker and management power inside organizations</u> that could explain why the Mitsubishi management:

- was unable or unwilling to detect, discipline, and deter the assembly-line males' raunchy behaviors

- mobilized employees to counter-attack the EEOC for filing a lawsuit on behalf of the women victims of harassment