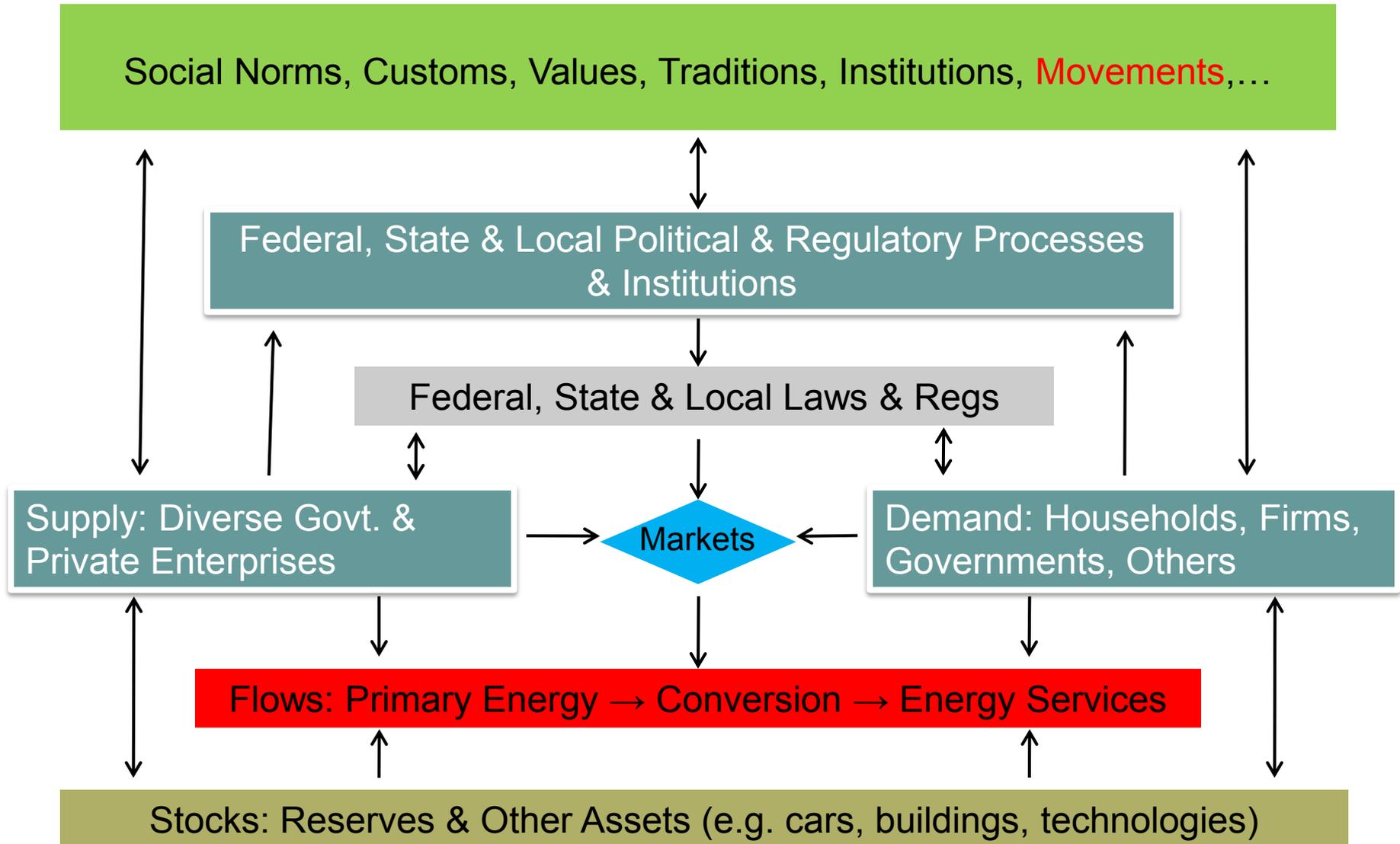


# Social Movements

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## Lecture 20

# Social Movements Can Sometimes Matter!



# Today's Agenda

- What are Social Movements?
- How do they differ from other policy actors?
- How do they influence public policy, if they do?
- Impacts on energy & environmental policy?

# The Array of Policy Actors:

- Individual Businesses or Households
- Sub-Federal Governments, Tribes
- Organized Interest Groups: e.g. NRA, AFPA, EDF, AFL/CIO, AARP, API, NCI, ...
- Political Parties: Republican, Democrat(ic), Green, Whig, ...

# Social Movements – A few I have known:

- The Civil Rights Movement
- The Anti-Vietnam War Movement
- The Environmental Movement
- The Women's Movement - & Opponents
  - In 1972, the ERA passed the House 354-24 & the Senate 84-8
  - By the end of 1973, 30 states had ratified
  - But only 35/38 had done so by the 1979 deadline
  - [Hard to imagine even getting a floor vote today...](#)
- The Anti-Globalization Movement
- The Anti-Nuclear Movement
- The Anti-Fracking Movement
- The Tea Party Movement
- The Occupy Movement
- The Arab Spring: Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Libya

# Comparisons with other multi-person policy actors

- Like other actors, social movements (SMs) reflect a set of preferences/ideologies or interests & try to influence public policy
- Unlike political parties, SMs are not a formal part of the political process
- Blurry boundary between SMs & interest groups (IGs)
  - IGs generally part of the system, Lowi: “All established interest groups are conservative” (i.e., resist *radical* change)
  - IGs have clear constituencies, sometimes members; exercise routine influence (e.g., lobbying, briefs, etc.)
  - SMs tend to be on the margins of the system, without clear membership, & engage in non-routine actions (e.g., marches!)
  - Both vary in resources, organization, tactics (e.g., Greenpeace)

# How Can IGs & SMs Affect Public Policy? (Burstein)

- Direct: Persuade policy-makers to act – but unlikely if issue can't affect re-election, may not be necessary if it can; anti-Vietnam?
  - Preferences on an issue will drive votes, \$\$ only if voters, donors are *aware* of it & consider it *important* (high *salience*) – gun control
- Information to Policy-makers: Demonstrate that lots of voters (ideally a majority) feel strongly about an issue – anti-Vietnam?, East Germany
- Changing Public's Preferences: Often by *reframing* an issue, changing how it is understood – e.g., Pro-Life, Obamacare
- Raising an Issue's Salience: Only works if public agrees (C&G ⇒ depends on values) – e.g., climate change, globalization
- (IGs) Influence Implementation: inside baseball; easiest when low salience to public, great admin discretion – e.g., Dodd-Frank

# Main SM Energy Battle: Nuclear Power (Useem & Zald)

- **Politics of nuclear power through 50s & 60s?**
  - Dominated by “inside the beltway” industry interest groups
  - Highlight: liability limit passed in 1957
  - AEC promotional & regulatory – “too cheap to meter”
- **What happened in the 1970s to change this?**
  - Rise of an anti-nuclear movement, grass roots protests
  - After TMI in 1979, no new plants started
- **How did industry react?**
  - Worked to create a pro-nuclear movement
  - Problem: attaining legitimacy: grass roots v. astroturf
- **Did it succeed?**

# How about environmental policy? (Rucht)

- Contends that the environmental movement has both successes & (more serious) failures
  - Measures v. the past, not v. a but-for world
  - In US & EU, air & water quality notably improved
- Argues that can work via lobbying (IGs), public opinion, individual attitudes, or a green party
  - Other channels (above) harder to measure

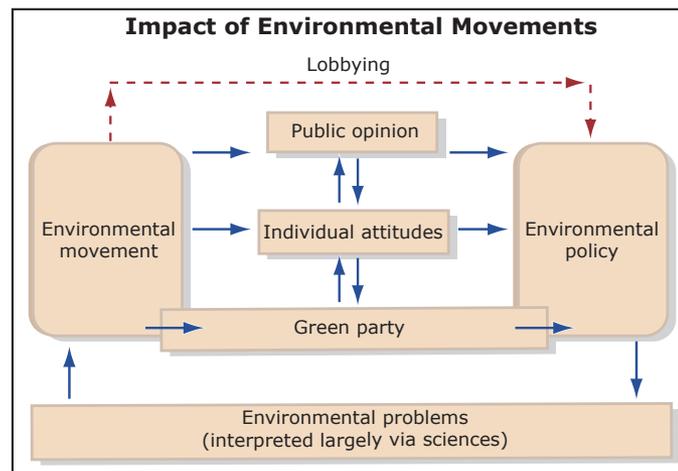


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# Using various measures, ranks countries on these dimensions & environmental change:

Variable	Strong	Medium	Weak
<b>Environmental movement pressure</b>	Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, United States	Belgium, Canada, Spain, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy	Greece, Portugal
<b>Individual attitudes</b>	Denmark, the Netherlands, Luxembourg	Austria, Canada, Spain, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, United States	Belgium, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Portugal
<b>Green parties</b>	Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland	Great Britain, Sweden	Canada, Denmark, Spain, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, United States
<b>Policy efforts</b>	Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden	Belgium, Canada, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, United States	Spain, Greece, Portugal
<b>Changes in environmental quality</b>	Austria, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden	Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, United States	Spain, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal

# Summarizes with correlations:

Variable	Environmental movement pressure	Individual attitudes	Green parties	Policy efforts	Changes in environmental quality
<b>Environmental movement pressure</b>	1.0000	0.6144**	0.2820	0.9031**	0.6789**
<b>Individual attitudes</b>	0.6144**	1.000	0.2670	0.5702*	0.6843**
<b>Green parties</b>	0.2820	0.2670	1.000	0.4421	0.6045**
<b>Policy efforts</b>	0.9031**	0.5702**	0.4421	1.0000	0.7919**
<b>Changes in environmental quality</b>	0.6789**	0.6843**	0.6045**	0.7919**	1.0000

\* $p < 0.05$     \*\* $p < 0.01$     *Calculations based on values 1, 2, or 3 according to the categorizations weak, medium, and strong, respectively in the previous slide.*

- Rucht's conclusions:
  - Strong environmental movements can drive policy
  - Other factors determine role of green parties, including electoral system – e.g., US
  - Policy alone doesn't drive the environment
  
- **Persuasive? Comments?**

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